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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

SESSIONS MDCCCLX-LXI.—MDCCCLXI-LXII.



VOL. IV.

EDINBURGH :
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY NEILL AND COMPANY.

MDCCCLXIII.



P. 7c/359

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E R R A T A.

- Page 67, footnote, *for* Archæologia, *read* Archæologia.
- 120, line 20 from top, *for* miniuscule, *read* minuscule.
 - 169, line 5 from bottom, *for* Tutes, *read* Jutes.
 - 171, line 17 from top, *for* 676, *read* 516.
 - 178, line 18 from top, *for* cities, *read* tribes.
 - 177, footnote, line 2 from bottom, *for* Imbiarea, *read* Imbairec.
 - do. do. *for* eunt, *read* sunt.
 - last line of footnote, *for* Maelacn, *read* Maelaen.
 - 178, line 8 from bottom, *for* Joavin, *read* Loairn.
 - line 7 from bottom, *for* Corvall, *read* Cowall.
 - 179, line 18 from top, *for* Holdem, *read* Hoddem.
 - 180, line 12 from top, *for* Tirformor, *read* Tirfomor.
 - 298, line 8 from top, *for* " a Maltese Cross within a circle, &c., to crozier,"
read " the Christian Monogram within a circle, and over it the letters
A Er Ω, the alpha and omega as it has been more recently read."
 - 318, line 5 from top, *for* Norman, *read* Roman.
 - 360, line 12 from bottom, *for* burying, *read* burning.
 - 398, *for* page 388, *read* 398.
 - 399, transpose lines 1, 2, and 3, top of page, to top of page 400.
 - 443, line 3 from top, *for* Treaves, *read* Greaves.

At a Council Meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, held on the 17th of November 1862,

It was reported, that, in terms of former Resolutions, the Fourth Volume of the PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY was in progress, under the joint superintendence of Mr DAVID LAING and Dr JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH; and that the First Part will be ready in a few days for circulation among the Members; and the Second Part, which has necessarily been retarded, will be immediately commenced.

The Council, in consequence of the delay experienced in printing the Proceedings, resolved:—"That in future all Communications read before the Society, and intended for publication, shall be left, ready for press, with one of the Secretaries, within eight days after the Meeting."

JOHN STUART,
JOHN ALEX. SMITH, } *Secretaries.*

OFFICE-BEARERS, JULY 1862.

~~~~~  
**PATRON.**

**HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.**  
~~~~~

President.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF BREADALBANE, K.T.

Vice-Presidents.

DAVID LAING, Esq.

JAMES T. GIBSON CRAIG, Esq.

COSMO INNES, Esq.

Councillors.

Right Hon. LORD ELCHO, M.P.
GEORGE PATTON, Esq., Advocate, } *representing the Board of Trustees.*
JOSEPH ROBERTSON, Esq.

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ROBERT PATERSON, M.D.

DAVID MILNE HOME, Esq.

WILLIAM F. SKENE, Esq.

Professor J. Y. SIMPSON, M.D.

Professor WILLIAM STEVENSON, D.D.

Secretaries.

JOHN STUART, Esq., General Register House.

JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., West Maitland Street.

DAVID LAING, Esq.,
JOHN M. MITCHELL, Esq., } *for Foreign Correspondence.*

Treasurer.

THOMAS B. JOHNSTON, Esq., St Andrew Square.

Curators of the Museum.

FRANCIS ABBOTT, Esq.

JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A.

Librarian.

GEORGE SETON, Esq.

Keeper of the Museum.

MR WILLIAM T. M'CULLOCH.

Assistant Keeper of the Museum.

ROBERT PAUL.

LIST OF THE FELLOWS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

JULY 1862.

~~~~~  
PATRON.  
HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.  
~~~~~

1853. ABBOTT, FRANCIS, Moray Place,—*Curator*.
1853. *ABERDEIN, FRANCIS, Montrose.
1858. ADAM, ROBERT, City Accountant, Council Chambers.
1828. *AINSLIE, PHILIP BARRINGTON.
1846. ALEXANDER, REV. WILLIAM LINDSAY, D.D., Brown Square.
1860. ALLMAN, GEORGE J., M.D., Professor of Natural History, University,
Edinburgh.
1859. ARBUTHNOT, GEORGE C., Loanhead.
1855. ARBUTHNOT, SIR ROBERT KEITH, Bart., Charlotte Square.
1850. ARGYLE, His Grace The Duke of, K.T.
1856. *ARLEY, PATRICK, Advocate, 29 Great King Street.
1861. AUCHIE, ALEXANDER, Clydesdale Bank.

1861. BAIKIE, ROBERT, M.D., 49 Northumberland Street.
1849. BALFOUR, ANDREW, M.A., Musselburgh.
1838. BALFOUR, DAVID, of Balfour and Trenaby, Orkney.

An asterisk (*) denotes Members who have compounded for their Annual Contributions.

1847. BALLANTINE, JAMES, 42 George Street.
 1857. BARCLAY, Lieut.-Colonel PETER, H.E.I.C.S., Coates Crescent.
 1862. BARRIE, WILLIAM, High School, Dalkeith.
 1854. BEGHE, JAMES W., M.D., 21 Alva Street.
 1861. BERRY, WALTER, Danish Consul-General, 16 Carlton Terrace.
 1861. BINNING, Right Honourable GEORGE, LORD,
 1852. BLACK, DAVID D., Town-Clerk, Brechin.
 1847. BLACKIE, Walter G., Publisher, Glasgow.
 1835. *BOTTFIELD, BERIAH, M.P., Grosvenor Square, London.
 1844. BREADALBANE, The Most Honourable The Marquess of, K.T.,—*President*.
 1857. BRODIE, THOMAS, W.S., Moray Place.
 1849. *BROWN, A. J. DENNISTON, Balloch Castle, Dumbarton.
 1841. BROWN, WILLIAM HENRY, of Ashley, Ratho.
 1861. BRUCE, WILLIAM, M.D., R.N., 7 Howard Place.
 1849. BRYCE, DAVID, Architect, R.S.A., 131 George Street.
 1853. BRYSON, ALEXANDER, Princes Street.
 1845. *BUCCLEUCH AND QUEENSBERRY, His Grace The Duke of, K.G.
 1847. BUCHAN, REV. CHARLES F., D.D., Fordoun Manse
 1857. BUIST, ANDREW WALKER, of Berryhills, Fifeshire.
 1821. BURN, JAMES, W.S., 51 Great King Street.
 1860. BURNETT, Sir JAMES HORN, of Leys, Bart.
 1858. BURTON, JOHN HILL, Advocate, Craig House, Morningside.

 1847. CAMPBELL, Sir ALEXANDER, of Barcaldine, Bart.
 1852. *CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER, of Monzie.
 1831. CAMPBELL, JOHN ARCHIBALD, W.S., 2 Albyn Place.
 1850. CAMPBELL, Rev. JOHN A. Leigh, Helpston, Northampton.
 1862. CARFRAE, ROBERT, 77 George Street.
 1861. CARLYLE, JOHN AITKEN, M.D., Hanover Street
 1849. CARMICHAEL, JOHN, M.A., High School of Edinburgh.
 1859. CHALMERS, JAMES HAY, Advocate, Aberdeen.
 1855. CHALMERS, JOHN INGLIS, of Aldbar, Forfarshire.
 1844. CHALMERS, Rev. PETER, D.D., Abbey Church, Dunfermline.
 1844. *CHAMBERS, ROBERT, Publisher, Verulam House, St John's Wood, London.
 1836. CHEYNE, HENRY, W.S., 6 Royal Terrace.

1853. CHRISTISON, ROBERT, M.D., Professor of Materia Medica, University, Edinburgh.
1861. CONSTABLE, THOMAS, 34 Royal Terrace.
1851. *COULTHART, JOHN ROSS, of Coulthart and Collyn, Ashton-under-Lyne.
1849. *COWAN, CHARLES, of Valleyfield, 17 Princes Street.
1849. COWAN, DAVID, 17 Moray Place.
1850. COX, ROBERT, W.S., 25 Rutland Street.
1826. CRAIG, JAMES T. GIBSON, 24 York Place,—*Vice-President*.
1861. CRAWFORD, JAMES, Jun., W.S., Duke Street.
1861. CRAWFORD, THOMAS MACKNIGHT, of Cartaburn.
1861. CRICHTON, MICHAEL H., North Bridge.
1860. CURRIE, ANDREW, Sculptor, Melrose.
-
1853. DALHOUSIE, Right Hon. the Earl of, K.T.
1857. DALRYMPLE, CHARLES E., Westhall, Aberdeenshire.
1844. DICKSON, WILLIAM, Accountant, 22 George Street.
1861. DOUGLAS, DAVID, 88 Princes Street.
1856. DOUGLAS, JAMES, of Cavers, Moray Place.
1851. *DRUMMOND, GEORGE HOME, younger of Blair-Drummond.
1828. *DRUMMOND, HENRY HOME, of Blair-Drummond.
1848. DRUMMOND, JAMES, R.S.A., 30 Hamilton Place,—*Curator*.
1859. DRUMMOND, WILLIAM, Rockdale, Stirling.
1849. DRYSDALE, WILLIAM, Assistant-Clerk of Session, 3 Hart Street.
1850. DUNCAN, JAMES, M.D., 12 Heriot Row.
1850. *DUNCAN, JAMES MATTHEWS, M.D., 30 Charlotte Square.
1848. DUNCAN, WILLIAM J., Manager of the National Bank of Scotland.
1827. DUNDAS, Sir DAVID, of Dunira, Bart.
1850. DUNDAS, WM. PITT, Advocate, Registrar-General for Scotland.
-
1853. ELCHO, Right Hon. Lord, M.P., Amisfield, Haddingtonshire.
1841. *ELGIN AND KINCARDINE, Right Hon. The Earl of, K.G.
1829. ELLIS, ADAM GIB, W.S., 4 Royal Terrace.
1855. EUING, WILLIAM, Glasgow.
1841. *EYTON, JOSEPH WALTER KING, London.
-
1861. FARNIE, HENRY BROUGHAM, Cupar, Fife.

1850. FARQUHARSON, FRANCIS, of Finzean, 5 Eton Terrace.
1848. FERGUSON, WALTER, Teacher of Drawing, 36 George Street.
1827. FISHER, DANIEL, S.S.C., 9 Broughton Place.
1862. FORBES, WILLIAM, of Medwyn, 17 Ainslie Place.
1848. *FOTHERINGHAM, WILLIAM H., Sheriff-Clerk of Orkney, Kirkwall.
1850. FOWLER, Rev. JAMES CHARLES, LL.D., Ratho.
1862. FRASER, ALEXANDER, Canonmills Lodge.
1857. *FRASER, PATRICK ALLAN, of Hospital Field, Arbroath.
1851. FRASER, WILLIAM, S.S.C., Assistant-Keeper of Register of Sasines.
1862. GILLMAN, ANDREW, S.S.C., Hamilton Place.
1846. GOODSIR, ALEXANDER, 18 Regent Terrace.
1840. GOODSIR, JOHN, Professor of Anatomy, University, Edinburgh.
1860. GORDON, Rev. COSMO R., A.M., Manchester.
1860. *GORDON, EDWARD S., Advocate, 2 Randolph Crescent.
1851. GORDON, Sir JOHN WATSON, Kt., R.A., and P.R.S.A., George Street.
1852. GRAHAME, BARRON, of Morpie, Pembroke Gardens, Nottingham, London.
1851. GRAHAM, WILLIAM, LL.D., 1 Moray Place.
1835. *GROAT, ALEX. G., of Newhall, 12 Hart Street.
1846. *HAILSTONE, EDWARD, of Horton Hall, Bradford.
1859. HAMILTON AND BRANDON, His Grace The Duke of.
1833. HAMILTON, ALEXANDER, LL.B., W.S., The Elms, Morningside.
1858. HAMILTON, CLAUD, New Club.
1850. HAMILTON, JOHN, W.S., 81 George Street.
1861. *HAMILTON, Right Hon. R. C. Nisbet, of Dirleton.
1860. HANNAH, Rev. John, D.C.L., Glenalmond, Perthshire.
1849. HARVEY, GEORGE, R.S.A., 21 Regent Terrace.
1859. HAY, Major WILLIAM E., H.E.I.C.S., Loanhead.
1856. HEBDEN, ROBERT J., of Eday, Orkney.
1862. HENDERSON, WILLIAM H., Writer, Linlithgow.
1862. HODSON, Rev. JAMES S., D.D., Great King Street.
1860. HOME, DAVID MILNE, of Milnegraden and Paxton.
1852. *HORN, ROBERT, Advocate, 7 Randolph Crescent.
1861. *HOWE, ALEXANDER, W.S., 22 Charlotte Square.
1853. HUIE, EDWARD, 2 Walker Street.

1826. HUIE, RICHARD, M.D., F.R.C.S.E, 8 George Square.
1860. HUTCHISON, ROBERT, of Carlowrie.
1853. INNES, COSMO, Advocate, Professor of History, University, Edinburgh.—
Vice-President.
1860. IRVING, JOSEPH, Dumbarton.
1849. JACKSON, ALEXANDER, M.D., F.R.C.P.E., India Street.
1851. *JACKSON, EDWARD JAMES, B.A. Oxon., 6 Coates Crescent.
1859. JAMIESON, GEORGE A., Accountant, St Andrew Square.
1859. JEFFREY, ALEXANDER, Solicitor, Jedburgh.
1848. JOHNSTON, REV. GEORGE, D.D., 6 Minto Street.
1849. JOHNSTON, THOMAS B., 4 St Andrew Square,—*Treasurer.*
1855. JOHNSTON, THOMAS, Glasgow.
1848. JOHNSTONE, WILLIAM B., R.S.A., Curator of the National Gallery.
1821. KEITH, JAMES, M.D., F.R.C.S.E., Wemyss Place.
1848. KERR, ANDREW, Architect, Office of H.M. Works.
1861. KING, MAJOR WILLIAM ROSS, unattached, Tartowie House, Aberdeen
shire.
1827. KINNOULL, Right Hon. The Earl of.
1856. LAING, ALEXANDER, Newburgh, Fife.
1824. LAING, DAVID, Signet Library,—*Vice-President and Foreign Secretary.*
1838. LAURIE, WILLIAM A., W.S., Rossend Castle, Bruntisland.
1847. LAWSON, CHARLES, JUN., of Borthwick Hall.
1849. LEE, CHARLES, R.S.A., 19 Scotland Street.
1856. LEISHMAN, REV. MATTHEW, D.D., Manse, Govan.
1857. LESLIE, CHARLES STEPHEN, younger of Balquhain.
1861. LESLIE, Colonel J. FORBES, of Rothie, Aberdeenshire.
1855. *LINDSAY, The Right Hon. Lord, Haigh Hall, Lancashire.
1849. LOCHORE, REV. ALEXANDER, Manse, Drymen, Stirlingshire.
1831. *LOGAN, ALEXANDER, London.
1858. LOGAN, GEORGE, W.S., Clerk of Teinds.
1849. LORIMER, GEORGE, Builder, Mayfield Terrace.
1860. LOTHIAN, Most Honourable the Marquess of, Newbattle Abbey.

1856. M'BURNEY, ISAIAH, LL.D., Glasgow Academy.
1853. MACDONALD, JOHN, Town-Clerk, Arbroath.
1849. MACGREGOR, ALEXANDER BENNET, younger of Kernoch, Glasgow.
1856. MACGREGOR, DONALD R., Leith.
1855. MACKAY, JOHN, 49 North Bridge.
1852. MACKENZIE, ALEXANDER KINCAID, Manager, Commercial Bank of Scotland.
1846. MACKENZIE, DONALD, Advocate, 12 Great Stuart Street.
1844. MACKENZIE, JOHN WHITEFOORD, W.S., 16 Royal Circus.
1853. *MACKENZIE, KEITH STEWART, of Seaforth, Braham Castle, Dingwall.
1841. MACKNIGHT, JAMES, W.S., 12 London Street.
1826. MACLAGAN, DAVID, M.D., 129 George Street.
1856. MACLAUCHLAN, Rev. THOMAS, Free Gaelic Church, Edinburgh.
1841. MACLAURIN, HENRY C., General Post-Office.
1861. MACLEOD, WILLIAM, M.D., Ben Rhydding, Yorkshire.
1846. MACMILLAN, JOHN, M.A., High School of Edinburgh.
1855. MACNAB, JOHN, Publisher, Stead's Place, Leith Walk.
1844. M'NEILL, ARCHIBALD, P.C.S., 73 Great King Street.
1849. *MARSHALL, GEORGE H., Heriot Row.
1861. MARWICK, JAMES DAVID, City Chambers.
1858. MATHESON, Sir JAMES, of the Lewes and Achany, Bart., M.P.
1828. MAXWELL, Colonel Sir WILLIAM A., of Calderwood, Bart.
1852. MELLIS, JAMES, Prestonpans.
1853. MERCER, GRAEME R., of Gorthy, Moray Place.
1862. MERCER, Major WILLIAM DRUMMOND, 4 Great Stuart Street.
1862. MERCER, ROBERT, of Scotsbank, Ramsay Lodge, Portobello.
1860. *MILLER, JOHN, of Millfield, C.E., Falkirk.
1851. MILLER, SAMUEL CHRISTY, of Craigentinny, St James's Place, London.
1859. MILN, JAMES, of Murie, Perthshire.
1840. MITCHELL, JOHN M., Belgian Consul-General, Mayville, Leith,—*Foreign Secretary.*
1851. MONTEITH, ROBERT I. J., of Carstairs, Lanarkshire.
1851. *MONTGOMERY, Sir GRAHAM G., of Stanhope, Bart., M.P.
1857. MORISON, ALEXANDER, of Bognie, Aberdeenshire.
1856. MOSSMAN, ADAM, Jeweller, Princes Street.
1860. MUDIE, JOHN, of Pitmuies, Arbroath.

1853. *MURRAY, THOMAS GRAHAM, W.S., 4 Glenfinlas Street.
 1855. MURRAY, WILLIAM H., of Geanies, Tain, Ross-shire.
1857. NAIRNE, JOHN M., of Dunsinane, Perthshire.
 1838. NASMYTH, ROBERT, F.R.C.S.E., Charlotte Square.
 1857. NEAVES, The Hon. Lord, Charlotte Square.
 1860. NEISH, JAMES, of The Laws, near Dundee.
 1857. *NICHOL, JAMES DYCE, of Ballogie, Aberdeenshire.
 1836. *NICHOLSON, ALEXANDER, Cheltenham.
 1861. *NICOL, ERSKINE, R.S.A., Blenheim Place.
 1851. NIVEN, JOHN, M.D., 110 Lauriston Place.
1832. *OMOND, Rev. JOHN REID, Monzie, Crieff.
1861. PAGAN, WILLIAM, of Clayton, Fifeshire.
 1857. PATERSON, GEORGE, of Castle Huntly, Perthshire.
 1858. PATERSON, ROBERT, M.D., Leith.
 1846. PATON, HUGH, Princes Street.
 1859. PATON, JOHN, Meadow Place.
 1846. PATON, JOSEPH NEIL, Dunfermline.
 1859. PATON, JOSEPH NOEL, R.S.A., 33 George Square.
 1859. PATTON, GEORGE, of Glenalmond, Advocate, Heriot Row.
 1855. *PENDER, JOHN, Manchester.
 1860. PIERSON, JAMES ALEX., The Guynd, Forfarshire.
 1860. PRIMROSE, Hon. BOUVERIE F., 22 Moray Place.
1856. RAMSAY, WILLIAM, Professor of Humanity, University, Glasgow.
 1860. REID, JAMES, Secretary, Commercial Bank of Scotland.
 1849. RHIND, DAVID, Architect, 54 Great King Street.
 1850. RICHARDSON, JOHN, The Kirklands, near Jedburgh.
 1861. ROBERTSON, ANDREW, M.D., Indego, Tarland, Aberdeenshire.
 1849. *ROBERTSON, DAVID H., M.D., Leith.
 1856. ROBERTSON, GEORGE B., W.S., General Register-House.
 1859. ROBERTSON, Lieut.-Colonel JAMES A., 118 Princes Street.
 1854. ROBERTSON, JOSEPH, General Register-House.
 1861. ROBINOW, ADOLPH, Hanseatic Vice-Consul, Moray Place.

1854. ROGER, JAMES C., London.
 1850. ROGERS, REV. CHARLES, LL.D., Stirling.
 1856. ROSS, WILLIAM, M.D., Dingwall.
 1861. ROWE, GEORGE, B.A., John Watson's Institution.
1841. SCOTT, JOHN, of Rodono, W.S., 17 Duke Street.
 1862. SCOTT, ROBERT, 4 Forth Street.
 1854. SCOTT, REV. WALTER, Manse, Whittingham.
 1848. SETON, GEORGE, Advocate, St Bennet's, Greenhill,—*Librarian*.
 1849. SHIELL, WILLIAM, Assistant Clerk of Session, General Register-House.
 1861. SIM, ADAM, of Coulter, Lanarkshire.
 1860. SIM, GEORGE, 40 Charlotte Square.
 1848. SIME, REV. JOHN, 3 Windmill Street.
 1849. SIMPSON, JAMES Y., M.D., Professor of Midwifery, University, Edinburgh,
 Queen Street.
1857. SINCLAIR, ALEXANDER, 133 George Street.
 1833. SKENE, WILLIAM FORBES, W.S., Inverleith Row.
 1853. SLOAN, CHARLES F., M.D., Ayr.
 1853. SMALL, ANDREW, 29 East Claremont Street.
 1846. *SMELLIE, JOHN, Portobello.
 1844. *SMITH, DAVID, W.S., 64 Princes Street.
 1822. SMITH, JAMES, of Jordanhill.
 1847. SMITH, JOHN ALEX., M.D., 7 West Maitland Street,—*Secretary*.
 1858. SMITH, ROBERT M., Bellevue Crescent.
 1855. SNODY, ANDREW, S.S.C., Gayfield Square.
 1856. STAIR, Right Honourable The Earl of.
 1858. STARKE, JAMES, Advocate, Traquair-holme, Dumfries.
 1849. STEEL, JOHN, R.S.A., Greenhill Gardens.
 1860. STEVENSON, HUGH, Writer, Glasgow.
 1855. STEVENSON, THOMAS, Civil Engineer, 17 Heriot Row.
 1847. STEVENSON, REV. WILLIAM, D.D., Professor of Church History, University
 of Edinburgh.
1854. STEWART, JOHN, of Nateby Hall.
 1850. STRUTHERS, REV. JOHN, Minister of Prestonpans.
 1853. STUART, JOHN, General Register-House,—*Secretary*.
 1845. STUART, HON. SIR JOHN, Vice-Chancellor of the Court of Chancery in England.

1850. SWINBURNE, Major-General THOMAS R., of Marcus, 13 Great Stuart Street.
1851. SWINTON, ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, Advocate.
1856. *SYME, JAMES G., Advocate.
1860. TAYLOR, JAMES, Merchant, Leith.
1859. THOMSON, ALEXANDER, of Banchory, Aberdeenshire.
1847. THOMSON, THOMAS, W.S., 1 Thistle Court.
1862. TREVELYAN, Sir WALTER C., of Wallington, Bart., Northumberland.
1862. *VEITCH, GEORGE SETON, Bank of Scotland.
1860. VERR, WILLIAM E. HOPE, Craigie Hall.
1859. *WALKER, FOUNTAINE, Inverness-shire.
1848. WALKER, WILLIAM, F.R.C.S., 47 Northumberland Street.
1861. WALKER, WILLIAM STUART, of Bowland.
1849. WARE, TITUS HIBBERT, Hale Barns, Altringham, Cheshire.
1855. WATERTON, EDMUND, Walton Hall, Yorkshire.
1850. WAY, ALBERT, Wonham Manor, Reigate.
1861. WEBB, P. ROBERT, 2 Chalmers Street.
1856. WEBSTER, JOHN, Advocate, Aberdeen.
1848. WHITE, ALEXANDER, Summerfield, Leith.
1860. WILSON, WILLIAM THORBURN, Glasgow.
1861. *WILSON, WILLIAM, Banknock, Denny.
1852. WISE, THOMAS A., M.D., Rostillan Castle, Ireland.
1852. WOOD, JOHN GEORGE, W.S., 52 Melville Street.
1862. YOUNG, JOSEPH, of Dunearn, Burntisland.
1849. YULE, General PATRICK, Royal Engineers, London.

LIST OF HONORARY MEMBERS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND,
JULY 1862.

[According to the Laws, the Number is limited to TWENTY-FIVE.]

1814.

Monsieur J. F. ARTAUD, Director of the Museum of Antiquities at Lyons.

1820.

PRINCE GUSTAFF VASA OF SWEDEN, Vienna.

1824.

His Grace The DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, K.G.

1844.

His Majesty The KING OF DENMARK.

5 Monsieur GUIZOT, Member of the Institute of France.

JAMES SKENE of Rubislaw, Esq., Frewen Hall, Oxford.

1845.

JOHN LINDSAY, Esq., Barrister-at-law, Cork.

b

1849.

Sir WILLIAM GIBSON CRAIG of Riccarton, Bart., Lord Clerk Register.

GEORGE PETRIE, LL.D., Dublin.

10 Sir CHARLES G. YOUNG, Garter-King-at-Arms.

1851.

Right Honourable The EARL STANHOPE.

Councillor C. J. THOMSEN, Director of the Royal Museum at Copenhagen.

PETER A. MUNCH, Professor of History in the University of Christiania.

1853.

DANIEL WILSON, LL.D., Professor of English Literature, Toronto, Canada.

1855.

15 Colonel Sir HENRY C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., D.C.L.

1857.

Rev. WILLIAM REEVES, D.D., Lusk, Dublin.

A. HENRY RHIND, Esq. of Sibster.

1860.

His Majesty the KING OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY.

Right Honourable LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE.

20 Dr RICHARD LEPSIUS, Berlin.

Chevalier G. H. PERTZ, LL.D., Royal Library, Berlin.

1861.

JAMES FARRER, Esq. of Inglebrough, M.P.

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^{1 3 4} Contributed by J. Y. Simpson, M.D., V.P.

⁵ Do. James T. Gibson Craig, Esq., V.P.S.A. Scot.

⁶ Do. Messrs A. and C. Black.

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² Do. David Laing, Esq., V.P.

³ Do. John Evans, Esq., Secretary Numismatic Society, London.

⁴ Do. David Laing, Esq., V.P.

⁵ Do. Andrew Jervise, Esq., Corr. Mem., S.A. Scot.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

~~~~~  
EIGHTY-FIRST SESSION, 1860-61.  
~~~~~

ANNIVERSARY MEETING, 30th November 1860.

THE HON. LORD NEAVES, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Office-bearers of the Society for the Session were elected, as follows:—

Patron.

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

President.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF BREADALBANE, K.T.

Vice-Presidents.

PROFESSOR JAMES Y. SIMPSON, M.D.

DAVID LAING, Esq.

JAMES T. GIBSON CRAIG, Esq.

Councillors.

Right Hon. Lord ELCHO, M.P.,	} <i>Representing the Board of Trustees.</i>
GEORGE PATTON, Esq.,	
ALEXANDER WHITE, Esq.	

VOL. IV. PART I.

A

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF

JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq.
 COSMO INNES, Esq.
 JOSEPH ROBERTSON, Esq.
 The Hon. Lord NEAVES.
 ROBERT PATERSON, M.D.
 DAVID MILNE HOME, Esq.

Secretaries.

JOHN STUART, Esq., General Register House.
 JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D.
 DAVID LAING, Esq.,
 JOHN M. MITCHELL, Esq., } *for Foreign Correspondence.*

Treasurer.

THOMAS B. JOHNSTON, Esq.

Curators of the Museum.

BARRON GRAHAME, Esq.
 JAMES JOHNSTONE, Esq.

Librarian.

FRANCIS ABBOTT, Esq.

Auditors.

GEORGE SETON, Esq.
 ROBERT HUTCHISON, Esq.

MR WILLIAM T. M'CULLOCH, *Keeper of the Museum.*
 MR ROBERT PAUL, *Assistant.*

The following Gentlemen were balloted for and elected Members of the Society :—

WILLIAM BRUCE, M.D., Deputy Inspector General of the Fleet.
 JOHN AITKEN CARLYLE, M.D.
 MICHAEL H. CRICHTON, Esq.
 ERSKINE NICOL, Esq., R.S.A.
 ALEXANDER HOWE, Esq., W.S.
 P. ROBERT WEBB, Esq.

The following Gentlemen were also elected Corresponding Members :—

DR FERDINAND KELLER, Zurich.
 GEORGE TAIT, Esq., Alnwick.

The Society has lost the following members by death in the course of the past year, viz. :—

Honorary Member.

	<i>Elected</i>
The Chevalier CHRISTIAN C. J. BUNSEN, D.C.L.	1851

Fellows.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Esq., W.S.	1841 .
General Sir THOMAS MACDOUGALL BRISBANE of Makerstoun and Brisbane, Bart., President of the Royal Society, Edinburgh,	1840
GEORGE BUIST, Esq., LL.D., Bombay,	1846
ALEXANDER CHRISTIE, Esq., A.R.S.A.,	1848
WILLIAM MITCHELL INNES of Parson's Green, Esq.,	1811
Sir JOHN MELVILLE, Knight, Writer to the Signet,	1858
FRANCIS F. NEILSON, Esq., Banker, Calcutta,	1854
WILLIAM WARING HAY NEWTON of Newton, Esq.,	1814

The following Report was read, and having been approved of, was ordered to be transmitted to the Secretary of the Board of Trustees for Manufactures, &c. :—

REPORT by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland to the Honourable Board of Trustees for Manufactures in Scotland, adopted at the General Meeting held on the 30th November 1860—

The National Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland was opened to the public on the 26th day of December 1859, under the regulations formerly adjusted with your Honourable Board, and sanctioned by the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury.

The number of the donations to the Museum received since June 1859 (not including books, maps, &c.), Articles or objects, 331, Coins and Medals, 185. These have been contributed by 92 individuals, and are exclusive of the valuable and extensive collection of Egyptian antiquities presented by A. Henry Rhind of Sibster, Esq. The donations of Lady Murray, the late William Waring Hay Newton of Newton, Esq. —the late John Mackinlay, Esq., and Charles S. Temple, Esq., are especially deserving of notice for their intrinsic value, and all, for their interest and importance, in an archæological point of view.

In addition to the donations, several articles have been purchased for the Museum.

The arrangement and classification of the objects have been steadily proceeded with, and now approach completion, so that at no distant period the printing of the Catalogue will be commenced.

The Museum has been closed during the month of November.

JOHN STUART, *Secretary*.

•The annexed Table shows the number of visitors from the above date to the 30th September 1860.

1859.	Dec. 26 to January 1, 1860,	.	.	.	.	4,565
1860.	January,	.	.	.	.	12,978
"	February,	.	.	.	.	1,461
"	March,	.	.	.	.	2,413
"	April,	.	.	.	.	3,054
"	May,	.	.	.	.	6,171
"	June,	.	.	.	.	5,728
"	July,	.	.	.	.	7,768
"	August,	.	.	.	.	13,093
"	September,	.	.	.	.	9,928
						<hr/> 67,159

The Secretary called the attention of the meeting to the present very imperfect mode of heating the Society's apartments; and it was unanimously resolved that a Memorial be presented to the Treasury through the Honourable the Board of Trustees, requesting that all necessary steps be taken to rectify as early as possible this very serious inconvenience.

Letters were read from Professor Munch, Dr Lepsius, Dr Pertz, and Lord Talbot de Malahide returning thanks for their election as Honorary Members of the Society.

Mr Laing gave notice of a motion in terms of the Laws of the Society, that in consequence of the admission of the two official members of Council from the Board of Trustees; the law which requires three of the ordinary members of Council to retire annually, should be so far altered as to allow the retirement of only two such members annually.

The thanks of the meeting were voted to the Honourable Lord Neaves, for his services while Vice-President, and the general interest which he had always taken in the business of the Society.

The Inaugural Address, by PROFESSOR SIMPSON, Vice-President, which was intended for the present Meeting, was unavoidably postponed, and delivered at a special meeting on the 28th of January. It was subsequently printed in a separate form at the request of the Society, and is here subjoined.

ADDRESS ON ARCHÆOLOGY.

BY PROFESSOR J. Y. SIMPSON, M.D.

It has become a practice of late years in this Society for one of the Vice-Presidents to read an Annual Address on some topic or topics connected with Archæology. I appear here to-night more in compliance with this custom, than with any hope of being able to state aught to you that is likely to prove either of adequate interest or of adequate importance for such an occasion.

In making this admission, I am fully aware that the deficiency lies in myself, and not in my subject. For truly there are few studies which offer so many tempting fields of observation and comment as Archæology. Indeed, the aim and the groundwork of the studies of the antiquary form a sufficient guarantee for the interest with which these studies are invested. For the leading object and intent of all his pursuits is—MAN, and man's ways and works, his habits and thoughts, from the earliest dates at which we can find his traces and tracks upon the earth, onward and forwards along the journey of past time. During this long journey, man has everywhere left scattered behind and around him innumerable relics, forming so many permanent impressions and evidences of his march and progress. These impressions and evidences the antiquary searches for and studies—in the changes which have in successive eras taken place (as proved by their existing and discoverable remains) in the materials and forms of the implements and tools which man has from the earliest times used in the chase and in agriculture; in the weapons which he has employed in battle; in the habitations which he has dwelt in during peace, and in the earth-works and stone-works which he has raised during war; in the dresses and ornaments which he has worn; in the varying forms of religious faith which he has held, and the

deities that he has worshipped ; in the sacred temples and fanes which he has reared ; in the various modes in which he has disposed of the dead ; in the laws and governments under which he has lived ; in the arts which he has cultivated ; in the sculptures which he has carved ; in the coins and medals which he has struck ; in the inscriptions which he has cut ; in the records which he has written ; and in the character and type of the languages in which he has spoken. All the markings and relics of man, in the dim and distant past, which industry and science can possibly extract from these and from other analogous sources, Archæology carefully collects, arranges, and generalizes, stimulated by the fond hope that through such means she will yet gradually recover more and more of the earlier chronicles and lost annals of the human race, and of the various individual communities and families of that race.

The objects of antiquarian research embrace events and periods, many of which are placed within the era of written evidence ; but many more are of a date long anterior to the epoch when man made that greatest of human discoveries—the discovery, namely, of the power of permanently recording words, thoughts, and acts in symbolical and alphabetic writing. To some minds it has seemed almost chimerical for the archæologist to expect to regain to any extent a knowledge of the conditions and circumstances of man, and of the different nations of men, before human cunning had learned to collect and inscribe them on stone or brass, or had fashioned them into written or traditional records capable of being safely floated down the stream of time. But the modern history of Archæology, as well as the analogies of other allied pursuits, are totally against any such hopeless views.

Almost within the lifetime of some who are still amongst us, there has sprung up and been cultivated—and cultivated most successfully too—a science which has no written documents or legible inscriptions to guide it on its path, and whose researches are far more ancient in their object than the researches of Archæology. Its subject is an antiquity greatly older than human antiquity. It deals with the state of the earth and of the inhabitants of the earth in times immeasurably beyond the earliest times studied by the antiquary. In the course of its investigations it has recovered many strange stories and marvellous chronicles of the

world and of its living occupants—long, long ages before human antiquity even began. But if Geology has thus successfully restored to us long and important chapters in the pre-Adamite annals of the world's history, need Archæology despair of yet deciphering and reading—ininitely more clearly than it has yet done—that far later episode in the drama of the past which opens with the appearance of man as a denizen of earth. The modes of investigating these two allied and almost continuous sciences—Geology and Archæology—are the same in principle, however much the two sciences themselves may differ in detail. And if Geology, in its efforts to regain the records of the past state of animal and vegetable life upon the surface of the earth, has attractions which bind the votaries of it to its ardent study, surely Archæology has equal, if not stronger claims to urge in its own behoof and favour. To the human mind the study of those relics by which the archæologist tries to recover and reconstruct the history of the past races and nations of man, should naturally form as engrossing a topic, as the study of those relics by which the geologist tries to regain the history of the past races and families of the *fauna* and *flora* of the ancient world. Surely, as a mere matter of scientific pursuit, the ancient or fossil states of man should—for man himself—have attractions as great, at least, as the ancient or fossil states of plants and animals; and the old Celt, or Pict, or Saxon, be as interesting a study as the old *Lepidodendron* or *Ichthyosaurus*.

Formerly, the pursuit of Archæology was not unfrequently regarded as a kind of romantic diletanteism, as a collecting together of meaningless antique relics and oddities, as a greedy hoarding and storing up of rubbish and frivolities that were fit only for an old curiosity shop, and that were valued merely because they were old;—while the essays and writings of the antiquary were looked down upon as disquisitions upon very profitless conjectures, and very solemn trivialities. Perhaps the objects and method in which antiquarian studies were formerly pursued afforded only too much ground for such accusations. But all this is now, in a great measure, entirely changed. Archæology, as tempered and directed by the philosophic spirit, and quickened with the life and energy of the nineteenth century, is a very different pursuit from the Archæology of our forefathers, and has as little relation to their antiquarianism as modern Chemistry and modern Astronomy have to their

former prototypes—Alchemy and Astrology. In proof of this, I may confidently appeal to the good work which Archæology has done, and the great advances which it has struck out in different directions within the last fifty years. Within this brief period it has made discoveries, perhaps in themselves of as momentous and marvellous a character as those of which any other modern science can boast. Let me cite two or three instances in illustration of this remark.

Dating, then, from the commencement of the present century, Archæology has—amidst its other work—rediscovered, through the interpretation of the Rosetta-stone, the long-lost hieroglyphic language of Egypt, and has thus found a key by which it has begun—but only as yet begun—to unlock the rich treasure-stores of ancient knowledge which have for ages lain concealed among the monuments and records scattered along the valley of the Nile. It has copied, by the aid of the telescope, the trilingual arrow-headed inscriptions written 300 feet high upon the face of the rocks of Behistun; and though the alphabets and the languages in which these long inscriptions were “graven, with a pen of iron and lead upon the rocks for ever,” had been long dead and unknown, yet, by a kind of philological divination, Archæology has exorcised and resuscitated both; and from these dumb stones, and from the analogous inscriptions of Van, Elwand, Persepolis, &c., it has evoked official gazettes and royal contemporaneous annals of the deeds and dominions of Darius, Xerxes, and other Persian kings. By a similar almost talismanic power and process, it has forced the engraved cylinders, bricks, and obelisks of the old cities of Chaldea and Babylonia—as those of Wurka, Niffer, Muqueyer, &c.—to repeat over again to this present generation of men the names of the ancient founders of their public buildings, and the wars and exploits of their ancient monarchs. It has searched among the shapeless mounds on the banks of the Tigris, and after removing the shroud of earth and rubbish under which “Nineveh the Great” had there lain entombed for ages, it has brought back once more to light the riches of the architecture and sculptures of the palaces of that renowned city, and shown the advanced knowledge of Assyria—some thirty long centuries ago—in mechanics and engineering, in working and inlaying with metals, in the construction of the optical lens, in the manufactory of pottery and glass, and in most other matters of material civilisation. It

has lately, by these and other discoveries in the East, confirmed in many interesting points, and confuted in none, the truth of the Biblical records. It has found, for instance, every city in Palestine and the neighbouring kingdoms whose special and precise doom was pronounced by the sure word of Prophecy, showing the exact state foretold of them twenty or thirty centuries ago,—as Askelon tenantless, the site of ancient Gaza “bald,” old Tyre “scraped” up, and Samaria with its foundations exposed, and its “stones poured down in heaps” into the valley below. It has further, within the last few years, stolen into the deserts of the Hauran through the old vigilant guard formed around that region by the Bedouin Arabs, and there—(as if in startling contradiction to the dead and buried cities of Syria, &c.)—it has—as was equally predicted—discovered the numerous cyclopic cities of Bashan standing perfect and entire, yet “desolate and without any to dwell therein,”—cities wrapped, as it were, in a state of mortal trance, and patiently awaiting the prophesied period of their future revival and rehabilitation; some of them of great size, as Um-el-Jemâl (probably the Beth-gamul of Scripture), a city covering as large a space as Jerusalem, with its high and massive basaltic town walls, its squares, its public buildings, its paved streets, and its houses with their rooms, stairs, revolving and frequently sculptured stone-doors, all nearly as complete and unbroken, as if its old inhabitants had only deserted it yesterday. Again, from another and more distant part of the East,—from the plains of India,—Archæology has recently brought to Europe, and at an English press, printed for the first time upwards of 1000 of the sacred hymns of the Rig-Veda, the most ancient literary work of the Aryan or Indo-European race of mankind; for, according to the calm judgment of our ripest Sanskrit scholars, these hymns were composed before Homer sung of the wrath of Achilles; and they are further remarkable, on this account, that they seem to have been transmitted down for upwards of 3000 years by oral tradition alone—the Brahmin priests up to the present day still spending—as Cæsar tells us the old Druidical priests of Gaul spent—twelve, twenty, or more years of their lives, in learning by heart these sacred lays and themes, and then teaching them in turn to their pupils and successors.

The notices of antiquarian progress in modern times that I have hitherto alluded to refer to other continents than our own. But since

the commencement of the present century, Archæology has been equally active in Europe. It has, by its recent devoted study of the old works of art belonging to Greece, shown that in many respects a livelier and more familiar knowledge of the ancient inhabitants of that classic land is to be derived from the contemplation of their remaining statues, sculptures, gems, medals, coins, &c., than by any amount of mere school-grinding at Greek words and Greek quantities. It has recovered at the same time some interesting objects connected with ancient Grecian history; having, for example, during the occupation of Constantinople in 1854 by the armies of England and France, laid bare to its base and carefully copied the inscription engraved, some twenty-three centuries ago, upon the brazen stand of the famous tripod which was dedicated by the confederate Greeks to Apollo at Delphi, after the defeat of the Persian host at Platea, —an inscription that Herodotus himself speaks of, and by which, indeed, the Father of History seems to have authenticated his own battle-roll of the Greek combatants. Archæology has busied itself also, particularly of late years, in disinterring the ruins of numerous old Roman villas, towns, and cities in Italy, in France, in Britain, and in the other western colonies of Rome; and by this measure it has gained for us a clearer and nearer insight into every-day Roman life and habits, than all the wealth of classic literature supplies us with. Though perfectly acquainted with the Etruscan alphabet, it has hitherto utterly failed to read a single line of the numerous inscriptions found in Etruria, but yet among the unwritten records and relics of the towns and tombs of that ancient kingdom, it has recovered a wonderfully complete knowledge of the manners, and habits, and faith of a great and prosperous nation, which—located in the central districts of Italy—was already far advanced in civilisation and refinement long before that epoch when Romulus is fabled to have drawn around the Palatine the first boundary line of the infant city which was destined to become the mistress of the world. Latterly, among all the western and northern countries of Europe, in Germany, in Scandinavia, in Denmark, in France, and in the British Islands, Archæology has made many careful and valuable collections of the numerous and diversified implements, weapons, &c., of the aboriginal inhabitants of these parts, and traced by them the stratifications, as it were, of progress and civilisation, by which our primæval ancestors successively passed upwards through the varying

eras and stages of advancement from their first struggles in the battle-of-life with tools of stone, and flint, and bone alone, till they discovered and applied the use of metals in the arts alike of peace and war; from those distant ages in which, dressed in the skins of animals, they wore ornaments made of sea-shells and jet, till the times when they learned to plait and weave dresses of hair, wool, and other fibres, and adorned their chiefs with torcs and armlets of bronze, silver, and gold. Archæology also has sought out and studied the strongholds and forts, the land and lake habitations of these, our primæval Celtic, and Teutonic forefathers;—and has discovered among their ruins many interesting specimens of the implements they used, the dresses that they wore, the houses they inhabited, and the very food they fed upon. It has descended also into their sepulchres and tombs, and there—among the mysterious contents of their graves, and cinerary urns—it has found revealed many other wondrous proofs of their habits and condition during this life, as well as of their creeds and faith in regard to a future state of existence.

By the aid of that new and most powerful ally, Comparative Philology, Archæology has lately made other great advances. By proofs exactly of the same linguistic kind as those by which the modern Spanish, French, and other Latin dialects can be shown to have all radiated from Rome as their centre, the old traditions of the eastern origin of all the chief nations of Europe have been proved to be fundamentally true; for by evidence so “irrefragable” (to use the expression of the Taylorian professor of modern languages at Oxford), that “not an English jury could now-a-days reject it,” Philological Archæology has shown that of the three great families of mankind—the Semitic, the Turanian, and the Aryan—this last, the Aryan, Japhetic, or Indo-European race, had its chief home about the centre of Western Asia;—that betimes there issued thence from its paternal hearths, and wended their way southward, human swarms that formed the nations of Persia and Hindustan;—that at distant and different, and in some cases earlier periods, there hived off from the same parental stock other waves of population, which wandered westward, and formed successively the European nations of the Celts, the Teutons, the Italians, the Greeks, and the Slaves;—and that while each exodus of this western emigration, which followed in the wake of

its fellow, drove its earliest predecessor before it in a general direction further and further towards the setting sun, at the same time some aboriginal, and probably Turanian races, which previously inhabited portions of Europe, were gradually pushed and pressed aside and upwards by the more powerful and encroaching Aryans into districts either so sterile or so mountainous and strong, that it was too worthless or too difficult to follow them further—their remnants being represented at the present day by the Laps, the Basques, and the Esths. Philological Archæology has further demonstrated that the vast populations which now stretch from the mouth of the Ganges to the Pentland Firth,—sprung, as they are, with a few exceptions only, from the same primitive Aryan stock,—all use words which, though phonetically changed, are radically identical for many matters, as for the nearest relationships of family life, for the naming of domestic animals, and other common objects. Some of these archaic words indicate, by their hoary antiquity, the original pastoral employment and character of those that formed the parental stock in our old original Asiatic home; the special term, for example (the “pasu” of the old Sanskrit or Zend), which signified “private” property among the Aryans, and which we now use under the English modifications, “peculiar” and “pecuniary”—primarily meaning “flocks,”*—the Sanskrit word for Protector, and ultimately for the king himself, “go-pa,” being the old word for cowherd, and consecutively for chief herdsman, while the endearing name of “daughter” (the *duhitar* of the Sanskrit, the *θυγάτηρ* of the Greek), as applied in the leading Indo-European languages to the female children of our households, is derived from a verb which shows the original signification of the appellation to have been the “milker” of the cows. At the same time, the most ancient mythologies and superstitions, and apparently even the legends and traditions of the various and diversified Indo-European races appear also, the more they are examined, to betray more and more of a common parentage. Briefly and in truth, then, Philological Archæology proves that the Saxon and the Persian, the Scandinavian and the Greek, the Iclander

* As an illustration of this primitive pastoral idea of wealth, Dr Livingstone told me, that on more than one occasion, when Africans were discoursing with him on the riches of his own country and his own chiefs at home, he was asked the searching and rather puzzling question, “But how many cows has the Queen of England?”

and the Italian, the fair-skinned Scottish Highlander, and his late foe, the swarthy Bengalee, are all distant, very distant, cousins, whose ancestors were brothers that parted company with each other long, long ages ago, on the plains of Iran. That the ancestors of these different races originally lived together on these Asiatic plains "within the same fences, and separate from the ancestors of the Semitic and Turanian races," is (to quote the words of Max Müller) "a fact as firmly established as that the Normans of William the Conqueror were the Northmen of Scandinavia.

Lastly, to close this too long, and yet too rapid and imperfect sketch of some of the work performed by modern inductive Archæology, let me merely here add,—for the matter is too important to omit,—that, principally since the commencement of this century, Archæology has sedulously sat down among the old and forbidding stores of musty, and often nearly illegible manuscripts, charters, cartularies, records, letters, and other written documents, that have been accumulating for hundreds of years in the public and private collections of Europe, and has most patiently and laboriously culled from them annals and facts having the most direct and momentous bearing upon the acts and thoughts of our mediæval forefathers, and upon the events and persons of these mediæval times. By means of this last type of work, the researches of the antiquary have to a wonderful degree both purified and extended the history of this and of the other kingdoms of Europe. These researches have further, and in an especial manner, thrown a new flood of light upon the inner and domestic life of our ancestors, and particularly upon the conditions of the middle and lower grades of society in former times,—objects ever of primary moment to the researches of Archæology in its services as the workman and the pioneer of history. For, truly, human history, as it has been hitherto usually composed, has been too often written as if human chronicles ought to detail only the deeds of camps and courts—as if the number of men murdered on particular battle-fields, and the intrigues and treasons perpetrated in royal and lordly antechambers, were the sum total of actual knowledge which it was of any moment to transmit from one generation of men to another. In gathering, however, from the records of the past his materials for the true philosophy of history, the archæologist finds,—and is now teaching the public to find,—as great an attraction in studying the arts of peace as in studying the

arts of war ; for in his eyes the life and thoughts and faith of the merchant, and craftsman, and churl, are as important as those of the knight, and nobleman, and prince—with him the peasant is as grand and as genuine a piece of antiquity as the king.

Small in extent, scant in population, and spare in purse, as Scotland confessedly is, yet, in the cultivation of Archæology she has in these modern times by no means lagged behind the other and greater kingdoms of Europe. This observation is attested by the rich and valuable Museum of Scottish antiquities which this Society has gathered together—a Museum which, exclusively of its large collection of foreign coins, now numbers above 7000 specimens, for nearly 1000 of which we stand indebted to the enlightened zeal and patriotic munificence of one Scottish gentleman, Mr A. Henry Rhind of Sibster. The same fact is attested also by the highly valuable character of the systematic works on Scottish Archæology which have been published of late years by some of our colleagues, such as the masterly “Pre-historic Annals of Scotland,” by Professor Daniel Wilson ; the admirable volume on “Scotland in the Middle Ages,” by Professor Cosmo Innes ; and the delightful “Domestic Annals of Scotland,” by Mr Robert Chambers. The essays also, and monographs on individual subjects in Scottish Archæology, published by Mr Laing, Lord Neaves, Mr Skene, Mr Stuart, Mr Robertson, Mr Fraser, Captain Thomas, Mr Burton, Mr Napier, Mr M’Kinlay, Mr M’Lauchlan, Dr Wise, Dr J. A. Smith, Mr Drummond, &c., all strongly prove the solid and successful interest which the subject of Scottish Archæology has in recent times created in this city. The recent excellent town and county histories published by Dr Peter Chalmers, Messrs Irving, Jeffrey, Jervise, Pratt, Black, Miller, &c., afford evidences to the same effect. Nor can I forget in such an enumeration the two complete “Statistical Accounts of Scotland.” But if I were asked to name any one circumstance, as proving more than another the attention lately awakened among our countrymen by antiquarian inquiries, I would point, with true patriotic pride, to the numerous olden manuscript chronicles of Scotland, of Scottish towns, and Scottish monasteries, institutions, families, and persons, which have been printed within the last forty years—almost all of them having been presented as free and spontaneous contributions to Scottish Archæology and History—by the members of the Bannatyne, the

Abbotsford, the Maitland, and the Spalding Clubs ; and the whole now forming a goodly series of works extending to not less than three hundred printed quarto volumes.

But let us not cheat and cozen ourselves into idleness and apathy by reflecting and rejoicing over what has been done. For, after all, the truth is that Scottish Archæology is still so much in its infancy, that it is only now beginning to guess its powers, and feel its deficiencies. It has still no end of lessons to learn, and perhaps some to unlearn, before it can manage to extract the true metal of knowledge from the ore and dross of exaggeration in which many of its inquiries have become enveloped. At this present hour, we virtually know far less of the Archæology and history of Scotland ten or fifteen centuries ago than we know of the Archæology and history of Etruria, Egypt, or Assyria, twenty-five or thirty centuries ago.

In order to obtain the light which is required to clear away the dark and heavy mists which thus obscure the early Archæology of Scotland, how should we proceed? In the pursuits and investigations of Archæology, as of other departments of science, there has never yet been, and never will be discovered any direct, railway, or royal road to the knowledge which we are anxious to gain, but which we are inevitably doomed to wait for and to work for. The different branches of science are Gordian knots, the threads of which we can only hope to unwind and evolve by cautious assiduity, and slow, patient industry. Their secrets cannot be summarily cut open and exposed by the sword of any son of Philip. But, in our day-dreams, it is not unpleasant sometimes to imagine the possibility of such a feat. It was, as we all know, very generally believed, in distant antiquarian times, that occasionally dead men could be induced to rise, and impart all sorts of otherwise unattainable information to the living. This creed, however, has not been limited to those ancient times, for, in our own days, many sane persons still profess to believe in the possibility of summoning the spirits of the departed from the other world back to this sublunary sphere. When they do so, they have always hitherto, as far as I have heard, encouraged these spirits to perform such silly juggling tricks, or requested them to answer such trivial and frivolous questions, as would seem to my humble apprehension to be almost insulting to the grim dignity and solemn character

of any respectable and intelligent ghost. If, like Owen Glendower, or Mr Home, I had the power to "call spirits from the vasty deep," and if the spirits answered the call, I—being a practical man—would fain make a practical use of their presence. Methinks I should feel grossly tempted, for example, to ask such of them as had the necessary foreknowledge, to rap out for me, in the first instance, the exact state of the English funds, or of the London stock and share-list, a week or a month hence; for such early information would, I opine,—if the spirits were true spirits,—be rather an expeditious and easy mode of filling my coffers, or the coffers of any man who had the good sense of plying these spiritual intelligences with one or two simple and useful questions. If, however, the spirits refused to answer such golden interrogatories as involving matters too mercenary and not sufficiently ghostly in their character, then I certainly should next ask them—and I would of course select very ancient spirits for the purpose—hosts of questions regarding the state of society, religion, the arts, &c., at the time when they themselves were living denizens of this earth. Suppose, for a moment, that our Secretaries, on summoning the next meeting of this Society, had the power of announcing in their billets that, by "some feat of magic mystery," a very select and intelligent deputation of ancient Britons and Caledonians, Picts, Celts, and Scots, and perhaps of Scottish Turanians, were to be present in our Museum—(certainly the most appropriate room in the kingdom for such a reunion)—for a short sederunt, somewhere between twilight and cockcrow, to answer any questions which the Fellows might choose to ply them with, what an excitement would such an announcement create! How eagerly would some of our Fellows look forward to the results of one or two such "Hours with the Mystics." And what a battery of quick questions would be levelled at the members of this deputation on all the endless problems involved in Scottish Archaeology. I think we may readily, and yet pretty certainly, conjecture a few of the questions, on our earlier antiquities alone, that would be put by various members that I might name; as:—

What is the signification of the so-called "crescent" and "spectacle" ornaments, and of the other unique symbols that are so common upon the 150 and odd ancient Sculptured Stones scattered over the north-eastern districts of Scotland?

What is the true reading of the old enigmatic inscriptions upon the Newton and St Vigean's stones, and of the Oghams on the stones of Logie, Brassay, Golspie, &c.?

Had Solinus Polyhistor, in the fourth century, any ground for stating that an ancient Ulyssean altar, written with Greek letters, existed in the recesses of Caledonia?

Who were Vetta, Victus, Memor, Loinedinus, Liberalis, Florentius, Mavorius, &c., whose names are recorded on the Romano-British monuments at Kirkliston, Yarrow, Kirkmadrine, &c., and what is the date of these monuments?

By what people was constructed the Devil's Dyke, which runs above fifty miles in length from Loch Ryan into Nithsdale?

When, and for what purpose, was the Catrail dug?

Was it on the line of the Catrail, or of the Roman wall between the Forth and Clyde, or on what other ground, that there was fought the great battle or siege of Cattræth or Kaltraez, which Aneurin sings of in his "Gododin," and where, among the ranks of the British combatants, were "three hundred and sixty-three chieftains wearing the golden torcs" (some specimens of which might yet perhaps be dug up on the battle-field by our Museum Committee, seeing three only of these chiefs escaped alive); and how was the "bewitching mead" brewed, that Aneurin tells us was far too freely partaken of by his British countrymen, before and during, this fierce struggle with the Saxon foe?

Is the poet Aneurin the same person as our earliest native prose historian Gildas, the two appellations being relatively the Cymric and Saxon names of the same individual? Or were they not two of the sons or descendants of Caw of Cwm Cawlwyd, that North British chief whose miraculous interview with St Cadoc near Bannawc (Stirlingshire?) is described in the life of that Welsh saint?

Of what family and rank was the poet—Merddin Wylt—or "Merlin the Wild," who, wearing the chieftain's golden torc, fought at the battle of Arderydd, about A.D. 573, against Rhydderch Hael, that king of Alcluith or Dumbarton, who was the friend of St Columba, and "the champion of the (Christian) faith," as Merlin himself styles him? And when that victory was apparently the direct means of establishing this Christian king upon the throne of Strathclyde, and the indirect means

which led to the recall of St Kentigern from St Asaph's to Glasgow, how is it that the Welsh Triads talk of it enigmatically as a battle for a lark's nest?

If Ossian is not a myth, when and where did he live and sing? Was he not an Irish Gael? And could any member of the deputation give us any accurate information about our old nursery giant friend Fingal or FinMac Coul? Was he really, after all, not greater, or larger, or any other, than simply a successful and reforming general in the army of King Cormac of Tara, and the son-in-law of that monarch of Ireland?

From what part of Pictland did King Cormac obtain, in the third century, the skilled mill-wright, Mac Lamha, to build for him that first water-mill which he erected in Ireland, on one of the streams of Tara? And is it true, as some genealogists in this earthly world believe, that the lineal descendants of this Scottish or Pictish mill-wright are still millers on the reputed site of this original Irish water-mill?

The apostate Picts (*Picti apostati*), who along with the Scots are spoken of by St Patrick in his famous letter against Caroticus, as having bought for slaves some of the Christian converts kidnapped and carried off by that chief from Ireland, were they inhabitants of Galloway, or of our more northern districts? And was the Irish sea not very frequently a "middle passage" in these early days, across which St Patrick himself and many others were carried from their native homes and sold into slavery?

Was it a Pictish or Scottish, a British or a Roman architect that built "Julius' howff," at Stenhouse (*Stone-house*) on the Carron, and what was its use and object?

Were our numerous "weems," or underground houses, really used as human abodes, and were they actually so very dark, that when one of the inmates ventured on a joke, he was obliged—as suggested by "Elia"—to handle his neighbour's cheek to feel if there was any resulting smile playing upon it?

When, and by whom were reared the Titanic stone-works on the White Caterthun, and the formidable stone and earth forts and walls on the Brown Caterthun, on Dunsinane, on Barra, on the Barmekyn of Echt, on Dunnichen, on Dunpender, and on the tops of hundreds of other hills in Scotland?

How, and when, were our Vitriified Forts built? Was the vitrification

of the walls accidental, or was it not rather intentional, as most of us now believe? In particular, who first constructed, and who last occupied the remarkable Vitrified Forts of Finhaven in Angus, and of the hill of Noath in Strathbogie? Was not the Vitrified Fort of Craig-Phadric, near Inverness, the residence of King Brude, the son of Meilochon, in the sixth century; and if so, is it true, as stated in the Irish Life of St Columba, that its gates were provided with iron locks?

When, by whom, and for what object, were the moats of Urr, Hawick, Lincluden, Biggar, and our other great circular earth mounds of the same kind, constructed? Were they used for judicial and legal purposes, like the old Things of Scandinavia; and as the Tinwald Mount in the Island of Man is used to this day? And were not some of them military or sepulchral works?

Who fashioned the terraces at Newlands in Tweeddale; and what was the origin of the many hillside terraces scattered over the country?

What is the age of the rock-caves of Ancrum, Hawthornden, &c., and were they primarily used as human habitations?

The sea-cave at Aldham on the Forth, found—when opened in 1831—with its paved floor strewn with charred wood, animal bones, limpet-shells,—and apparently with a rock-altar at its mouth, having its top marked with fire, ashes adhering to its side, and two infants' skeletons lying at its base—was it a human habitation, or a Pagan temple?

What races sleep in the chambered barrows and cairns of Clava, Yarrows, Broigar, and in the many other similar old Scottish cities and houses of the dead?

By whom and for what purpose or purposes were the megalithic circles at Stennis, Callernish, Leys, Ach-na-clach, Crichtie, Kennethmont, Midmar, Dyce, Kirkmichael, Deer, Kirkbean, Lochrutton, Torhouse, &c. &c., reared?

What were the leading peculiarities in the religious creed, faith, and festivals of Broichan and the other Caledonian or Pictish Magi before the introduction of Christianity?

When Coifi, the pagan high-priest of Edwin, the king of Northumbria and the Lothians, was converted to Christianity by Paulinus, in A.D. 627, he destroyed, according to Bede, the heathen idols, and set fire to the heathen temples and altars; but what was the structure of the pagan

temples here in these days, that he could burn them,—while at the same time they were so uninclosed, that men on horseback could ride into them, as Coifi himself did after he had thrown in the desecrating spear?

Was not our city named after this Northumbrian Bretwalda, “Edwin’s-burgh?” Or was the Eiddyn of which Aneurin speaks before the time of Edwin, and the Dinas Eiddyn that was one of the chief seats of Llewddyn Lueddog (Lew or Loth), the grandfather of St Kentigern or Mungo of Glasgow, really our own Dun Edin? Or if the Welsh term “Dinas” does not necessarily imply the high or elevated position of the place, was it Caer Eden (Cariden, or Blackness), at the eastern end of the Roman Wall, on the banks of the Forth?

Did our venerable castle-rock obtain the Welsh name of Din or Dun Monaidh, from its being “the fortress of the hill,” and was its other Cymric appellation Agnedh, connected with its ever having been given as a marriage-portion (Agwedh)? Or did its old name of Maiden Castle, or Castrum Puellarum, not rather originate in its olden use as a female prison, or as a school, or a nunnery?

And is it true, as asserted by Conchubhranus, that the Irish lady Saint, Darerca or Monnine, founded, late in the fifth century, seven churches (or nunneries?) in Scotland, on the hills of Dun Edin, Dumbarton, Stirling, Duncpelder, and Dundevenal, at Lanfortin near Dundee, and at Chilnacase in Galloway?

When, and by whom, were the Round Towers of Abernethy, Brechin, and Eglishay built? Were there not in Scotland or its islands other such “*turres rotundae mirâ arte constructae*,” to borrow the phrase of Hector Boece regarding the Brechin Tower?

If St Patrick was, as some of his earliest biographers aver, a Strathclyde Briton, born about A.D. 387 at Nempthur (Nemphlar, on the Clyde?) and his father Calphurnius was, as St Patrick himself states in his Confession, a deacon, and his grandfather Potitus a priest, then he belonged to a family two generations of which were already office-bearers in Scotland in the Christian Church;—but were there many, or any such families in Scotland before St Ninian built his stone church at Withern about A.D. 397, or St Palladius, the missionary of Pope Celestine, died about A.D. 431, in the Mearns? And was it a mere rhetorical flourish, or was there some foundation for the strong and distinct averment of the

Latin father Tertullian, that, when he wrote, about the time of the invasion of Scotland by Severus (*circa* A.D. 210), there were places in Britain beyond the limits of the Roman sway already subject to Christ?

When Dion Cassius describes this invasion of Scotland by Severus, and the Roman Emperor's loss of 50,000 men in the campaign, does he not indulge in "travellers' tales," when he further avers that our Caledonian ancestors were such votaries of hydropathy that they could stand in their marshes immersed up to the neck in water for live-long days, and had a kind of prepared homœopathic food, the eating of a piece of which, the size of a bean, entirely prevented all hunger and thirst?

Cæsar tells us that dying the skin blue with woad was a practice common among our British ancestors some 1900 years ago;—are Claudian and Herodian equally correct in describing the very name of Picts as being derived from a system of painting or tattooing the skin, that was in their time as fashionable among some of our Scottish forefathers, as it is in our time in New Zealand, and among the Polynesians?

According to Cæsar, the Britons wore a moustache on the upper lip, but shaved the rest of the beard; and the sole stone—fortunately a fragment of ancient sculpture—which has been saved from the ruins of the old capital of the Picts at Forteviot, shows a similar practice among them. But what did they shave with? Were their razors of bronze, or iron, or steel? And where, and by whom, were they manufactured?

Was the state of civilisation and of the arts among the Caledonians, when Agricola invaded them, about A.D. 80 or 81, as backward as some authorities have imagined, seeing that they were already so skilled in, for example, the metallurgic arts, as to be able to construct, for the purposes of war,—chariots, and consequently chariot-wheels, long swords, darts, targets, &c.?

As the swords of the Caledonians in the first century were, according to Tacitus, long, large, and blunt at the point, and hence in all probability made of iron, whence came the sharp-pointed, leaf-shaped bronze swords so often found in Scotland, and what is the place and date of their manufacture? Were they earlier? And what is the real origin of the large accumulation of spears and other instruments of bronze, some whole, and others twisted, as if half-melted with heat, which, with human bones, deer and elk-horns, were dredged up from Duddingston

Loch about eighty years ago, and constituted, it may be said, the foundation of our Museum? Was there an ancient bronze smith-shop in the neighbourhood; or were these not rather the relics of a burned crannoge that had formerly existed in this lake, within two miles of the future metropolis of Scotland?

Could the deputation inform us where we might find, buried and concealed in our muirs or mosses, and obtain for our Museum some interesting antiquarian objects which we sadly covet—such as a specimen or two, for instance, of those Caledonian spears described by Dion, that had a brazen apple, sounding when struck, attached to their lower extremity? or one of those statues of Mercury that, Cæsar says, were common among the Western Druids? or one of the *covini* mentioned by Tacitus—for we are anxious to know if its wheels were of iron or bronze; how these wheels made, as Cæsar tells us the wheels of the British war-chariots made, a loud noise in running; and whether or not they had, as some authorities maintain, scythes or long swords affixed to their axles)? or where we might dig up another specimen of such ancient and engraved silver armour as was some years ago discovered at Norrie's Law, in Fife, and unfortunately melted down by the jeweller at Cupar? or could any of the deputation refer us to any spot where we might have a good chance of finding a concealed example of such glass goblets as were, according to Adamnan, to be met with in the royal palace of Brude, king of the Picts, when St Columba visited him, in A.D. 563, in his royal fort and hall (*munitio, aula regalis*) on the banks of the Ness?

Whence came King "Cruithne," with his seven sons, and the Picts? Were they of Gothic descent and tongue, as Mr Jonathan Oldbuck maintained in rather a notorious dispute in the parlour at Monkbarrow? or were they "genuine Celtic," as Sir Arthur Wardour argued so stoutly on the same memorable occasion?

Were the first Irish or Dalriadic Gæidhil or Scots who took possession of Argyll (i.e., Airer-Gæidheal, or the district of the Gæidhel), and who subsequently gave the name of Scotland to the whole kingdom, the band of emigrants that crossed from Antrim about A.D. 506 under the leadership of Fergus and the other sons of Erc; or, as the name of "Scoti" recurs more than once in the old sparse notices of the tribes of the kingdom before this date, had not an antecedent colony, under Cairbre Riada,

as stated by Bede, already passed over and settled in Cantyre a century or two before?

Our Reformed British Parliament is still so archæological as to listen, many times each session, to Her Majesty, or Her Majesty's Commissioners, assenting to their bills, by pronouncing a sentence of old and obsolete Norman French—a memorial in its way of the Norman Conquest; and our State customs are so archæological that, when Her Majesty, and a long line of her illustrious predecessors, have been crowned in Westminster Abbey, the old Scottish coronation-stone, carried off in A.D. 1296 by Edward I. from Scone, and which had been previously used for centuries as the coronation-stone of the Scotie, and perhaps of the Irish, or even the Milesian race of kings, has been placed under their coronation-chair—playing still its own archaic part in this gorgeous state drama. But is this Scone or Westminster coronation-stone really and truly—as it is reputed to be by some Scottish historians—the famous *Lia Fail* of the kings of Ireland that various old Irish writings describe as formerly standing on the Hill of Tara, near the Mound of the Hostages? Or does not the *Lia Fail*—"the stone that roared under the feet of each king that took possession of the throne of Ireland"—remain still on Tara—(though latterly degraded to the office of a grave-stone)—as is suggested by the distinguished author of the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill? If any of our deputies from ghostdom formerly belonged to the court of Fergus MacErc, or originally sailed across with him in his fleet of *curachs*, perhaps they will be so good as tell us if in reality the royal or any other of the accompanying skin-canoes was ballasted then or subsequently with a sacred stone from Ireland, for the coronation of our first Dalriadic king; and especially would we wish it explained to us how such a precious monument as the *Lia Fail* of Tara was or could be smuggled away by such a small tribe as the Dalriadic Scots at first were? Perhaps it would be right and civil to tell the deputation at once that the truth is we are anxious to decide the knotty question as to whether the opinions of Edward I. or of Dr Petrie are the more correct in regard to this "Stone of Fate?" Or if King Edward was right politically, is Dr Petrie right archæologically in his views on this subject? In short, does the *Lia Fail* stand at the present day—as is generally believed—in the vicinity of the Royal Halls of Westminster, or in the vicinity of the Royal Halls of Tara?

What ancient people, destitute apparently of metal tools and of any knowledge of mortar, built the gigantic burgs or duns of Mousa, Hoxay, Glenelg, Carloway, Bragar, Kildonan, Farr, Rogart, Olrick, &c., with galleries and chambers in the thickness of their huge uncemented walls? Is it true, as the Irish bardic writers allege, that some of the race of the Firbolgs escaped, after the battle at one of the Moyturas, to the Western Islands and shores of Scotland, and that thence, after several centuries, they were expelled again by the Picts, after the commencement of the Christian era, and subsequently returned to the coast of Galway, and built, or rebuilt, there and then the great analogous burgs of Dun Ængus, Dun Conchobhair, &c., in the Irish isles of Aran?¹

What is the signification of those mysterious circles formed of diminishing concentric rings which are found engraved, sometimes on rocks outside an old aboriginal village or camp, as at Rowtin Lynn and Old Bewick; sometimes on the walls of underground chambers, as in the Holm of Papa Westray and in the island of Eday; sometimes on the walls of a chambered tumulus, as at Pickaquoy in Orkney; or on the interior of the lid of a kistvaen, as at Craigie Hill, near Edinburgh, and probably also at Coilsfield and Auchinlary; or on a so-called Druidical stone, as on "Long Meg" at Penrith?

Is it true that at a long past era—and, if so, at what era—our predecessors in this old Caledonia had nothing but tools and implements of stone, bone, and wood? Are there no gravel-beds in Scotland in which we could probably find large deposits of the celts and other stone weapons—with bored and worked deer-horns, of that distant stone-age—such as have been discovered on the banks of the Somme and the Loire in France? And were the people of that period in Scotland Celtic or pre-Celtic?

When the first wave of Celtic emigrants arrived in Scotland, did they not find a Turanian or Hamitic race already inhabiting it, and were those Scottish streams, lakes, &c., which bear, or have borne, in their composition the Euskarian word *Ura* (water)—as the rivers Urr, Orr, and Ury, lochs Ur, Urr, and Orr, Urr-quhart, Cath-Ures, Or-well, Or-rea, &c., named by these Turanian aborigines?

¹ As some confirmation of the views suggested in the preceding question, my friend Captain Thomas pointed out to me, after the address was given, that the name of the fort in St Kilda was, as stated by Martin and Macaulay, "Dun Fir-bholg."

We know that in Iona, ten or twelve centuries ago, Greek was written, though we do not know if the Iona library possessed—what Queen Mary had among the sixteen Greek volumes¹ in her library—a copy of Herodotus; but we are particularly anxious to ascertain if the story told by Herodotus of Rhampsinitus, and the robbery of his royal treasury by that “Shifty Lad” “the Master Thief,”² was in vogue as a popular tale among the Scottish Gaels or Britons in the oldest times? The tale is prevalent in different guises from India to Scotland and Scandinavia among the Aryans, or alleged descendants of Japhet; Herodotus heard it about twenty-three centuries ago in Egypt, and consequently (according, at least, to some high philologists), among the alleged descendants of Shem; and could any Scottish Turanians, as alleged descendants of Ham, in the deputation tell us whether the tale was also a favourite with them and their forefathers? For if so, then, in consonance with the usual reasoning on this and other popular tales, the story must have been known in the Ark itself, as the sons of Noah separated soon after leaving it, and yet all their descendants were acquainted with this legend. But have these and other such simple tales not originated in many different places, and among many different people, at different times; and have they not an appearance of similarity, merely because, in the course of their development, the earliest products of the human fancy, as well as of the human hand, are always more or less similar under similar circumstances?

Or perhaps, passing from more direct interrogatories, we might request some of the deputation to leave with us a retranslation of that famous letter preserved by Bede, which Abbot Ceolfrid addressed about A.D. 715 to Nectan III., King of the Picts, and which the venerable monk of Jarrow tells us was, immediately after its receipt by the Pictish King and court, carefully interpreted into their own language? or to be so good as write down a specimen of the Celtic or Pictish songs that happened to be most popular some twelve or fourteen centuries ago? or

¹ Including the works of Homer, Plato, Sophocles, &c. Her library catalogue shows also a goodly list of “Latyn Buikis,” and classica. In a letter to Cecil, dated St Andrews, 7th April 1562, Randolph incidentally states, that Queen Mary then read daily after dinner “somewhat of Livy” with George Buchanan.

² See these stories in Mr Dassent’s Norse Tales, and in Mr Campbell’s collection of the Popular Tales of the West Highlands.

describe to us the limits at different times of the kingdoms of the Strathclyde Britons and Northumbrians, and of the Picts and Dalriadic Scots? or fill up the sad gaps in Mr Innes' map of Scotland in the tenth century, containing, as it does, the names of one river only, and some thirteen Scottish church establishments and towns? or tell us where the "urbs Giudi" and the Pictish "Niduari" of Bede were placed, and why Ængus the Culdee speaks (about A.D. 800) of Cuilenross, or Culross, as placed in Strath-h-Irenn in the Comgalls, between Slieve-n-Ochil and the Sea of Giudan? or identify for us the true sites of the numerous rivers, tribes, divisions, and towns—or merely perhaps stockaded or rathered villages—which Ptolemy in the second century enters in his geographical description of North Britain? or particularise the precise bounds of the Meathæ and Attacotti, and of the two Pictish nations mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, namely, the Dicaledonæ and Vecturiones? or trace out for us the course of Agricola's campaigns in Scotland, especially marking the exact site of the great victory of the Mons Grampius, and thus deciding at once and for ever whether the two enormous cairns placed above the moor of Ardoch cover the remains of the 10,000 slain? or whether the battle was fought at Dealgin Ross, or at Findochs, or at Inverpeffery, or at Urie Hill in the Mearns, or at Mormond in Buchan, or at the "Kaim of Kinprunes?" which last locality, however, was, it must be confessed, rather summarily and decisively put out of Court some time ago by the strong personal evidence of Edie Ochiltree.

If these, and some thousand-and-one similar questions regarding the habits, arts, government, language, &c., of our Primæval and Mediæval Forefathers, could be at once summarily and satisfactorily answered by any power of "gramarye," then the present and the future Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland would be saved an incalculable amount of difficult investigation and hard work. But unfortunately I, for one at least, have no belief that any human power can either unsphere the spirits of the dead for a night's drawing-room amusement, or seduce the "wraiths" of our ancestors to "revisit the glimpses of the moon" even for such a loyal and patriotic object as the furtherance of Scottish Archæology. Nevertheless I doubt not, at the same time, that many of these supposed questions on the dark points of Scottish antiquities will yet betimes be

answered more or less satisfactorily. But the answers, if ever obtained, will be obtained by no kind of magic except the magic of accumulated observations, and strict stern facts;—by no necromancy except the necromancy of the cautious combination, comparison, and generalisation of these facts;—by no enchantment, in short, except that special form of enchantment for the advancement of every science which the mighty and potent wizard—Francis Bacon—taught to his fellow-men, when he taught them the spell-like powers of the inductive philosophy.

The data and facts which Scottish antiquaries require to seek out and accumulate for the future furtherance of Scottish Archæology, lie in many a different direction, waiting and hiding for our search after them. On some few subjects the search has already been keen, and the success correspondingly great. Let me specify one or two instances in illustration of this remark.

As a memorable example, and as a perfect Baconian model for analogous investigations on other corresponding topics—in the way of the full and careful accumulation of all ascertainable premises and data before venturing to dogmatize upon them—let me point to the admirable work of Mr Stuart on the Sculptured Stones of Scotland—an almost national work, which, according to Mr Westwood (the highest living authority on such a subject), is “one of the most remarkable contributions to Archæology which has ever been published in this or any other country.”

“Crannoges”—those curious lake-habitations, built on piles of wood, or stockaded islands,—that Herodotus describes in lake Prasias, five or six centuries before the Christian era, constituting dwellings there which were then impregnable to all the military resources of a Persian army,—that Hippocrates tells us were also the types of habitation employed in his day by the Phasians, who sailed to them in single-tree canoes,—that in the same form of houses erected upon tall wooden piles, are still used at the present day as a favourite description of dwelling in the creeks and rivers running into the Straits of Malacca, and on the coasts of Borneo and New Guinea, &c., and the ruins of which have been found in numerous lakes in Ireland, England, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, &c.;—Crannoges, I say, have been searched for and found also in various lochs in our own country; and the many curious data ascertained with regard to them in Scotland will be given in the next volume of our Society’s proceedings

by Mr Joseph Robertson, a gentlemen whom we all delight to acknowledge as pre-eminently entitled to wield amongst us the pen of the teacher and master in this as in other departments of Scottish antiquities.

Most extensive architectural data, sketches, and measurements regarding many of the remains of our oldest ecclesiastical buildings in Scotland (including some early Irish Churches, with stone roofs and Egyptian doors, that still stand nearly entire in the seclusion of our Western Islands), have been collated by the indomitable perseverance and industry of Mr Muir; and when the work which that most able ecclesiologist has now in the press is published, a great step will doubtless be made in this neglected department of Scottish antiquities.

In addition, however, to the assiduous collection of all ascertainable facts regarding the existing remains of our sculptured stones, our crannoges, and our early ecclesiastical buildings, there are many other departments of Scottish antiquities urgently demanding, at the hands of the numerous zealous antiquaries scattered over the country, full descriptions and accurate drawings of such vestiges of them as are still left—as, for example :—

- I. Our ancient Hill-Forts of Stone and Earth.
- II. Our old cyclopic Burgs and Duns.
- III. Our primæval Towns, Villages, and Rathes.
- IV. Our Weems or Underground Houses.
- V. Our pagan sepulchral Barrows, Cairns, and Cromlechs.
- VI. Our Megalithic Circles and Monoliths.
- VII. Our early Inscribed Stones; &c. &c.

Good and trustworthy accounts of individual specimens, or groups of specimens, of most of these classes of antiquities, have been already published in our Transactions and Proceedings, and elsewhere. But Scottish Archæology requires of its votaries as large and exhaustive a collection as possible, with accurate descriptions, and, when possible, with photographs or drawings—or mayhap with models (which we greatly lack for our Museum)—of all the discoverable forms of each class; as of all the varieties of ancient hill-strongholds; all the varieties of our underground weems, &c. The necessary collection of all ascertainable types, and instances of some of these classes of antiquities, will be, no doubt, a task of much labour and time, and will in most instances require the com-

bined efforts of many, and zealous workers. This Society will be ever thankful to any members who will contribute even one or two stones to the required heap. But all past experience has shown that it is useless, and generally even hurtful, to attempt to frame hypotheses upon one, or even upon a few specimens only. In Archæology, as in other sciences, we must have full and accurate premises before we can hope to make full and accurate deductions. It is needless and hopeless for us to expect clear, correct, and philosophic views of the character and of the date and age of such archæological objects as I have enumerated, except by following the triple process of (1) assiduously collecting together as many instances as possible of each class of our antiquities; (2) carefully comparing these instances with each other, so as to ascertain all their resemblances and differences; and (3) contrasting them with similar remains in other cognate countries, where—in some instances, perhaps—there may exist, what possibly is wanting with us, the light of written history to guide us in elucidating the special subjects that may happen to be engaging our investigations—ever remembering that our Scottish Archæology is but a small, a very small segment of the general circle of the Archæology of Europe and of the World.

The same remarks which I have just ventured to make, as to the proper mode of investigating the classes of our larger archæological subjects, hold equally true also of those other classes of antiquities of a lighter and more portable type, which we have collected in our museums; such, for instance, as the ancient domestic tools, instruments, personal ornaments, weapons, &c., of stone, flint, bone, bronze, iron, silver, and gold, which our ancestors used; the clay and bronze vessels which they employed in cooking and carrying their food; the handmills with which they ground their corn; the whorls and distaffs with which they span, and the stuff and garments spun by them, &c. &c. It is only by collecting, combining, and comparing all the individual instances of each antiquarian object of this kind—all ascertainable specimens, for example, of our Scottish stone celts and knives; all ascertainable specimens of our clay vessels; of our leaf-shaped swords; of our metallic armlets; of our grain-rubbers and stone-querns, &c. &c.;—and by tracing the history of similar objects in other allied countries, that we will read aright the tales which these relics—when once properly interrogated—are capable of tell-

ing us of the doings, the habits, and the thoughts of our distant predecessors.

It is on this same broad and great ground—of the indispensable necessity of a large and perfect collection of individual specimens of all kinds of antiquities for safe, sure, and successful deduction—that we plead for the accumulation of antiquarian objects in our own or in other public antiquarian collections. And in thus pleading with the Scottish public for the augmentation and enrichment of our Museum, by donations of all kinds, however slight and trivial they may seem to the donors, we plead for what is not any longer the property of this Society, but what is now the property of the nation. The Museum has been gifted over by the Society of Antiquaries to the Government—it now belongs, not to us, but to Scotland—and we unhesitatingly call upon every true-hearted Scotsman to contribute, whenever it is in his power, to the extension of this Museum, as the best record and collection of the ancient archæological and historical memorials of our native land. We call for such a central general ingathering, and repository of Scottish antiquities for another reason. Single specimens and examples of archæological relics are in the hands of a private individual generally nought but mere matters of idle curiosity and wild conjecture; while all of them become of use, and sometimes of great moment, when placed in a public collection beside their fellows. Like stray single words or letters that have dropt from out the Book of Time, they themselves, individually, reveal nothing, but when placed alongside of other words and letters from the same book, they gradually form—under the fingers of the archæologist—into lines, and sentences, and paragraphs, which reveal secret and stirring legends of the workings of the human mind, and human hand, in ages of which, perchance, we have no other existing memorials.

In attempting to read the cypher of these legends aright, let us guard against one fault which was unfortunately too often committed in former days, and which is perhaps sometimes committed still. Let us not fall into the mistake of fancying that everything antiquarian, which we do not see at first sight the exact use of, must necessarily be something very mysterious. Old distaff-whorls, armlets, &c., have, in this illogical spirit, been sometimes described as Druidical amulets and talismen; ornamented rings and bosses from the ancient rich Celtic horse-harness, discovered in

sepulchral barrows, have been published as Druidical astronomical instruments ; and in the last century some columnar rock arrangement in Orkney was gravely adduced by Toland as a Druidical pavement. It is this craving after the mysterious, this reprehensible irrationalism, that has brought, indeed, the whole subject of Druidism into much modern contempt with many archæologists. No doubt Druidism is a most interesting and a most important subject for due and calm investigation, and the facts handed down to us in regard to it by Cæsar, Diodorus, Mela, Strabo, Pliny, and other classic and hagiological authors, are full of the gravest archæological bearings ; but no doubt also many antiquarian relics, both large and small, have been provokingly called Druidical, merely because their origin and object were unknown. We have not, for instance, a particle of direct evidence for the too common belief that our stone circles were temples which the Druids used for worship ; or that our cromlechs were their sacrificial altars. In fact, formerly the equanimity of the old theoretical class of archæologists was disturbed by these leviathan notions about Druids and Druidesses as much as the marine zoology of the poor sailor was long disturbed by his leviathian notions about sea-serpents and mermaids.

In our archæological inquiries into the probable uses and import of all doubtful articles in our museums or elsewhere, let us proceed upon a plan of the very opposite kind. Let us, like the geologists, try always, when working with such problems, to understand the past by reasoning from the present. Let us study backwards from the known to the unknown. In this way we can easily come to understand, for example, how our ancestors made those single-tree canoes, which have been found so often in Scotland, by observing how the Red Indian, partly by fire and partly by the hatchet, makes his analogous canoe at the present day ; how our flint arrows were manufactured, when we see the process by which the present Esquimaux manufactures his ; how our predecessors fixed and used their stone knives and hatchets, when we see how the Polynesian fixes and uses his stone knives and hatchets now ; how, in short, matters sped in respect to household economy, dress, work, and war, in this old Caledonia of ours, during even the so-called Stone Age, when we reflect upon and study the modes in which matters are conducted in that new Caledonia in the Pacific—the inhabitants of which knew nothing of

metals till they came in contact with Europeans, not many long years ago; how in long past days hand and home-made clay vessels were the chief or only vessels used for cooking and all culinary purposes, seeing that in one or two parts of the Hebrides this is actually the state of matters still.

The collection of home-made pottery on the table—glazed with milk—is the latest contribution to our Museum. It was recently brought up, by Captain Thomas and Dr Mitchell, from the parish of Barvas, in the Lewis. These “craggans,” jars, or bowls, and other culinary dishes, are certainly specimens of the ceramic art in its most primitive state;—they are as rude as the rudest of our old cinerary urns; and yet they constitute, in the places in which they were made and used, the principal cooking, dyeing, and household vessels possessed by some of our fellow-countrymen in this the nineteenth century.¹ In the adjoining parish of Uig, Captain Thomas found and described to us, two years ago, in one of his instructive and practical papers, the small bee-hive stone houses in which some of the nomadic inhabitants of the district still live in summer. Numerous antiquarian remains, and ruins of similar houses and collections of houses, exist in Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, Switzerland, and perhaps in other kingdoms; but apparently they have everywhere been long ago deserted as human habitations, except in isolated and outlying spots among the Western Islands of Scotland. The study of human habits in these Hebridian houses, at the present day, enables us to guess what the analogous human habits probably were, when, for example, the old Irish city of Fachan—consisting of similar structures only—was the busy scene of human life and activity in times long past. These, and other similar facts, besides teaching us the true road to some forms of archæological discovery, teach us also one other important lesson,—namely, that there are in reality two kinds of antiquity, both of which claim and challenge our attention. One of these kinds of antiquity consists in the study of the

¹ Among the people of the district of Barvas, most of them small farmers or crofters, a metal vessel or pot was a thing almost unknown twelve or fourteen years ago. Their houses have neither windows nor chimneys, neither tables nor chairs; and the cattle and poultry live under the same roof with their human possessors. If a Chinaman or Japanese landed at Barvas, and went no further, what a picture might he paint, on his return home, of the state of civilisation in the British Islands.

habits and works of our distant predecessors and forefathers, who lived on this earth, and perhaps in this segment of it, many ages ago. The other kind of antiquity consists of the study of those archaic human habits and works which may, in some corners of the world, be found still prevailing among our fellow-men—or even among our own fellow-countrymen—down to the present hour, in despite of all the blessings of human advancement, and the progress of human knowledge. By one kind of antiquity we trace the slow march and revolutions of centuries; by the other we trace the still slower march and revolutions of civilisation, in countries and kingdoms where the glittering theories of the politician might have led us to expect a different and a happier state of matters.

Besides the antiquarian relics of a visible and tangible form to which I have adverted, as demanding investigation and collection on our part, there are various antiquarian relics of a non-material type in Scottish Archæology which this Society might perhaps do much to collect and preserve, through the agency of active committees, and the assistance of many of our countrymen, who, I doubt not, could be easily incited to assist us in the required work. One of these matters is a fuller collection and digest than we yet possess of the old superstitious beliefs and practices of our forefathers. And certainly some strange superstitions do remain, or at least lately did remain, among us. The sacrifice, for example, of the cock and other animals for recovery from epilepsy and convulsions, is by no means extinct in some Highland districts. In old Pagan and Mithraic times we know that the sacrifice of the ox was common. I have myself often listened to the account given by one near and dear to me, who was in early life personally engaged in the offering up and burying of a poor live cow as a sacrifice to the Spirit of the Murrain. This occurred within twenty miles of the metropolis of Scotland. In the same district a relative of mine bought a farm not very many years ago. Among his first acts, after taking possession, was the inclosing a small triangular corner of one of the fields within a stone wall. The corner cut off—and which still remains cut off—was the “Goodman’s Croft”—an offering to the Spirit of Evil, in order that he might abstain from ever blighting or damaging the rest of the farm. The clergyman of the parish, in lately telling me the circumstance, added, that my kinsman had been, he

feared, far from acting honestly with Lucifer, after all, as the corner which he had cut off for the "Goodman's" share was perhaps the most worthless and sterile spot on the whole property. Some may look upon such superstitions and superstitious practices as matters utterly vulgar and valueless in themselves; but in the eyes of the archæologist they become interesting and important when we remember that the popular superstitions of Scotland, as of other countries, are for the most part true antiquarian vestiges of the pagan creeds and customs of our earlier ancestors; our present Folk-lore being merely in general a degenerated and debased form of the highest mythological and medical lore of very distant times. A collection of the popular superstitions and practices of the different districts of Scotland now, ere (like fairy and goblin forms vanishing before the break of day) they melt and disappear totally before the light and the pride of modern knowledge, would yet perhaps afford important materials for regaining much lost antiquarian knowledge. For as the palæontologist can sometimes reconstruct in full the types of extinct animals from a few preserved fragments of bones, possibly some future archæological Cuvier may one day be able to reconstruct from these mythological fragments, and from other sources, far more distinct figures and forms than we at present possess of the heathen faith and rites of our forefathers.

Perhaps a more important matter still would be the collection, from every district and parish of Scotland, of local lists of the oldest names of the hills, rivers, rocks, farms, and other places and objects; and this all the more that in this age of alteration and change many of these names are already rapidly passing away. Yet the possession of a Scottish antiquarian gazetteer or map of this kind would not only enable us to identify many localities mentioned in our older deeds and charters, but more—the very language to which these names belong would, perhaps, as philological ethnology advances, betimes serve as guides to lead our successors, if they do not lead us, to obtain clearer views than we now have of the people that aboriginally inhabited the different districts of our country, and the changes which occurred from time to time in these districts in the races which successively had possession of them. In this, as in other parts of the world, our mountains and other natural objects often obstinately retain, in despite of all subsequent changes and con-

quests, the appellations with which they were originally baptised by the aboriginal possessors of the soil; as, for example, in three or four of the rivers which enter the Forth nearest to us here—viz., the Avon, the Amond, and the Esk on this side; and the Dour, at Aberdour, on the opposite side of the Firth. For these are all old Aryan names, to be found as river appellations in many other spots of the world, and in some of its oldest dialects. The Amond or Avon is a simple modification of the present word of the Cymric "Afon," for "river," and we have all from our school days known it under its Latin form of "Amnis." The Esk, in its various modifications of Exe, Axe, Uisk, &c., is the present Welsh word, "Uisk," for "water," and possibly the earliest form "asqua," of the Latin noun "aqua." Again, the noun "Dour"—Douro—so common an appellative for rivers in many parts of Europe, is, according to some of our best etymologists, identical with, or of the same Aryan source as the "Uda," or water, of the Sanskrit, the "ἵδωρ" of the Greeks, and the "Dwr" or "Dour" of the Cambrian and Gael. The archæologist, like the Red Indian when tracking his foe, teaches himself to observe and catch up every possible visible trace of the trail of archaic man; but, like the Red Indian also, he now and again lays his ear on the ground to listen for any sounds indicating the presence and doings of him who is the object of his pursuit. The old words which he hears whispered in the ancient names of natural objects and places supply the antiquary with this kind of audible archæological evidence. For, when cross-questioned at the present day as to their nomenclature, many, I repeat, of our rivers and lakes, of our hills and headlands, do, in their mere names, telegraph back to us, along mighty distances of time, significant specimens of the tongue spoken by the first inhabitants of their district—in this respect resembling the dotting and dying octogenarian that has left in early life the home of his fathers, to sojourn in the land of the stranger, and who remembers and babbles at last—ere the silver cord of memory is utterly and finally loosed—one language only, and that some few words merely in the long unspoken tongue which he first learned to lip in his earliest infancy.

The special sources and lines of research from which Scottish inductive Archæology may be expected to derive the additional data and facts which it requires for its elucidation are many and various. Let me here

briefly allude to two only, and these two of rather opposite characters,—viz. (1), researches beneath the surface of the earth, and (2), researches among olden works and manuscripts.

In times past Scottish Archæology has already gained much from digging; and in times to come it is doubtless destined to gain yet infinitely more from a systematised use of this mode of research. For the truth is, that beneath the surface of the earth on which we tread—often not above two or three feet below that surface; sometimes not deeper than the roots of our plants and trees—there undoubtedly lie, in innumerable spots and places,—buried, and waiting only for disinterment,—antiquarian relics of the most valuable and important character. The richest and rarest treasures contained in some of our antiquarian museums have been exhumed by digging; and that digging has been frequently of the most accidental and superficial kind—like the discovery of the silver mines of Potosi through the chance uprooting of a shrub by the hand of a climbing traveller.

The magnificent twisted torc, containing some £50 worth of pure gold, which was exhibited in Edinburgh in 1856, in the Museum of the Archæological Institute, was found in 1848 in Needwood Forest, lying on the top of some fresh mould which had been turned up by a fox, in excavating for himself a new-earth hole. Formerly, on the sites of the old British villages in Wiltshire, the moles, as Sir Richard Hoare tells us, were constantly throwing up to the surface numerous coins and fragments of pottery. We are indebted to the digging propensities of another animal for the richest collection of silver ornaments which is contained in our Museum. For the great hoard of massive silver brooches, torcs, ingots, Cufic and other coins, &c., weighing some 16 lbs. in all, which was found in 1857 in the Bay of Skail in Orkney, was discovered in consequence of several small pieces of the deposit having been accidentally uncovered by the burrowings of the busy rabbit. That hoard itself is interesting on this other account, that it is one of 130 or more similar silver deposits, almost all found by digging, that have latterly been discovered, stretching from Orkney, along the shores and islands of the Baltic, through Russia southward, towards the seat of the government of those Eastern Caliphs who issued the Cufic coins which generally form part of these collections—this long track being apparently the commer-

cial route along which those merchants passed, who, from the seventh or eighth to the eleventh century, carried on the traffic which then subsisted between Asia and the north of Europe.

The spade and plough of the husbandman are constantly disinterring relics of high value to the antiquary and numismatist. The matchless collection of gold ornaments contained in the Museum of the Irish Academy has been almost entirely discovered in the course of common agricultural operations. The pickaxe of the ditcher, and of the canal and railway navvies, have often also, by their accidental strokes, uncovered rich antiquarian treasures. The remarkable massive silver chain, ninety-three ounces in weight, which we have in our Museum, was found about two feet below the surface, when the Caledonian canal was dug in 1808. One of the largest gold armlets ever discovered in Scotland was disinterring at Slateford in cutting the Caledonian Railway. Our Museum contains only a model of it; for the original—like many similar relics, when they consisted of the precious metals—was sold for its mere weight in bullion, and lost—at least to Archæology—in the melting-pot of the jeweller, in consequence of the former unfortunate state of our law of treasure-trove. And it cannot perhaps be stated too often or too loudly, that such continued wanton destruction of these relics is now so far provided against; for by a Government ordinance, the finder of any relics in ancient coins, or in the precious metals, is now entitled by law, on delivering them up to the Crown for our National Museums, to claim “the full intrinsic value” of them from the Sheriff of the district in which they chance to be discovered—a most just and proper enactment, through the aid of which many such relics will no doubt be henceforth properly preserved.

But the results of digging to which I have referred are, as I have already said, the results merely of accidental digging. From a systematized application of the same means of discovery, in fit and proper localities, with or without previous ground-probing, Archæology is certainly entitled to expect most valuable consequences. The spade and pickaxe are become as indispensable aids in some forms of archæological, as the hammer is in some forms of geological research. The great antiquarian treasures garnered up in our sepulchral barrows and olden kist-væn cemeteries are only to be recovered to antiquarian science by digging,

and by digging, too, of the most careful and methodized kind. For in such excavations it is a matter of moment to note accurately every possible separate fact as to the position, state, &c. of all the objects exposed; as well as to search for, handle, and gather these objects most carefully. In excavating, some years ago, a large barrow in the Phoenix Park at Dublin, two entire skeletons were discovered within the chamber of the stone cromlech which formed the centre of the sepulchral mound. A flint knife, a flint arrow-head, and a small fibula of bone were found among the rubbish, along with some cinerary urns; but no bronze or other metallic implements. The human beings buried there had lived in the so-called Stone Period of the Danish archæologists. Some hard bodies were observed immediately below the head of one of the skeletons, and by very cautious and careful picking away of the surrounding earth, there was traced around the neck of each a complete necklace formed of the small sea-shells of the *Nerita*, with a perforation in each shell to admit of a string composed of vegetable fibres being passed through them. Without due vigilance how readily might these interesting relics have been overlooked!

The spade and mattock, however, have subserved, and will subserve, other important archæological purposes besides the opening of ancient cemeteries. They will probably enable us yet to solve to some extent the vexed question of the true character of our so-called "Druidical circles" and "Druidical stones," by proving to us that one of their uses at least was sepulchral. The bogs and mosses of Ireland, Denmark, and other countries, have, when dug into, yielded up great stores of interesting anti-quarian objects—usually wonderfully preserved by the qualities of the soil in which they were immersed—as stone and metallic implements, portions of primæval costume, combs, and other articles of the toilet, pieces of domestic furniture, old and buried wooden houses, and even, as in the alleged case of Queen Gunhild, and other "bogged" or "pitted" criminals, human bodies astonishingly entire, and covered with the leathern and other dresses in which they died. All this forms a great mine of anti-quarian research, in which little or nothing has yet been accomplished in Scotland. It is only by due excavations that we can hope to acquire a proper analytical knowledge of the primæval abodes of our ancestors,—whether these abodes were in underground "weems," or in those hitherto

neglected and yet most interesting objects of Scottish Archæology, namely, our archaic villages and towns, the vestiges and marks of which lie scattered over our plains and mountain sides—always near a stream or lake or good spring—usually marked by groups of shallow pits or excavations (the foundations of their old circular houses) and a few nettles—generally protected and surrounded on one or more sides by a rath or earth-wall—often near a hill-fort—and having attached to them, at some distance in the neighbourhood, stone graves, and sometimes, as on the grounds about Morton Hall, monoliths and barrows.

Last year we had detailed at length to the Society the very remarkable results which Mr Neish had obtained by simple persevering digging upon the hill of the Laws in Forfarshire, exposing, as his excavations have done, over the whole top of the hill, extensive Cyclopic walls of several feet in height, formerly buried beneath the soil, and of such strange and puzzling forms as to defy as yet any definite conjecture of their character. No doubt similar works, with similar remains of implements, ornaments, querns, charred corn, &c., will yet be found by similar diggings on other Scottish hills; and at length we may obtain adequate data for fixing their nature and object, and perhaps even their date. Certainly every Scotch antiquary must heartily wish that the excellent example of earnest and enlightened research set by Mr Neish was followed by others of his brother landholders in Scotland.

At the present time the sites and remains of some Roman cities in England are being restored to light in this way—as the old city of Uriconium (Wroxeter), where already many curious discoveries have rewarded the quiet investigations that are being carried on;—and Borcovicus in Northumberland (a half-day's journey from Edinburgh), one of the stations placed along the magnificent old Roman wall which still exists in wonderful preservation in its neighbourhood, and itself a Roman town left comparatively so entire that “Sandy Gordon” described it long ago as the most remarkable and magnificent Roman station in the whole island, while Dr Stukely spoke of it enthusiastically as the “Tadmor of Britain.” I was lately told by Mr Longueville Jones, that in the vicinity of Caerleon—the ancient Isca Silurum of the Roman Itinerary—the slim sharpened iron rod used as a ground probe had detected at different distances a row of buried Roman houses and villas extending from the



old city into the country for nearly three miles in length. Here, as elsewhere, a rich antiquarian mine waits for the diggings of the antiquary; and elsewhere, as here, the ground-probe will often point out the exact spots that should be dug, with far more certainty than the divining rod of any Dousterswivel ever pointed out hidden hoards of gold or hidden springs of water.

But it is necessary, as I have already hinted, to seek and hope for additional archæological materials in literary as well as in subterraneous researches. And certainly one special deficiency which we have to deplore in Scottish Archæology is the almost total want of written documents and annals of the primæval and early mediæval portions of Scottish history. The antiquaries of England and Ireland are much more fortunate in this respect than we are; for they possess a greater abundance of early documents than we can boast of. Indeed, after Tacitus' interesting account of the first Roman invasion of Scotland under Agricola, and a few meagre allusions to, and statements regarding this country and its inhabitants by some subsequent classic authors, we have, for a course of seven or eight centuries, almost no written records of any authority to refer to. The chief, if not the only, exceptions to this general remark consist of a few scattered entries bearing upon Scotland in the Irish Annals—as in those of Tighernach and Ulster; some facts related by Bede; some statements given in the lives and legends of the early Scottish, Welsh, and Irish saints;* and various copies of the list of the Pictish kings.

When we come down beyond the eleventh and twelfth centuries, our written memorials rapidly increase in quantity and extent. I have already alluded to the fact that three hundred quarto volumes—nearly altogether drawn from unpublished manuscripts—have been printed by the Scottish clubs within the last forty years. Mr Robertson informs me that in the General Register House alone (and independently of other and private collections), there is material for at least a hundred volumes more; and the English Record Office contains, as is well known, many unedited documents referring to the building of various Scottish castles by Edward

* One of these Lives—that of St Columba by Adamnan—has been annotated by Dr Reeves with such amazing lore that it really looks as if the Editor had acquired his wondrous knowledge of ancient Iona and Scotland by some such "uncanny" aids as an archæological "deputation of spirits."

I., and to other points interesting to Scottish Archæology and History. The Welsh antiquaries have obtained from the Government offices in London various important documents of this description referring to Wales. Why should the antiquaries of Scotland not imitate them in this respect?

Modern experience has shown that it is not by any means chimerical to expect, that we may yet recover, from various quarters, and from quite unexpected sources, too, writings and documents of much interest and importance in relation both to British and to Scottish Archæology. Of that great fossil city Pompeii, not one hundredth part, it is alleged, has as yet been fully searched; and, according to Sir Charles Lyell, the quarters hitherto cleared out are those where there was the least probability of discovering manuscripts. It would be almost hoping beyond the possibility of hope to expect that in some of its unexplored mansions, one of the rich libraries of those ancient Roman times may turn up, presenting papyri deeply interesting to British antiquaries, and containing, for example, a transcript of that letter on the habits and character of the inhabitants of Britain which Cicero himself informs us that he desired his brother Quintus to write, when, as second in command, he accompanied Julius Cæsar in his first invasion of our island;—or a copy of that account which Himilico the Carthaginian, had drawn up of his voyage, some centuries before the Christian era, to the Tin Islands, and other parts northwards of the Pillars of Hercules;—or a roll of those Punic Annals which Festus Avienus tells us that he himself consulted when (probably in the fourth century) he wrote those lines in his "*Ora Maritima*" in which he gives a description of Great Britain and Ireland.

The antiquaries of Scotland would heartily rejoice over the discovery of lost documents far less ancient than these. Perhaps I could name two or three of our colleagues who would perfectly revel over the recovery, for instance, of one or two leaves of those old Pictish annals (*veteres Pictorum libri*) that still existed in the twelfth century, and in which, among other matters, was a brief account (once copied by the Pictish clerk Thana, the son of Dudabrach, for King Ferath, at Meigle) of the solemn ceremony which took place when King Hungus endowed the church of St Andrews, in presence of twelve members of the Pictish regal race, with a grant of many miles of broad acres, and solemnly placed with his royal hands on the altar

of the church a piece of fresh turf in symbolisation of his royal land-gift. We all deplore that we possess no longer what the Abbot Ailred of Rievaulx, and the monk Joceline of Furness possessed, namely, biographies, apparently written in the old language of our country, of two of our earliest Scottish saints—St Ninian of Whitehorn and St Kentigern of Glasgow; and we grieve that we have lost even that *Life of St Serf*, which, along with a goodly list of service and other books (chained to the stalls and desks), was placed, before the time of the Reformation, in the choir of the Cathedral of Glasgow, as we know from the catalogue which has been preserved of its library.

But let us not at the same time forget, that Scottish archæological documents, as ancient as any of these, have been latterly rediscovered, and rediscovered occasionally in the most accidental way; and let us not therefore despair of further, and perhaps even of greater success in the same line. Certainly the greatest of recent events in Scottish Archæology was the casual finding, within the last two or three years, in one of the public libraries at Cambridge, of a manuscript of the Gospels, which had formerly belonged to the Abbey of Deer in Aberdeenshire. The margin and blank vellum of this ancient volume contain, in the Celtic language, some grants and entries reaching much beyond the age of any of our other Scottish charters and chronicles. The oldest example of written Scottish Gaelic that was previously known was not earlier than the sixteenth century. Portions of the Deer Manuscript have been pronounced by competent scholars to be seven centuries older.

The most ancient known collection of the laws of Scotland—a manuscript written about 1270—was detected in the public library of Berne, and lately restored to this country. In 1824, Mr Thomson, a schoolmaster at Ayr, picked up, on an old bookstall in that town, a valuable manuscript collection of Scotch burghal laws, written upwards of four centuries ago.

Sometimes, as in this last instance, documents of great value in Scottish Archæology have made narrow escapes from utter loss and destruction.

I was told by the late Mr Thomas Thomson—a gentleman to whom we are all indebted for promoting and systematising our studies—that a miscellaneous, but yet in some points valuable, collection of old vellum manuscripts was left, at the beginning of the present century, by a poor

peripatetic Scottish tailor, who could not read one word of the old black letter documents which he spent his life and his purse in collecting. Being a visionary claimant to one of the dormant Scottish peerages, he buoyed himself up with the bright hope that some clever lawyer would yet find undoubted proofs of his claims in some of the written parchments which he might procure. Sir Robert Cotton is said to have discovered one of the original vellum copies of the Magna Charta in the shop of another tailor, who, holding it in his hand, was preparing to cut up this charter of the liberties of England into tape for measuring some of England's sons for coats and trousers. The missing manuscript of the History of Scotland, from the Restoration to 1681, which was written by Sir George Mackenzie, the King's Advocate, was rescued from a mass of old paper that had been sold for shop purposes to a grocer in Edinburgh. Some fragments of the Privy Council Records of Scotland—now preserved in the General Register House—were bought among waste snuff paper.¹ Occasionally even a very small preserved fragment of an ancient document has proved of importance. Mr Robertson informs me that, in editing the old Canons of the Scottish Church, he has derived considerable service from a single leaf of a contemporary record of the Canons of the sixteenth century, which had been used and preserved in the old binding of a book. This single leaf is the only bit of manuscript of the Scotch sixteenth century Canons that is known to exist in Scotland.

In 1794 eight official volumes of the Scottish Secretary of State's Register of Seisins were discovered in a bookseller's shop in Edinburgh, after they had remained concealed for more than 185 years.

Among the great mass of interesting Scottish manuscripts preserved in our General Register House, there is one dated Arbroath,—April 1320;—perhaps the noblest Scottish document of that era. It is the official duplicate of a letter of remonstrance addressed to Pope John XXII. by

¹ This alludes to the portion of a mutilated volume for the year 1605, which came into Mr Laing's hands, and was given by him to the Deputy Clerk Register. But singular enough, as Mr Laing has since informed me, the identical MS. of Sir George Mackenzie, above noticed, was brought to him for sale as probably a curious volume; it having by some accident been a *second time sold for waste paper*! Having no difficulty in recognising the volume, he of course secured it, and agreeably to the expressed intention of the Editor of the work in 1821, the MS. has been deposited in the Advocates Library, where, it is to be hoped, it may now remain in safety

the Barons, Freeholders, and Community of Scotland, in which these doughty Scotsmen declare, that so long as a hundred of them remain alive, they will never submit to the dominion of England. This venerable record and precious declaration of Scottish independence, written on a sheet of vellum, and authenticated by the dependant seals of its patriotic authors, was detected by a deceased Scottish nobleman in a most precarious situation; for he discovered it ruthlessly stuck into the fire-place of his charter-room.

Contested points in Scottish Archæology and history have been occasionally settled by manuscript discoveries that were perfectly accidental.

After the blowing up of the Kirk of the Field, the only one of Darnley's servants that escaped was brought by the Earl of Murray before the English Council, and there gave evidence, implying that Queen Mary—that ever-interesting princess, who has been doubtlessly both over-decried by her foes and over-praised by her friends—was cognisant of the intended murder of her husband, inasmuch as, beforehand, she ordered an old bed to be placed in Darnley's room, and the richer bed that previously stood in it to be removed. Nearly three hundred years after that dark and sordid insinuation was made, a roll of papers was casually found, during a search among some legal documents of the early part of the seventeenth century, and one of the leaves in that roll contained a contemporary and authenticated official return of the royal furniture lost by the blowing up of the King's residence. Among other items, this leaf proved, beyond the possibility of further cavil, that the bed which stood in Darnley's room was, up to the time of his death, unchanged, and was not, as alleged by Mary's enemies, an old and worthless piece of furniture, but, on the contrary, was "a bed of violet velvet, with double hangings, braided with gold and silver (*ung lietz de veloux violet a double pante passemente dor et argent*)."

The finest old Teutonic cross in Scotland is the well-known pillar which stands in the churchyard of Ruthwell, in Dumfriesshire. It was ignominiously thrown down, by a decree of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in 1642; but its broken fragments were collected, as far as possible, and the cross itself again erected, by the late clergyman of the parish, Dr Henry Duncan, who published in the Transactions

of this Society correct drawings of the Runic inscription on this ancient monument. Two Danish antiquaries, Repp and Finn Magnussen, tried to read these Runic lines, and tortured them into very opposite, and—let me simply add—very ridiculous meanings, about a grant of land and cows in Ashlafardhal, and Offa, a kinsman of Woden, transferring property to Ashloff, &c., all which they duly published. That great antiquary and Saxon scholar, the late Mr Kemble, then happened to turn his attention to the Ruthwell inscription, and saw the runes or language to be Anglo-Saxon, and in no ways Scandinavian, as had been supposed. He found that the inscription consisted of a poem, or extracts from a poem, in Anglo-Saxon, in which the stone cross, speaking in the first person, described itself as overwhelmed with sorrow, because it had borne Christ raised upon it at His crucifixion, had been stained with the blood poured from His side, and had witnessed His agonies,—

“ I raised the powerful King,
The Lord of the heavens;
I dared not fall down,” &c., &c.

Who was to decide between the very diverse opinions, and still more diverse readings of this inscription by the English antiquary and his Danish rivals? An accidental discovery in an old manuscript may be justly considered as having settled the whole question. For, two or three years after Mr Kemble had published his reading of the inscription, the identical Anglo-Saxon poem which he had found written on the Ruthwell cross was casually discovered in an extended form under the title of the “Dream of the Holy Rood.” The old MS. volume of Saxon homilies and religious lays, from which the book containing it was printed, was found by Dr Blum in a library at Vercelli, in Italy.

With these rambling remarks I have already detained you far too long. Ere concluding, however, bear with me for a minute or two longer, while I shortly speak of one clamant subject, viz., the strong necessity of this Society, and of every Scotsman, battling and trying to prevent, if possible, the further demolition of the antiquarian relics scattered over Scotland.

Various human agencies have been long busy in the destruction and obliteration of our antiquarian earth and stone works. At no period has this process of demolition gone on in Scotland more rapidly and ruthlessly

than during the last fifty or a hundred years. That tide of agricultural improvement which has passed over the country has, in its utilitarian course, swept away—sometimes inevitably, often most needlessly—the aggers and ditches of ancient camps, sepulchral barrows and mounds, stone circles and cairns, earth-raths, and various other objects of deep antiquarian interest. Indeed, the chief antiquarian remains of this description which have been left on the surface of our soil are to be found on our mountain-tops, on our moors, or in our woods, where the very sterility or inaccessibility of the spot, or the kind protection and sympathy of the old forest-trees, have saved them, for a time at least, from reckless ruin and annihilation. Some of the antiquarian memorials that I allude to would have endured for centuries to come, had it not been for human interference and devastation. For, in the demolition of these works of archaic man, the hand of man has too generally proved both a busier and a less scrupulous agent than the hand of time.

Railways have proved among the greatest, as well as the latest, of the agents of destruction. In our island various cherished antiquities have been often most unnecessarily swept away in constructing these race-courses for the daily rush and career of the iron horse. His rough and ponderous hoof, for example, has kicked down, at one extremity of a railway connected with Edinburgh—(marvellously and righteously, to the subsequent dispeace of the whole city)—that fine old specimen of Scottish Second-Pointed architecture, the Trinity College Church; while at the other extremity of the same line it battered into fragments the old castle of Berwick—a fort rich in martial and border memories, and a building rendered interesting by the fact that in connection with one of its turrets there was, at the command of Edward I.—("the greatest of the Plantagenets," as his latest biographer boastfully terms him)—constructed, some six centuries ago, a cage of iron and wood, in which he immured, with Bomba-like ferocity, for four weary years, a poor prisoner, and that prisoner a woman—the Countess of Buchan—whose frightful crime consisted in having assisted at the coronation of her liege sovereign, Robert the Bruce. In the construction of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, the line was driven, with annihilating effect, through the centre of the old and rich Roman Station on the Wall of Antoninus at Castlecary. Some years ago, as I passed along the line, I saw the farmer in the immediate

neighbourhood of this station busily removing a harmless wall,—among the last, if not the very last, remnants of Roman masonry in Scotland. The largest stone circle near the English border—the Stonehenge or Avebury of the north of England—formerly stood near Shap. The stone avenues leading to it are said to have been nearly two miles in length. The engineer of the Carlisle and Lancaster Railway carried his line right through the very centre of the ancient stone circle forming the head of the chief avenue, leaving a few of its huge stones standing out on the western side, where they may be still seen by the passing traveller about half a mile south of the Shap station. If the line had been laid only a few feet on either side, the wanton desecration and destruction of this fine archaic monument might have been readily saved. Railway engineers, however, and railway directors, care far more for mammon and money than for mounds and monoliths.

But other and older agents have overturned and uprooted the memorials transmitted down from ancient times, with as much wantonness as the railways. Towards the middle of the last century the Government of the day ordered many miles of the gigantic old Roman wall, which stretches across Northumberland and Cumberland, to be tossed over and pounded into road metal. About the same time a Scottish proprietor—with a Vandalism which cast a stigma on his order—pulled down that antique enigmatical building, “Arthur’s Oven,” in order to build, with its ashlar walls, a mill-dam across the Carron. At its next flood the indignant Carron carried away the mill-dam, and buried for ever in the depths of its own water-course those venerable stones which were begrudged any longer by the proprietor of the soil the few feet of ground which they had occupied for centuries on its banks.

In many parts of our country our old sepulchral cairns, hill-forts, castles, churches, and abbeys have been most thoughtlessly and reprehensibly allowed, by those that chanced to be their proprietors for the time, to be used as mere quarries of ready stones for the building of villages and houses, and for the construction of field-dikes and drains. In the perpetration of this class of sad and discreditable desecrations, many parties are to blame. Such outrages have been practised by both landlord and tenant, by both State and Church; and I fear that the Presbyterian Church of Scotland is by no means free from much culpa-

bility in the matter. But let us, at the same time, rejoice that a betert spirit is awakened on the whole question; and let us hope that our Scottish landlords will all speedily come to imitate, when required, the excellent example of Mr Baillie, who, when some years ago he found that one of his tenants had pulled down and carried off, for building purposes, some portions of the walls of the four grand old burgs standing in Glenelg, in Inverness-shire, prosecuted the delinquent farmer before the sheriff-court of the county, and forced him to restore and replace *in situ*, as far as possible, and at his own expense, all the stones which he had removed.

Almost all the primæval stone circles and cromlechs which existed in the middle and southern districts of Scotland have been cast down and removed. The only two cromlechs in the Lothians, the stones of which have not been removed, are at Ratho and Kipps; and though the stones have been wantonly pulled down, they could readily be restored, and certainly deserve to be so. In 1813 the cromlech at Kipps was seen by Sir John Dalzell, still standing upright. In describing it, in the beginning of the last century, Sir Robert Sibbald states that near this Kipps cromlech was a circle of stones, with a large stone or two in the middle; and he adds, "many such may be seen all over the country." They have all disappeared; and latterly the stones of the Kipps circle have been themselves removed and broken up, to build, apparently, some neighbouring field-walls, though there was abundance of stones in the vicinity equally well suited for the purpose.

Among the most valuable of our ancient Scottish monuments are certainly our Sculptured Stones. Most of them, however, and some even in late times, have been sadly mutilated and destroyed, to a greater or less degree, by human hands, and converted to the most base uses. The stone at Hilton of Cadboll, remarkable for its elaborate sculpture and ornamental tracery, has had one of its sides smoothed and obliterated in order that a modern inscription might be cut upon it to commemorate "Alexander Duff and His Thrie Wives." The beautiful sculptured stone of Golspie has been desecrated in the same way. Only two of these ancient sculptured stones are known south of the Forth. One of them has been preserved by having been used as a window-lintel in the church of Abercorn—the venerable episcopal see, in the seventh century, of

Trumwine, the Bishop of the Picts. The other serves the purpose of a foot-bridge within a hundred yards of the spot where we are met; and it is to be hoped that its proprietors will allow this ancient stone to be soon removed from its present ignominious situation to an honoured place in our Museum. I saw, during last autumn, in Anglesey, a stone bearing a very ancient Romano-British legend, officiating as one of the posts of a park gate—a situation in which several such inscribed stones have been found. Still more lately I was informed of the large central monolith in a stone circle, not far from the Scottish border, having been thrown down and split up into seven pairs of field gate-posts.

“Standing-stones”—the old names of which gave their appellations to the very manors on which they stood—have been repeatedly demolished in Scotland. An obelisk of thirteen feet in height, and imparting its name to a landed estate in Kincardineshire, was recently thrown down; and a large monolith, which lent its old, venerable name to a property and mansion within three or four miles of Edinburgh, was, within the memory of some living witnesses, uprooted and totally demolished when the direction of the turnpike road in its neighbourhood happened to be altered.

A healthier and finer feeling, in regard to the propriety of preserving such National Antiquities as I have referred to, subsists, I believe, in the heart of the general public of Scotland, than perhaps those who are their superiors in riches and rank generally give them credit for. Within this century the standing-stones of Stennis in Orkney were attacked, and two or three of them overthrown by an iconoclast; but the people in the neighbourhood resented and arrested the attempt by threatening to set fire to the house and corn of the barbaric aggressor. After the passing of the Parliamentary Reform Bill, during a keen contest for the representation of a large Scottish county, there was successfully urged in the public journals against one of the candidates the damaging fact that one of his forefathers had deliberately committed one of the gross acts of barbarism which I have already specified, in the needless destruction, in a distant part of Scotland, of one of the smallest but most interesting of Scottish antiquarian relics; and the voters at the polling-booths showed that they deemed a family, however rich and estimable, unfit to be intrusted with the parliamentary guardianship of the county, which had

outraged public feeling by wantonly pulling down one of the oldest stone memorials in the kingdom.

In the name of this Society, and in the name of my fellow-countrymen generally, I here solemnly protest against the perpetration of any more acts of useless and churlish Vandalism, in the needless destruction and removal of our Scottish antiquarian remains. The hearts of all leal Scotsmen, overflowing as they do with a love of their native land, must ever deplore the unnecessary demolition of all such early relics and monuments as can in any degree contribute to the recovery and restoration of the past history of our country and of our ancestors. These ancient relics and monuments are truly, in one strong sense, national property; for historically they belong to Scotland and to Scotsmen in general, more than they belong to the individual proprietors upon whose ground they accidentally happen to be placed. There is an Act of Parliament against the wilful defacing and demolition of public monuments; and, perhaps the Kilkenny Archæological Association were right when they threatened to indite with the penalties of "misdemeanour" under that statute, any person who should wantonly and needlessly destroy the old monumental and architectural relics of his country. Many of these relics might have brought only a small price indeed in the money-market, while yet they were of a national and historical value which it would be difficult to estimate. For, when once swept away, their full replacement is impossible. They cannot be purchased back with gold. Their deliberate and ruthless annihilation is, in truth, so far, the annihilation of the ancient records of the kingdom. If any member of any ancient family among us needlessly destroyed some of the olden records of that one family, how bitterly, and how justly too, would he be denounced and despised by its members? But assuredly antiquarian monuments, as the olden records of a whole realm, are infinitely more valuable than the records of any individual family in that realm. Let us fondly hope and trust that a proper spirit of patriotism—that every feeling of good, generous, and gentlemanly taste—will insure and hallow the future consecration of all such Scottish antiquities as still remain—small fragments only though they may be of the antiquarian treasures that once existed in our land.

Time, like the Sybil, who offered her nine books of destiny to the Roman king, has been destroying, century after century, one after another of the rich volumes of antiquities which she formerly tendered to the keeping of our Scottish fathers. But though, unhappily, our predecessors, like King Tarquin, rejected and scorned the rich antiquarian treasures which existed in their days, let us not now, on that account, despise or decline to secure the three books of them that still perchance remain. On the contrary,—like the priests appointed by the Roman authorities to preserve and study the Sybilline records which had escaped destruction,—let this Society carefully guard and cherish those antiquities of our country which yet exist, and let them strive to teach themselves and their successors to decipher and interpret aright the strange things and thoughts that are written on those Sybilline leaves of Scottish Archæology which Fate has still spared for them. Working earnestly, faithfully, and lovingly in this spirit, let us not despair that, as the science of Archæology gradually grows and evolves, this Society may yet, in full truth, restore Scotland to antiquity, and antiquity to Scotland.

A cordial vote of thanks, on the motion of the Honourable LORD NEAVES (see p. 70), was unanimously given to Professor SIMPSON for his very learned and interesting Address.

MONDAY, 10th December 1860.

PROFESSOR J. Y. SIMPSON, M.D., Vice-President, in the
Chair.

The following gentlemen were balloted for and elected Fellows of the Society:—

THOMAS MACKNIGHT CRAWFURD of Cartburn, Esq.
DAVID DOUGLAS, Esq., Publisher.
WILLIAM WILSON of Banknock, Esq., Stirlingshire.

D 2

The following Donations were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors :—

Stone Cist, found under a cairn at Roseisle, near Elgin, consisting of four undressed Red Sandstone slabs, of unequal size. The Cist measures inside 3 feet by 2 feet 1 inch ; depth, 2 feet 1 inch. By Sir ALEXANDER GORDON CUMMING of Altyre and Gordonstone, Bart., through Professor COSMO INNES, F.S.A. Scot.

A finely-finished Celt of light-coloured Stone, 12 inches long, and 4 inches across the face ; and another polished Celt of dark-coloured Stone, 6 inches long, and 3 inches across the face ; from Zetland.

A finely-finished Celt of light green Stone, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long ; from Caithness.

Two "Stone Knives," consisting of flat discs of Stone, somewhat oval in shape, the one $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 5 inches ; the other, partially broken, 6 inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$; both about 3-12ths of an inch in thickness ; from Zetland.

A polished Celt of green-coloured Stone, 12 inches long and 4 inches across the face ; from Cornwall.

Sixteen Celts of various sizes and varieties of Stone ; from Ireland.

Forty-three Flint Weapons from Ireland ; including twenty-one leaf-shaped Arrow-heads, varying in finish and size ; eight Arrow-heads with two Barbs ; sixteen Arrow-heads, with Stem and Barbs, one partially broken.

A Flint Axe-head or Celt, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 4 inches across the face ; and a Flint Chisel, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 1 inch across face ; from Denmark.

A small Axe-head or Celt of black Stone, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch broad ; from Mexico.

A Four-sided Black Stone, probably a "Touch Stone," $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, one inch square ; from Mexico.

An Axe-head or Celt of dark grey Stone, with projecting ears at one extremity, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 3 inches broad ; and a Stone Implement or Axe-head of Black Stone, 7 inches long, and 2 inches across face ; from the Islands of the South Sea.

Stone Celt from North America, broken at one end.

Two round perforated Stones, probably Whorls for the Distaff, each about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter.

Upper Stone of a small Pot Querne, 5 inches in diameter, 1 inch in thickness, with three indentations on its upper surface, and perforated by a hole in the centre.

Ten Bronze wedge-shaped Axe-heads or Celts, of various sizes; from Ireland.

One deeply-flanged Bronze Celt, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch across the face.

One Flanged Bronze Celt, from Ireland, broken at one end, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch across face.

One Bronze Looped and Socketed Celt from Ireland, 2 inches long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch across face.

Small Bronze Vessel or Flagon, with handle and circular mouth, found in a moss in the Highlands of Dumfriesshire; 5 inches high, across mouth $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Bronze Flat Ring-shaped Celtic Brooch, 4 inches diameter, with Iron Pin, and engraved with four circles and foliage; found at Canisbay, Caithness.

Bronze Brooch, in form of a small Animal; found near Wick.

Brass Key; found at Wick.

Silver Patriarchal Cross, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, partially ornamented on both sides with a knarling tool, and with the letters A. F. engraved upon it; found at St Magnus's Cathedral, Kirkwall.

Four Etruscan Vases—"Hydria," 5 inches high; a "Lecythus" or Cruet, ornamented with two figures, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high; an "Enochœ" or Decanter, ornamented with longitudinal raised ribs, 4 inches high; and an "Olpe" or Jug, of black glazed ware, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches high; found near Agrigentum.

Portion of Calvarium of Skull, and fragment of a coarse clay Urn, from a Cromlech at Algiers.

Globular-shaped Urn of light-coloured Sandstone, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, with rude stone cover; and two Hemispherical Discs of White Sandstone, 4 inches in diameter; found in a grave at Hagar Kim, Malta.

Twelve Coins found in Egypt:—

1 Large Brass Coin of Ptolemy (Soter) of Egypt.

4 Third Brass Coins of Licinius, all struck at Alexandria, in Egypt.

2 Third Brass of Constantine the Great, struck at Alexandria.

1 Minim Coin of Constantine the Great, with veiled head, struck after his death.

1 Do., do.; *rev.*, two soldiers with a standard.

1 Minim Coin of Constans, son of Constantine.

1 Minim Coin of Constantius, son of Constantine.

1 Constantinopolis, struck on removal of seat of Empire.

By A. HENRY RHIND, Esq., of Sibster, Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Humerus and Lower Jaw of a Human Skeleton, from a Cromlech at Haugabost, Harris.

Human Lower Jaw and portion of another, found in a Circular Grave at Bernera, Harris.

By Captain F. W. L. THOMAS, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Twenty-five Stemmed and Barbed Flint Arrow-heads, of various sizes.

Twenty-two Leaf-shaped Flint Arrow-heads, varying in size and finish.

Five larger Flint Arrow or Spear Heads, rude in character.

Seven Stone Celts, varying in character of stone, and in size from 8 to 4 inches in length.

Two small perforated Stone Discs or Whorls, one ornamented with incised lines. And

Two rude Clay Pipe-heads, one marked with a star on each side of the bowl. All found on the farm of Cloister Seat, Udney, Aberdeenshire.

By CHARLES SIMPSON TEMPLE, Esq., Udney.

Two Flint Arrow-heads, finely finished; from Cullen of Buchan, Banffshire.

Amber Bead, 5-8ths of an inch in diameter; found amongst the debris of a fortified headland at Cullen of Buchan.

Five Leaf-shaped Arrow-heads of reddish-coloured Flint, varying in size and finish; found near an earthen mound at Cullen of Buchan.

By Mr JAMES PATERSON, Macduff, Banffshire.

A Flint Arrow-head, from Cullen of Buchan. By Mr WILLIAM HUTCHISON, Fishery, by Banff.

Two Stemmed and Barbed, and one fine Leaf-shaped Arrow-heads of yellowish-coloured flint, varying in length from $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch; found in Strathdon, Aberdeenshire. By Sir CHARLES FORBES of Newe and Edinglassie, Bart.

Leaf-shaped Arrow-head of brown-coloured Flint, 2 inches long; found at Skirling, Peeblesshire. And

An Arrow-head, with Stem and Barb, of grey-coloured Flint; found at Slipperfield, near Linton.

By Mr THOMAS BROWN, Schoolmaster, Linton.

Stone Celt, 12 inches long, and 4 inches across face; found in cutting a drain at the foot of Tintock Hill, Lanarkshire.

Silver Penny of Edward I. (LONDON); found in a moss, near Symington, Biggar.

By Mr JAMES AITKEN, Broadfield, Symington.

Stone, encrusted apparently with Glass, from a place known as the Old Glass Kiln, at Shoggle Burn, Morayshire. By the Rev. GEORGE GORDON, LL.D., Birnie.

Four Stemmed and Barbed, and two Leaf-shaped Flint Arrow-heads, varying in size from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches; found in the Township of Bayham, London District, Canada West. By the Rev. JAMES STEWART, Paisley.

Oval-shaped Stone, 4 inches by 3, and 2 inches in thickness, with a bevelled opening 1 inch across, cut through the centre; found in the bed of the river Devon, near Alloa. Presented by PETER D. HANDYSIDE, M.D.

There were exhibited—

A Valuable Collection of Greek and Roman Silver and Brass Coins. By GEORGE SIM, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Dagger and Sheath, with richly-gilt Iron Handle, which belonged to the Mameluke attendant of Napoleon I. By J. M. NAIRNE, Esq. of Dunsinane, F.S.A. Scot.

A Stone Celt, 8 inches in length, showing longitudinal marks of cutting along the sides; and a Stone Hammer, 11 inches long, with pointed face, and rounded back part or head, with large perforation for handle; both found in Wigtonshire. By Sir ANDREW AGNEW of Loch-naw, Bart.

The following Communications were read:—

I.

ON THE ANCIENT STONE EDIFICES IN THE ALPS CALLED HEATHEN HUTS. BY DR FERDINAND KELLER, ZURICH, CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT. COMMUNICATED IN A LETTER TO DAVID LAING, ESQ.

You afforded me great pleasure in sending me Part I. of Vol. III. of your Proceedings, and I return you my best thanks for the same. This volume contains many excellent articles; but the notice of bee-hive houses in Harris and Lewis, by Commander Thomas, particularly interested me. They throw great light on the remains of similar stone edifices in the Alps, the age and use of which has been hitherto quite unknown to us. I make bold to send you a short description of the latter.

The canton of Glarus consists of two large valleys, the Linth and the Sernf Valley. In the latter is the narrow Uebli Valley, which is partly covered with rocks, but partly contains fine pasture-ground. On the Alps of the Uebli Valley are many so-called Heidenstafel (Heathenstafel, *paganorum stabula*), and on these again a number of remains of Heidenhütten or Heidenhäuser (heathen huts or heathen houses). I must here observe that not only the lofty mountains which separate Switzerland from Italy, but likewise the pasture-grounds on the higher mountains, are called Alps, and that the different mountain-flats are called Stafel, from the Latin word *stabula*. The heathen huts are only to be found on the upper Stafels, at an elevation of more than 4000 feet above the level of the sea, and about 2000 feet above the bottom of the valleys, and in sunny situations. The spot on which they stood is marked by heaps of stones which have been collected by human hand. At present only the foundation-walls of these huts exist, rising hardly one foot above the ground. The walls of the huts are constructed of flat stones, without the least trace of mortar. The form of the huts is in some cases a rectangle, in others an ellipsis or a circle. (See the annexed plans or sketches.) The former (fig. 2) seem to have been covered with a wooden roof; the latter (figs. 1 and 3), which have walls four feet thick, were, like the bee-hive houses, entirely built of slate. Sometimes the huts lean against a rock, which then forms one of the walls of the hut. Very

frequently two huts are connected together, one of which may have been used as a bed-room. In most of the huts the inside, which measures from 6 to 12 feet in diameter, is paved with stone. In the middle of a few are traces of a fire-place, consisting of heaped-up stones (see fig. 2).

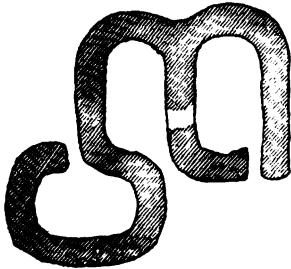


Fig. 1.

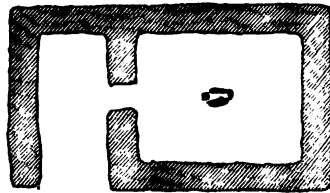


Fig. 2.

The huts invariably stand in groups of 12 to 20, and are built irregularly round a circle composed of stones, and measuring about 100 feet in diameter, somewhat as shown in fig. 3. Into this the cattle were doubt-

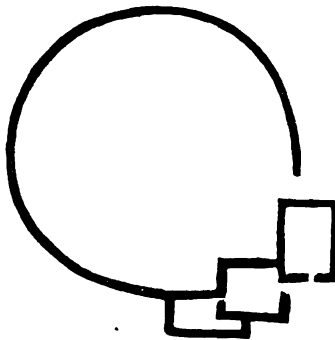


Fig. 3.

less driven at night. In and around the huts excellent earth and grass is found,—a proof that they were long inhabited. During the partial excavations which one of my friends undertook, in order to ascertain the form of the huts, unfortunately no remains of pots or utensils of

any kind were found. These huts, which are very numerous in the Lerufthal, are called the heathen huts, because they were certainly erected in heathen times. But by what particular people they were inhabited is quite unknown. History informs us that Celts, Raetians, Romans, and Allemanni successively occupied the valleys of the canton of Glarus. The last mentioned, the forefathers of the present population, continued heathens about 200 years after their immigration. It is equally unknown whether the huts were inhabited by the shepherds only in summer or all the year round.

Mr Stuart expressed a hope that ere long we might obtain notices of the many similar remains which occur in Scotland, for comparison with those in Wales, Ireland, and elsewhere; and Professor Simpson adverted to their appearance not only on hills and lofty ground, but in many places in the low parts of Scotland, and he believed even within a few miles of Edinburgh, as at Comiston.

II.

ON CELTIC SEPULCHRAL REMAINS AT TOSSON, NEAR ROTHBURY, NORTHUMBERLAND. BY GEORGE TATE, Esq., F.G.S.

Tosson is one mile westward of Rothbury, on the south bank of the Coquet, at a considerable elevation above the river. Northward of it Brough Hill rises to a greater height, with its summit encircled by a fortlet, enclosing about an acre of ground, and a little westward is the loftier hill of Simondside. Near to this place in 1858 an ancient sepulchre was discovered, which contained skeletons, an iron weapon, ornaments, and urns; and as no account has hitherto been given of skeletons or of iron weapons found in Celtic cists in Northumberland, a description of these remains may be worth recording, as tending to throw a little light on the condition of the early inhabitants of Northumberland.

Fortlets, tumuli, and remains of houses are found in the uncultivated parts of the county, so grouped as to show their relation to each other. Clusters of circular foundations appear on the slopes of the hills and in

the upland valleys; the most remarkable of these is on "Greaves Esh" at the base of Greenshaw Hill, near Linhope Burn, where the groups of circular houses are surrounded and defended by stone walls and rampiers. The sepulchre of the tribe was not far distant from the village, usually on high ground; and, in a strong position on some neighbouring hill was the circular fortlet of stone walls, or of rampiers made of earth and stone, to which the people might flee for refuge when attacked by a hostile tribe or foreign foe.

This arrangement is seen in the Cheviot range at Yeavering. Groups of circular foundations—the ancient Celtic village—remain in the high and sheltered valley between Yeavering Bell and White Law; at a little distance westward, on a high exposed "breezy hill," is Tom Tallon's Cairn, probably the tomb of a chieftain, and around it are many low tumuli; Yeavering Bell overlooks the whole, and is a truncated cone, having a large and tolerably level area on the summit, surrounded by a broad wall of stone, now broken down, and within this large enclosure is a smaller fortlet. Fanciful notions have been entertained respecting Yeavering Bell, and some still imagine it was a Druidical temple. One enthusiastic antiquarian even recognised the sacrificial stone, scorched and roasted by the fire which consumed the victim of Druidical superstition. But these fancies are destitute of foundation and exceedingly improbable; for the tops of other hills in the neighbourhood possess similar structures, and might therefore claim the distinction of temples; but we cannot reasonably suppose that such temples would in one district be numerous and near to each other. The summit of Yeavering served a humbler purpose; unfitted, from its elevation and exposure, for a permanent residence, it was well adapted for temporary occupation, as a place of refuge, by the tribe whose houses were in valleys beneath, as the position was strong and easily defended, and because there was a considerable space for the pasturage of flocks.

Similar would be the arrangement at Tosson; cultivation has obliterated the sites of the houses in the valley, but the sepulchres and fortlet have remained to the present time to give us information of the past; and it may be noticed that, on the opposite bank of the Coquet, are other fortlets and barrows, and near to them is Cartington Cave, on which were inscribed concentric circles, similar to those on the rocks at

Routin Linn and Old Bewick in Northumberland,¹ and at High Auchinlary in Kirkcudbrightshire.²

The tumulus above the Tosson sepulchre was low, for it had been repeatedly ploughed over; but the gravel and soil being deep, the graves were not exposed by cultivation. There is, however, a limestone quarry near the tumulus, and the excavation having been made through it, four cists, near to each other, were discovered placed upon the surface of the limestone, each formed of rough slabs set on edge and covered with another larger slab. Two of them were $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the others little more than 2 feet long; two lay from north to south, the others from north-east to south-west. An urn and a skeleton were in each cist. The bodies lay on their sides, with the legs doubled up, and the head was placed towards the slope of the hill in a southward direction.

Two of the urns were placed on a flat stone with their mouths downwards, the others were standing on their base; one of them is said to have contained about half a pint of dust. All were of the jar shape commonly obtained from Celtic sepulchres. They were made of coarse clay, and had a red surface with a black interior. I consider they had been burnt in the fire. Indeed, I doubt whether any even of the coarser kinds of Celtic pottery had been merely baked in the sun. I have seen most of the urns obtained in Northumberland, and all appear to me to bear indications of the action of fire. One of the Tosson urns has been preserved nearly entire, and is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and 3 inches in diameter at the base; it is completely covered with incised chevron ornaments. A larger and coarser urn was broken; it was 8 inches in height, the under portion was plain, the upper was rudely scored with rows of zigzag lines.

Three ornaments, made of cannel coal, were taken out of one of the larger cists. They resemble large buttons, being circular, and 2 inches in diameter; the upper surface is slightly convex, but the under is flat, with two perforations near the centre, forming an internal passage, by means of which the ornament could be attached to the dress as a button or fibula. One of them still retained a bright jet-like polish. Similar ornaments have been found in Lanarkshire and Wiltshire, and this wide

¹ Johnston's *Eastern Borders*, plate viii.; and Tate in *Trans. of Berwickshire Club*, vol. iii., p. 129.

² Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, plate cxxiii., fig. 1.

distribution shows the near affinity of the tribes which at an early period peopled Britain. Cannel coal, or bituminous shale, appears to have been their fashionable material for ornaments, probably because it could be readily obtained and easily cut and polished. A necklace formed of this substance was found several years ago in a cist at Humbleton, near Wooler, hung around the neck of a female skeleton; it consisted of perforated oblong pieces strung together, and in the middle was a larger bead, studded over with gold points arranged in zigzag lines. The button-like ornament at Tosson very probably belonged to a female.

A portion of the horn of *Cervus elephas* was in one of the larger cists, and in another was a small bronze buckle, which has since been lost.

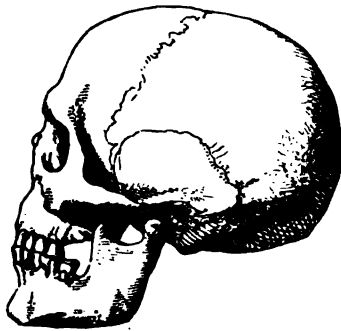


Fig. 2.



Fig. 1.

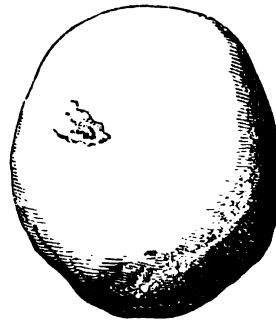


Fig. 3.

The greatest object of interest—an iron weapon—was discovered in one of the largest cists. It is a javelin head, broken into two parts, but the portions nearly unite. The blade was 4 inches long, and the tubular portion, which admitted the wooden pole, is 2 inches long. The wood still remains in the tube, though in a decayed state, and the iron is very much oxidised. A sketch of it is given in figure 1. This is one-fourth the size, and shows the simple spear-like shape of the weapon.

When the sepulchre was first opened the skeletons were entire; since then most of them have been destroyed. Part of the lower jaw of a

young person, probably a female, is preserved; it is narrow, and the teeth are sound and not worn.

One skull fortunately has escaped destruction, and of this I give a more minute description (figs. 2 and 3). It is nearly perfect, and in good condition, but the animal matter is gone, and the bone, when touched, adheres to the tongue. Most of the sutures are ossified, evidencing that the person was at least in the prime of life, if not in advanced age. On that part where the two parietal bones join the occipital bone, there is a marked depression, which is natural but unusual. There is another deep depression, which, however, is not natural, but might have been produced by a heavy blow on the right parietal bone. The occipital region containing the cerebellum is largely developed, and the anterior region is well formed. The distinguishing character of the skull is, however, its short and broad form, being indeed a good example of Dr Daniel Wilson's Brachycephalic type.

The teeth are free from decay; indeed all the teeth found in this sepulchre are in a nearly perfect state, but the teeth in this skull are remarkably flat in the crowns; the incisor and canine, as well as the molar teeth, possess this character.

The following are the measurements of the skull in inches and twelfths:—

Longest diameter from the root of the nose to the protuberance just above the occipital spine,	7·1
Transverse diameter from one meatus externus to the other,	5·
Greatest circumference from the root of the nose to the protuberance above the occipital spine,	21·
From the occipital spine over the head to the root of the nose,	12·6
From the meatus externus over the head to the other meatus externus,	13·6
Parietal diameter,	6·1
Frontal diameter,	5·1
Vertical diameter,	5·5
Intermastoid arch,	15·6
Intermastoid arch from upper root of zygomatic process,	5·
Intermastoid line,	4·

The annexed woodcuts (p. 61), figure 2 of the profile, and figure 3 of the upper part of this skull, have been carefully copied from photographs, and fig. 1 (the iron spear) is drawn to the same scale as the cranium.

The remains described I refer to the Celts inhabiting the Borders a little prior to the Roman invasion. The urns differ in no respect from the earliest specimens of British fictile art; they are made of the same kind of coarse clay, and scored with the same style of ornament. But the shape of the well-developed cranium, and the presence of an iron weapon, show that the period was not so remote as that, when the feeble primeval people had boat-shaped skulls and used weapons made of stone. Some progress had been made in civilisation. Land had been brought into cultivation, for the flattened and worn teeth evidence that hard vegetable food was to a considerable extent used. Accordingly, we find on the hill sides of Northumberland, in the neighbourhood of fortlets and Celtic villages, long irregular horizontal furrows, which are not referable to recent times, but seem to be the marks of ancient cultivation during the later part of the Celtic period. Though the use of iron indicates a considerable advance in metallurgic art, yet that art must have been practised in Britain before the Roman invasion; for Cæsar says that the Britains used pieces of iron for money, and it is reasonable to infer that this metal would also be applied to the manufacture of weapons and the construction of war chariots. True, it is seldom found in cists; but the iron weapon would be too valuable to be often laid by the side of even a warrior chieftain, and, when so deposited, its liability to oxidation, especially in moist situations, would cause it to decay. The Tossin cists were placed on dry jointed limestone, and hence the preservation of the weapon.

The Celts, therefore, who lived in the vale of the Coquet when the great Cæsar invaded the island, were far in advance of the earlier Briton, who waged war with stone weapons and followed the wild animals for food with flint-tipped arrows; they cultivated lands, adorned their persons with cannel coal, fibulæ, and bronze buckles, and when fighting threw the iron-headed javelin.

Some conversation occurred regarding the reference by Venerable Bede to Yeavinger as the "villa regia" of the Northumbrian king, when

Paulinus baptised great numbers of his subjects in the adjoining stream; and Mr Stuart exhibited a plan of the remains of the Celtic village near Linhope, and drawings of concentric circles on the rocks at the Routin Linn and at Old Bewick.

III.

NOTE OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF UDNY, ABERDEENSHIRE, IN A LETTER TO THE SECRETARY. BY CHARLES S. TEMPLE, Esq.

Three of the battle-axes or celts now presented to the Museum were found on my farm of Cloister Seat, and the other four were found on the farms immediately adjoining. The arrow-heads were all picked up at Cloister Seat by myself, in the process of agriculture, as also were the whorls and pipeheads.

There were some old graves in the neighbourhood some years ago, and a cave or yirde-house, the excavation of which I myself superintended, but no remains were found.

Having minutely examined and measured the whole while it was (much to my regret) redd out from the foundation, I am able to give you, from memoranda taken at the time by myself and another person interested in it, the following account of the cave, on the general accuracy of which you may rely:—

“This subterranean abode of ancient times was situated in a field on the farm of Mill of Torry, barony of Pitmedden and parish of Udney. It was discovered in April 1813 by a man named James Ogston, who had been employed by Mr Pirie, the farmer of Mill of Torry, to remove an upright stone from this field. As he was working about the base of the stone, an iron which he had inserted beneath it fell down into the bowels of the earth with a rumbling noise. On examining the cause of the disappearance of his tool, a cave was unexpectedly brought to light. It was semicircular in form,¹ from north-east to south-west or west, the

¹ This curious building seems to have been similar in shape to one found at Newstead, Roxburghshire, figured by J. A. Smith, M.D., at page 218 of Vol I. of “Proceedings,” but the Newstead building had been much more finely executed.

bend being towards the south. The entrance was in the east end, and in which some remains of steps cut in the earth were visible. In the west end was an enlargement of a circular form, filled with black mould and ashes, interspersed with fragments of pottery and burned wood, and having its walls and roof blackened as it were by fire. Its length was about 60 feet, width of passage 4 feet, its height sufficient to allow a man to walk upright. It was soon closed up again, and remained entire till the latter part of the year 1849, when a new tenant renting the farm caused it to be re-opened for the sake of the stones of which it was built, and then the labour which had been expended on its construction was abundantly evident. The whole had been excavated from a rock of rotten gneiss to the depth of 10 or 11 feet, but as the fragments of this did not suit their purpose, they had conveyed to the spot large blocks of granite, the nearest deposit of which is in the Chapel Hill of Iriewells, at the distance of about a mile. It was covered with long stones of rough unhewn granite, about 6 feet in length, laid close to each other, and then another heavy stone laid over the joints, and then the whole covered with earth. The lintels, which overlapped each other so as to completely exclude all foreign bodies, were remarkably uniform in size, each being about 6 feet long, 2 feet broad, and from 9 to 12 inches thick. The blocks used in lining the sides were not so large, but on none were any marks of a tool to be seen. The whole was $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 feet from the surface of the ground, so as to be entirely out of the reach of the plough or spade, and thus, had it not been from the stone erected above, probably to mark the spot, this monument of ancient times might have lain concealed till the last day.

This memorandum of it was made twelve years ago; it contained all the history of its discovery, and the whole measurement, &c., of it. An oblong bead was found in it, which is in the possession of the Rev. G. Sutherland, Falkirk.

About two miles to the north of this, in a commonty mentioned in some of the Spalding Club books as the place where a battle had some time been fought between the lands of Esslemont and Lord Aberdeen's property, there was a cairn called the Cat's, or Cattie's Cairn. (One of the battle-axes sent you is from this commonty). This cairn has disappeared. A Druidical circle of a good few stones existed some years

ago at Hill of Fiddes, about two miles south-east of this, but, with the exception of one stone left for the cattle to rub against, I think no vestige now remains.

At Hitchickbrae, on Lord Aberdeen's property, near the confluence of the rivulet Brony with the Ythan, there were found in a sandbank two urns full of calcined or burned bones. The urns were surrounded with stones, and covered with a large flat one. They were all broken to pieces; I have however, a fragment in my possession.

I have a good many celts, arrow-heads, Pictish knives, &c., still in my possession; I could not, however, part with all these *yet*, but when they reach a certain maximum by subsequent additions, the National Museum shall get its share.

Mr STUART adverted to the varying circumstances under which flint arrow-heads were found. The popular belief which long regarded them as "elf-darts," and which was not confined to Scotland, had been expressed by the well-known Scottish geographer, Robert Gordon of Straloch, about two centuries ago. After giving some details about them, he adds that these wonderful stones are sometimes found in the fields, and in public and beaten roads, but never by searching for them; to-day, perhaps, one will be found where yesterday nothing could be seen, and in the afternoon, in places where before noon there was none, and this most frequently under clear skies and in summer days. He then gives instances related to him by a man and woman of credit, each of whom, while riding, found an arrow-head in their clothes in this unexpected way. The want of intention which was necessary in order to find these arrow-heads, was equally valuable in other matters, as appears from a peculiarity of the oat harvest in Buchan, told by Boece:—"In Buchquhane growis aitis but ony tilth or seid. Quhen the peple passis withset purpos to scheir thair aitis, thay find nocht but tume hullis; yet quhen thay pas but ony premeditatioun thay find thair aitis ful and weil ripit."

It appeared that while flint arrow-heads occur in cists in most parts of Scotland, and have been found along with a quern and a wooden wheel, under moss at Blair Drummond; and while there are localities, like Mr Temple's farm, where they are found in numbers in the course of agri-

cultural operations, and as, on the banks of the burn of Rothes, after a flood, there are also places where, from the occurrence of flint chips as well as arrow-heads, there is reason to think there had been manufactories of the article, such as a spot in the sand-hills of Culbin, on the coast of Moray, and another on the sands of Belhelvie, about eight miles north from Aberdeen. It was also worth remarking, that manufactories of flint are found on some of the pile habitations in the Swiss lakes, as at Moosedorf, near Berne, although no flint occurs in Switzerland, thus suggesting the existence of a traffic with other countries—probably Gaul—for supplying the wants of the early inhabitants of these wooden huts.

IV.

REPORT ON THE SCOTTISH AND ENGLISH COINS IN THE SOCIETY'S MUSEUM. BY GEORGE SIM, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., AND THE KEEPER OF THE MUSEUM.

In accordance with the remit of the Society (of date 16th January 1860) to Mr George Sim and Mr William T. M'Culloch, requesting them to examine and report on the Collection of Coins in the Museum; and they, during the vacation, having carefully examined the collection, submitted the following interim Report :—

"It was considered advisable to give our first attention to the Scottish and English coins.¹ The detailed list or inventory of these coins, arranged chronologically in the usual manner, we now lay on the table, which will enable the Society to see that many blanks in the mintages of several of the monarchs remain to be filled up. As there are many duplicates in the collection, among which are many rare coins, we may remind the Society that this collection is simply the result of an accumulation of donations from the Exchequer and private individuals, without any definite attempt having ever been made to form a complete series. We have selected a series of the Scottish and English coins for exhibition in the glass cases. The late Mr Hay Newton's bequest of rare coins, &c. is, for the present,

¹ See "*Archæologiæ Scotica*," vol. ii., App. p. 5, for a catalogue of the Scottish Coins, dated May 1820, by James Skene, Esq., Curator.

exhibited by itself; but the coins included in it are given in the inventory now laid on the table, arranged in their chronological order.

"We may remark, in conclusion, that we looked over the Collection of Anglo Saxon coins, many of which appear to be very rare and valuable, but their detailed examination and arrangement we are obliged for the present to postpone.

"We are not prepared to report upon the large Collection of Greek, Roman, and other Coins, the arranging and making detailed catalogues of which will be a work requiring considerable time and labour."

"The following abstract of the Report gives a few of the details of more general interest in relation to the Society's Collection of Coins:—

"SCOTTISH GOLD.

"The Scottish Gold consists of the St Andrew of Robert II. and of Robert III.; lions of James I. and James II.; half-lion of James I.; unicorns and half-unicorn of James III.; St Andrew, rider, and half-rider of James IV.; the ecu, bonnet-piece, and two-thirds of bonnet-piece of James V.; the lion, half-lion, ryal, and half-ryal, of Mary; thistle noble, lion, rider, half-rider, sword and sceptre pieces, half-sword and sceptre pieces, unit, double crown and thistle crown of James VI.; Briot's unit and half-unit of Charles I.; and the Darien pistole and half-pistole of William III.

"SCOTTISH SILVER.

"Among the Scottish Silver are pennies of David I., Henry Prince of Scotland and Earl of Northumberland, William the Lion, Alexander I., Alexander II., Alexander III., John Baliol, and Robert I. (Bruce); halfpennies of the three last-named kings; David II. groat, half-groat, and penny, all of Aberdeen mint; Robert II. Perth half-groat, with "B" behind the head, previously unpublished; Robert III. penny, R., "Rex Scotorum," nearly unique (engraved in Mr Lindsay's Supplement to his work on Scottish Coins, plate ii. No. 22*); James I. groat of Stirling; varieties of the groats of James II. and III.; halfpenny of

James III.; groat of James III. of sixth and last coinage, having "Rex. Cot." on obverse—a fine, unique, and unpublished coin; some very rare varieties of the groats of James IV. and V.; testoons and half-testoons of Mary and Francis and Mary; a very remarkable testoon of Francis & Mary (see Lindsay, plate viii. No. 181), with date 1553, being several years before Mary's marriage with the Dauphin, supposed by Mr Lindsay to have been struck as a medal; a still more remarkable testoon of Francis & Mary (R. Vicit. Leo, &c.), bearing the extraordinary date 1565, after her marriage with Darnley, as to which Mr Lindsay can offer no explanation—only two specimens of this coin are known; the testoons of Mary, with bust, during her widowhood, 1561 and 1562; and half-testoon, 1561, very rare; varieties of the Cruikston dollar, &c.; James VI. XL shilling piece, with bust, of which only three specimens are known, and the crown and half-crown after his accession to the English throne; Charles I. shilling and sixpence from his father's dies, both very rare, &c. &c.

" SCOTTISH BILLON AND COPPER.

" Among the Billon coins are a James III. penny of Aberdeen (engraved in Mr Lindsay's Supplement, plate iii. No. 5); pennies of Mary, with bust, and some rare varieties of placks, &c.; James VI. hard-head, with "Vincit Verit," perhaps unique, very rare; a half hard-head, with reverse resembling coins of Mary (*vide* Proc. vol. i. p. 232); a half-Atkinson, of which only three are known; copper penny, with bust, of which only five are at present known; plack, with two sceptres in saltire, and other very rare placks, &c. &c.

" ENGLISH GOLD.

" The English Gold consists of Edward III. nobles and half-noble; Richard II. noble; Henry VI. angel and angelot (Anglo-Gallic); Edward IV. noble; Henry VIII. sovereign, very rare; angel, and half-crown; James I. half-laurel, quarter-laurels, crowns, and half-crown; Charles I. half and quarter-sovereigns; Charles II. double guinea; William and Mary guinea; and George I. quarter-guinea.

" ENGLISH SILVER.

" The English Silver consists of pennies of all the early sovereigns, some of the mints being uncommon; groats and smaller money of Edward III.; Anglo-Gallic coins of Edward the Black Prince; Henry IV. groat, half-groat, and half-penny; Henry V. gros blanc (Anglo-Gallic), groats, and smaller money; Henry VI. groat and penny; Edward IV. groats and smaller money; Richard III. groat, very fine and rare, with boar's head mint mark, on both sides; Henry VII. groats and smaller money; Henry VIII. shilling, groats, and smaller money; Edward VI. crown (on which a date for the first time appears on the English coins, if we except the coin said to be struck by the Duchess of Burgundy for "Perkin Warbeck" (the Duke of York) which bears date 1494), shillings, sixpence, and testoon or side-faced shilling; Philip and Mary shilling; groats of Mary and Philip and Mary; Irish billon groats and English rose pennies of Philip and Mary; milled and hammered shillings and smaller money of Elizabeth; James I. crown, shillings, and smaller money; Charles I. Newark siege half-crown, and Pontefract siege shilling, and other money; the Commonwealth money, a complete set; the Cromwell crown, half-crown, and shilling, all fine and rare; with money of the subsequent sovereigns, including a very fine bronze farthing of Anne, 1714.

" ENGLISH AND IRISH COPPER.

" The English and Irish Copper includes Charles I. Irish siege piece; St Patrick's pence and half-pence; gun-money of James II.; and English copper of all the sovereigns from Charles II. inclusive; also Isle of Man money, with a silver pattern of the Earl of Derby's; there is also a large collection of provincial and other Tokens, of towns, tradesmen, political, &c."

MONDAY, 28th January 1861.

PROFESSOR J. Y. SIMPSON, M.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A Special Meeting and Conversazione was held, by permission of the Royal Society, in their Hall, when the Vice-President's ADDRESS ON ARCHÆOLOGY was delivered (*vide* page 5). At the conclusion, on the motion of the Honourable LORD NEAVES, a cordial vote of thanks was given to PROFESSOR SIMPSON for his very learned and important Address.

The company then adjourned to the Museum and Library of the Society.

MONDAY, 11th February 1861.

DAVID LAING, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were balloted for, and elected Fellows of the Society :—

THOMAS CONSTABLE, Esq., Publisher.
 JAMES CRAWFORD, Jun., Esq., W.S.
 Major WILLIAM ROSS KING, Badenscoth, Aberdeenshire.
 WILLIAM MACLEOD, M.D., Ben-Rhydding, Yorkshire.
 JAMES DAVID MARWICK, Esq., City Clerk.
 MATTHEW TUNNOCH, Esq., S.S.C.
 WILLIAM STUART WALKER of Bowland, Esq.

As a Corresponding Member.

ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D., Deputy-Commissioner in Lunacy.

The Donations to the Museum and Library were as follows :—

Large (Clay Iron) Stone, shaped somewhat like an ancient Battle-axe with Handle, measuring 20 inches long, 10 inches across face, and 3 across handle. It was found in the bed of the river Esk. By ROBERT DUNDAS, of Arniston, Esq.

Collection of Bone Pins, Bronze Brooches, Buckle, and Stone with incised Cross, Stone Implements, &c., as detailed in the communication of Captain F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Two small Circular Perforated Stones, termed Adder Stones, recently used in the Lewis as amulets for the cure of the diseases of cattle. Triangular-shaped Bar, or specimen of Pig-iron, 12 inches long by 6 inches broad, found while excavating on the site of the old Furnace of Pollewe, Gairloch, Ross-shire, 1860. By ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D., Deputy-Commissioner in Lunacy.

Nine Specimens of Vessels of coarse Pottery, made and used recently in the Uig and Barvas districts of the Island of Lewis, and called Craggans, 1860. By Captain F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., and ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D., Deputy Commissioner in Lunacy.

These vessels consist of six wide-mouthed, globular-shaped dishes, varying in size from 4 to 9 inches high, and from 13 to 32 inches in circumference. One of them is ornamented with incised lines on the upper part. Two bowl-shaped vessels; the one is 6 inches high, and 11 inches across the mouth; the other $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the mouth. One vessel is shaped like a stew-pan, 5 inches deep, and 6 inches across the mouth, with a handle 4 inches long. All these vessels are rudely made with the hand, without the assistance of the potter's wheel, and are annealed by milk being thrown upon them while they are red-hot. They are used for various culinary and domestic purposes. Until within the last ten years metal pots were unknown in the Island.

Conical-shaped stone, measuring $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, about 3 inches in diameter, with perforation through pointed extremity, and three perforations in base. By THOMAS STEVENSON, Esq., C.E., F.S.A. Scot.

The stone is apparently a sink-stone used for fishing-nets, and was found, in 1855, at the top of a precipitous rock about 170 feet high, called "Muckle Flugga," lying about three-quarters of a mile to the northward of Unst, the northernmost island of the Zetland group. The sinker was found embedded in rocky matters, three feet below the surface, by workmen who were cutting a foundation for a lighthouse. It is probably of considerable antiquity, as it was very compactly embedded. Similar stones are still used for sinking nets in Zetland.

Archæologia; or, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity. Pub-

lished by the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. XXXIII. Part I. 4to. London, 1860.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. IV. Nos. 49-52, 1858-59; and Vol. I. Part I., Second Series. 1859; 8vo. London, 1858-60. By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical, of King James' Irish Army List (1689), second edition. 2 vols. 8vo. Dublin, 1860. By the Author, JOHN D'ALTON, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Comitatus de Atholia. The Earldom of Atholl, its Boundaries Stated, &c. With Proofs and Map. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1860. Printed for private circulation. By the Author, Colonel J. A. ROBERTSON, F.S.A. Scot.

Reports and Papers read at the Meetings of the Architectural Societies of York, Lincoln, Northampton, Bedford, Worcester, and Leicester, during the year 1858. 8vo. Lincoln, 1860. By the Societies, through the Rev. E. TROLLOPE, Leasingham.

Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, 8vo (pp. 40). 1860. By GEORGE TATE, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Notices of Various Animal Remains, as *Bos longifrons* (Owen), &c., found with Roman Pottery, near Newstead, Roxburghshire. With Notes in reference to the Origin of our Domestic Cattle, and the Wild White Cattle of this Country. 8vo (pp. 12). (From "Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal," vol. liv. 1853.) By the Author, JOHN ALEX. SMITH, M.D., F.S.A. Scot. The animal remains described were formerly presented by Dr J. A. Smith to the Museum of the Society.

Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society. Part I., 8vo. Glasgow, 1859. By the SOCIETY.

Stonehenge; being the Report of a Brief Lecture on the Spot, August 1860, 8vo (pp. 16). Exeter, 1860. By the Author, JOHN THURNAM, M.D.

Notices of Remarkable Greek, Roman and Anglo-Saxon, and other Medieval Coins, 4to (pp. 12). Cork, 1860. By the Author, JOHN LINDSAY, Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Illustrated Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Silver Plate formed by Lord Londesborough, now the Property of Lady Londesborough. 4to. London, 1860. Printed for private circulation. By the Author, FREDERICK W. FAIRHOLT, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

The following recent purchases for the Museum were also exhibited :—

A Series of Scottish and English Coins, towards completing the collections in the Museum.

Medal in Brass, struck on the Defeat of the Spanish Armada, 2 inches in diameter. It displays a fleet dispersed by a storm, and the inscription—*FLAVIT ET DISSIPATI SVNT*. 1588. *Rev.*—Church on a Rock in the midst of the Sea—inscription, *ALLIDOR NON LÆDOR*. Also,

Leaden Badge, the Virgin seated with Child in lap, an Angel on each side; diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Found near the ruins of Cambuskenneth Abbey, Stirling. And a

Bronze Hand-Candlestick, ornamented in high relief. Length of handle 5 inches; socket for candle 1 inch high. Found, along with two Irish Groats of Philip and Mary, in digging in a bog in the county of Tyrone, Ireland.

The following communications were read :—

I.

PLAN OF THE REMAINS OF THE ANCIENT CHAPEL-ROYAL CALLED KIRKHEUGH, ST ANDREWS, WITH A DESCRIPTIVE NOTICE. BY ROBERT ANDERSON, Esq. COMMUNICATED, WITH HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE PROVOSTRY OF KIRKHEUGH, BY DAVID LAING, Esq., V.P.S.A. Scot.

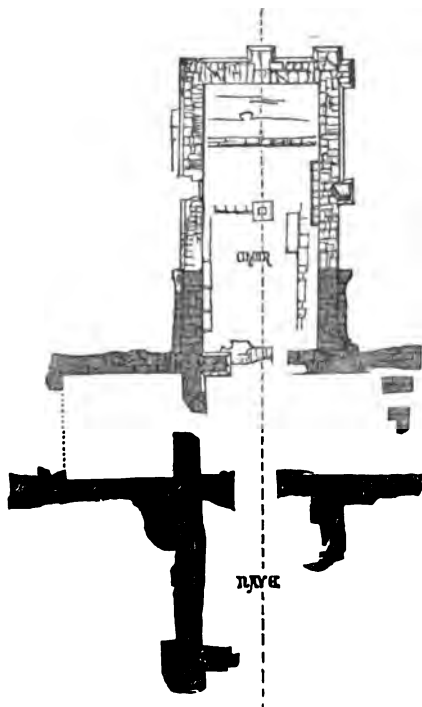
In the plan exhibited (see annexed wood-cut) it will be seen that these Remains are tolerably perfect, and show that the Chapel consisted of chancel, transepts, and nave, although no part of the masonry is higher than a few inches above the base course, which has a chamfer. The chancel shows the priests' entrance, the foundations of the altar steps, and sedillæ. In the transepts are remains of the stone seat which, no doubt, went round the whole of the chapel. In the south transept is an isolated mass of masonry, which can only be accounted for by supposing it to have been part of an altar-tomb. In the north-west re-entering angle of transept and nave is a mass of masonry, which, from its appearance and position, must have been the foundation of a circular staircase. In the nave, nothing in the way of detail can be traced. At the existing north-west angle there is a mass of masonry which doubt-

less formed the foundation of an angle turret, of the nature of the later and more fully developed ones still existing at the east and west gables of the cathedral. There are several other masses of masonry not necessary for the completion of the plan of the chapel. These are, no doubt the remains of the conventual buildings attached to the chapel.

The orientation of the chancel differs considerably from that of the rest of the building. This arises, some suppose, from the chapel having been rededicated; but from my experience in measuring buildings, both at home and abroad, I should say that this difference arises from the work having been carelessly set out by the workmen.

There are no indications to show that, in its completed state, this was an edifice of any importance architecturally. The only feature that we can with any certainty suppose it to have had is a central tower, the circular staircase already noticed giving access to it.

These remains belong to two different periods, the older being the nave and part of the transepts, and is built of very rough rubble masonry and sand; the latter consisting of the chancel and parts of the transepts, and is built of a superior class of masonry and mortar. The chancel is the only part that appears to have had buttresses; and as these are of considerable projection, may be taken as additional evidence of the greater age of the nave. The original chapel had also a chancel; and an examination of these ruins led me to the conclusion, that when the chapel



was enlarged the builders pulled down the whole of the chancel and parts of the transepts, and, when rebuilding, preserving exactly the size of the original transepts, and on exactly the same site, and built a completely new and enlarged chancel, and did not adhere to the exact site of the original one.

To approximate to the date of this edifice from the ruins would be impossible, as there are no distinctive details. A considerable quantity of stained glass was found on the altar platform, evidently the debris of the east window. As far as I could distinguish the ornament, it appeared to belong to the thirteenth century.

In the bird's-eye view of St Andrews, dated 1530, attached to the Rev. Mr Lyon's "History of St Andrews," there are no indications of this chapel. In Martine's "*Reliquiæ Divi Andræ*," written in 1683, they are mentioned as still to be seen, and are there stated to be the ruins of "*Ecclesia beatæ Mariæ de Rupe, et Capella Domini Regis Scotorum*," at that time traditionally supposed to have been founded by the Culdees on their being obliged to desert their chapel on the Ladie's Craig, in consequence of the encroaching sea. The building seen on the Kirkheugh, in the bird's-eye view above mentioned, is likely the provost's house, mentioned by Martine as then existing.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE PROVOSTRY OF KIRKHEUGH, ST ANDREWS.

Mr Anderson having requested me to lay the preceding communication before the Society, I was led to examine the subject in an historical point of view; and I avail myself of this opportunity to submit to the members various detached notices in connexion with the Provostry of Kirkheugh; an establishment which may be held as representing one of the earliest of the Culdee Churches, and which afterwards became a Chapel Royal—the oldest, perhaps, on record in this country.

I shall not enter upon the legendary history of St Regulus, the Monk of Patras, who brought from Greece the relics of our tutelar saint, the Apostle St Andrew, to Scotland, and who became the founder of the

church which in due time was raised to the dignity of the Metropolitan See. Neither shall I touch on the orders of the Secular priests called Culdees—a fruitful subject of controversy between Prelatic and Presbyterian writers. According to the current tradition recorded by our old historians, King Constantine the Third, wearied with the troubles of a public life, renounced his regal dignity, became a Canon in the Church of St Mary on the Rock, and after his death, in the year 943, was commemorated by a statue. Even this tradition would assign to the Church a venerable antiquity.

The site of this Church is thus described by George Martine, in his “*Reliquiæ Divi Andree*,” written in the year 1683 :—

“As to these Culdees (he says) at St Andrews, there goes a tradition in this place, that the Culdees of old, at least Regulus and his companions, had a cell dedicate to the blessed Virgine, about a bow-flight east of the shoare of St Andrews, a little without the end of the peer (now within the sea), upon a rock, called at this day Our Ladies Craig ; the rock is well known, and seen every day at low water ; and that upon the sea's encroaching, they built another house at, or near the place where the house of the Kirkheugh now stands, called Sancta Maria de Rupe, with St Reull's Chapel. To examine the tradition, it must be granted that the first part of it may be possible, for in my time there lived people in St Andrews who remembered to have seen men play at boulls upon the east and north sydes of the Castle of St Andrews, which now the sea covers everie tyde. So it may be that the sea of old came not so much up to our east coast as now it doeth,” &c.¹

Of this original edifice, no portion probably exists, although Mr Anderson concludes, from his careful examination of the remains of the building, that these belong to two different periods. At the beginning of the present century nothing was visible but the gable of a house, with the door entire, which fell in 1802, leaving no appearance to indicate the form of the building.

The abundance of human bones discovered was sufficient to show that the place had long been used as a burying-ground. More recent exca-

¹ *Reliquiæ*, &c., orig. MS. in my possession, 1683, p. 10 ; printed edition, 1799, p. 24.

vations, by removing the earth which concealed the foundation, has enabled Mr Anderson to ascertain the dimensions and form of the church, the walls being now left clear for about three feet in height from the base. During this operation several sculptured stones of an earlier period, and some other interesting relics, have been discovered. Although these remains were not likely to be overlooked by the Secretary and other members of our Society, I was induced to address a note to Robert Matheson, Esq., of H.M. Office of Works, under whose superintendence these excavations were made, soliciting the authority of the Right Hon. the First Commissioner of H.M. Works to allow one or more specimens of the sculptured stones and cinerary urns to be brought to Edinburgh for exhibition at the present Meeting; suggesting, at the same time, how desirable it would be that some specimens should be permanently deposited in what has now become a National Museum. Mr Matheson kindly transmitted my note to London, with a recommendation in favour of this request; but, although it was favourably entertained, I am sorry the intimation made in the billet was premature, that "one of the sculptured crosses found in the ruins of the Chapel Royal at Kirkheugh will be exhibited." I hope, however, that this disappointment will prove to be only temporary. In reference to the existing remains of the Kirkheugh, I may add a short extract of a letter from the Rev. Robert Skinner, Episcopal minister, St Andrews, addressed to Mr Matheson:—

"ST ANDREWS, 28th January 1861.

"It would appear as though all the *external ashlar* stones of the chancel walls, and even many of the internal, had been portions of *round pillars*—that is, that pillars had been, as it were, sawn through the middle *vertically*, and divided into sections; the flat sides form the exterior of the walls, and the round parts are imbedded in the mortar. Two stone-masons were beside me when I examined them, and they confirmed my conjectures. Might not these pillars have been portions of a former fabric which had once stood on the same site, and of a Norman character?"

To return to the history of the Church.—The order of Culdees, consisting of Canons Secular, having acquired lands and churches from

kings, nobles, and other donors, formed a Chapter, and had the power of electing a bishop in several dioceses, when a vacancy occurred. The Canons Regular of the order of St Augustine had their first establishment at Scone in the year 1114, and Robert, the first prior, became afterwards Bishop of St Andrews, and, in 1144, founded in that city the Priory, and obtained from the king, Alexander the First, the old Culdean Priory of Lochleven to be annexed to his new foundation. This grant was confirmed by Pope Eugenius III. in 1147; but while it gave rise to protracted disputes with the Culdees, the Priory became one of the first in rank and wealth of the religious houses in Scotland. The Culdees were in a great manner superseded by the Canons Regular, yet they continued to assert their rights in the election of the bishops of that See, and this controversy has proved the means of preserving some of the earliest notices we have of the Collegiate Church of St Mary on the Rock, or the Kirk-Heugh. The date when this church was founded, and the name of the founder, are alike unknown. When it was endowed and enlarged into a Collegiate establishment, probably in the reign of King Alexander the Second (1214–1249), it may then have become a royal foundation, and received its name of *Capella Regis*. As such it had a provost and ten prebendaries; and as it existed before the middle of the thirteenth century, it may, so far as can be ascertained, have been the earliest Collegiate Church in Scotland. The prebends connected with the Church are thus enumerated:—

The prebend of Arbuthnot.

The parsonage and vicarage of Kinglassie and Kingask.

The prebend of Duray and Rungallie.

The parsonage of Feteresso.

The parsonage of Dysert.

The prebend of Cameron and Cairns.

The parsonage of Bervie.

The parsonage of Strabrok.

The prebend of Benholme.

The lands holden of the Provostry of Kirkheugh, in the time of Bajamont's taxation, near the end of the thirteenth century, were these following:—

Balmaine and the Mylne.

Southern Kinaldie and the Mylne.

Kinaldie Norther.

Gilmertoun, Lambieletham, and Carngow.

The Kirklands of Seres, Kinkell, and Snadoun ;

with the teynds of Ouchter Struthers, Craigrothie, Cassindellie,
of the baronie Craighall, Inglis-Tarvet, Halteses, Hilteses,
Tesemylne, Easter Pitscottie, Baltillie, and Kingerrock.¹

The state of this benefice at the general assumption of the rents of church benefices of this kingdom, Anno 1561, is recorded thus in the Books of Assumption :—

“ The rental of the Provostrie of Kirkheugh, called the Kirkhill, consists of the fewed lands of Kinaldie in Gilmerton, and the teynds of Craighall and Inglis-Tarvet, and the lands of the parish of Seres,—

“ In money,	.	.	.	.	.	£176 14 8
Beare,	.	.	.	.	.	3 chald. 9 bolls
Meall,	.	.	.	.	.	9 „ 11 „
Kean oats,	.	.	.	.	.	1 „ 6 „
Kean fowls,	.	.	.	.	.	5 dusson.”

In a rental of the Bishopric, more than a century later, is contained the following “ Rental of the Provostrie of the Kirkheugh :”—

“ The Laird of Kinaldie for the lands of Kinaldie,	.	.	.	.	£46 13 4
More be him for Gilmertoune,	.	.	.	.	15 0 0
James Watstone of Arthornie for his part of					
Lambeletham,	.	.	.	.	2 0 0
More be him for Murehead's part thereof,	.	.	.	.	12 0 0
Robert Hamilton for Kinkell and Snadoun,	.	.	.	.	4 0 0
The Laird of Craighall for the kirklands of Cires,	.	.	.	.	20 0 0
<i>Note.</i> —This is detained by Craighall for his fee as					
Baillie of the Provostrie of Kirkheugh.					

The Manse of the Provostrie,	.	.	.	.	2 0 0
<i>Note.</i> —This house and yeard, with the croft belonging to it, are now fallen in my Lord's own hands.” ²					

¹ Martine's Reliquie, &c., MS., p. 88 ; printed edition, p. 216.

² Rental of the Bishopricks, &c., 1689. MS., folio, in my possession.

I shall now, so far as I have succeeded in tracing their names, enumerate the chief officials connected with the Church of St Mary on the Rock, or the Kirkheugh, signifying the kirk or church on the *heuch* or *heugh*, the crag, or steep hill, or bank. But first I may observe, that the term *Præpositus Sancti Andree*, so frequently used in early deeds, had no reference to the provost or chief magistrate of the city; while the title *Præpositus*, occurring so early as the thirteenth century, may be held as conclusive evidence that the Church had then been erected into a Provostry or Collegiate Church. The following extract from Martine's *Reliquiæ*, 1683, describes the Seal of the Chapter:—

“This benefice was called of old, *Ecclesia beatæ Mariæ de Rupe, et Capella domini Regis Scotorum*, as the charters and writs granted to the vassells of the lands holden thereof, by the provest and chapter of this chapell with the seall of the convent of the same appended thereunto, do evidentlie testifie; which seall bears the blessed Virgin carrying the holy Babe, sitting, as it seems, under a cloath of state, or in a great portico or entrie, excellentlie cutt, with a little division on each side, and there a man worshipping on each hand of the image, with this circumscription: *S. capituli ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ capellæ domini regis Scotorum*. The reverse bears a king crowned, sitting with a long close mantle and garment, girt in the middle, very antique, holding a sword in his right hand, and a monde or globe in his left, with the same circumscription.”¹

At St Andrews, the Culdees or Keldees appear to have met in chapter and exercised their privilege in electing the Bishops of that See until the erection of the Priory in 1140, when, for upwards of a century such elections were made jointly with the Canons Regular, who afterwards assumed to themselves the exclusive right.

Magister ADAM MALKARUISTON is the first person who appears as Provost in our Records. In 1250 he is styled simply *Clericus* or *Clericus Episcopi*; but in the Register in the Priory of St Andrews he is expressly designed “Magister Ada de Malkaruiston, Prepositus Capelle Sancte Marie civitatis Sancti Andree,” 4 Kal. Febr. 1266–7.² On the election

¹ MS. 1683, p. 86; printed edition, p. 209.

² *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, Edinb. 1841, 4to, p. 311. This very valuable work was printed for the Bannatyne Club.

of two Bishops in 1272 and 1279, the ancient Culdees or Secular Canons were not allowed to have a vote: "Pridie Non. Aug. 1279. *Exclusis Kelediis sicut in electione precedenti.*"¹ The next Provost was not inclined to be so excluded. This was

Dominus WILLELMUS CUMYN. In 1297, when William de Lambyrton was elected Bishop of St Andrews, "Dom. Willelmus Cumyn, tunc Prepositus Keldeorum," went in person to Rome, to oppose the election, and debated their cause before Pope Boniface VIII., though to no purpose, partly on the ground of *non utendo jure suo*, they having suffered two former elections to proceed without their consent, and had entered their appeal only against the third.² The Pope consecrated Lambyrton on the 1st June 1298.

The next vacancy occurred in 1328, when James Bene having been chosen Bishop by the Canons of St Andrews without the concurrence of the Keldees, their Provost, the same Sir William Cumyn, styled "Prepositus Capellæ Regiæ," was again at the Court of Rome to oppose the election. It seems, however, that Bene, being himself present at the time, obtained his Episcopate by the collation of Pope John XXII., before any account was received of his actual election by the Canons; and Cumyn, having withdrawn his opposition, he obtained for himself the Archdeaconry of Lothian in place of Alexander Kyninmonth, who was then promoted to the See of Aberdeen.³

Dominus JOHANNES DE ROXBURGHE next appears as Provost. He was *Clericus* to the Chamberlains of Scotland in 1329 and 1337. As "Prepositus Sancti Andree," he was one of the Auditors of the Chamberlain's Accounts, 11th June 1342.⁴

Magister WILLEMUS DE DALGARNOCK, held the office of "Prepositus Sancti Andree" in 1375.⁵

Magister DUNCANUS PETYT, who was much employed in public negotiations, first appears in 1379, when he went to Rome on the King's affairs.⁶ A safe-conduct was granted to "Magister Dunkanus Petyt,

¹ Forduni Scotichronicon, vol. i. pp. 360, 361.

² *Ib.* p. 361.

³ *Ib.* p. 363.

⁴ Chamberlain Rolls, vol. i. pp. 41, 43, 133, 152, 267.

⁵ *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 76.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 109.

Prepositus Sancti Andree in Scotia," 22d January 1382-3.¹ "Mestre Duncan Petit, Provost de Sanct Andrewe," was one of the Commissioners on the part of Scotland for the time which was agreed to by the English in 1384. His safe-conduct is dated 26th July.² He again visited Rome on public affairs in 1392.³ Two years later he was preferred to the Archdeaconry of Glasgow.⁴ On the death of John Peblis, Bishop of Dunkeld, in 1396, Duncan Petit was nominated Lord Chancellor of Scotland; but within a short time, before the last of August that year, he was deprived of that dignified office. As Chancellor, his name occurs as a witness to the charter of erection of the Regality of Paisley, granted to the Abbot and Convent of that monastery by King Robert the Third.⁵

Magister ROBERTUS DE LANY, the next Provost, was similarly employed in public affairs. As "Prepositus Sancti Andree" his name is included in the safe-conducts granted to Sir John Steward, Lord of Lorn, 29th April, and 16th September 1411.⁶ His name occurs in the Chamberlain Rolls in 1412.⁷ In 1413, 16th April, he is designed Licentiate in Decrees.⁸ "Robertus de Lany, Prepositus Ecclesie Sancti Andree," is included in the safe-conduct to Walter, Bishop of Brechin, 1st September 1413.⁹ In the renewals of subsequent safe-conducts to Scottish ambassadors sent to England, Lany appears in 1413 and 1414.¹⁰ "Magister Robertus Lany, Prepositus Capelle Regie nostre Sancti Andree," was a witness to deeds relating to St Salvator's College, St Andrews, 31st March 1432, and 20th March 1432-33.¹¹

The following names of Canons, apparently of this Chapel Royal, are also met with :—Magister Johannes de Leonis, Capellanus Regis Scotiæ, 20th January 1415-16;¹² Dominus David Broun, Canonicus Capellæ Regiæ, 1425;¹³ Magister Thomas Roule, clericus et Capellanus Regis

¹ Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 46.^a

³ Chamberlain Rolls, vol. ii. p. 212.

⁵ Registrum Magni Sigilli.

⁷ Chamberlain Rolls, vol. ii. p. 47.

⁹ Rotuli Scotiæ, p. 207.

¹⁰ Ib. vol. ii. pp. 209-211; Chamberlain Rolls, vol. iii. pp. 58, 67, 76.

¹¹ University Commission Reports, St Andrews.

¹² Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 261.

² Ib. p. 64.^b

⁴ Ib. p. 271.

⁶ Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. pp. 194-197.

⁸ Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 204.

¹³ Chamberlain Rolls, vol. iii. p. 127.

Scotorum, 31st October 1427;¹ Thomas Logy, canonicus Capellæ Regiæ, 1436;² Magister Thomas Logy, canonicus Capellæ Regiæ, Rector de Glendovan et Decanus Facultatis, &c. Sancti Andree, 20th December 1447;³ and Canonicus Dunkeldensis, 1456.⁴

HUGO KENNEDY, Prepositus Sancti Andree, was a witness to a royal charter, dated 5th September 1439.⁵ Hugo Kennedy, Prepositus Capelle Regie Sancti Andree, is named in a deed, entitled "Concordia per Jacobum Kennedy Episcopum, inter Suppositi Universitatis et Cives Sancti Andree," 6th May 1444.⁶ Accompanied by twelve persons, his attendants, Venerabilis vir Hugo Kennedy, Scotus, had a safe conduct, 20th October 1447. Hugo Kennedy, Prepositus Ecclesie Sancti Andree, is included in the safe-conduct to James Stewart, husband of the late Queen of Scots, 17th August 1451.⁷

MAGISTER ALANUS CANT, Cancellarius Sancti Andree et Decanus Capelle Regie, on the 13th August 1456, was one of the benefactors when the library of the University was founded; but the "notabilis liber cum diversis aliis voluminibus" which he presented are unfortunately not now preserved at St Andrews. His successor,

MAGISTER JOHANNES KENNEDY, Prepositus Sancti Andree, was present in the parliament held at Perth, 6th November 1458.⁸ His name occurs in a safe-conduct 28th August 1460, and again 28th March 1465.⁹ The Provost was one of the Lords Auditors in March 1469;¹⁰ and Mr John Kennedy was still provost 3d November 1470.¹¹

MAGISTER JOANNES HUME, Decanus Capellæ Regiæ, appears as witness to a charter under the Great Seal, 15th April 1478.¹²

DOMINUS JACOBUS ALLIRDES, under the several denominations of Prepositus Sancti Andree—Ecclesiæ beate Marie de Rupe—beatissime Virginis de Sancto Andrea—or Prepositus Capelle Regie prope ripam Sancti Andree, is met with as one of the Lords of Council, and in other capa-

¹ Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 261.

² Acta Rectorum S. Andree.

³ Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 331.

⁴ Ib. p. 347.

⁵ Ib. p. 348.

⁶ Acta Rectorum S. Andree.

⁷ Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 348.

⁸ Acta Parl. Scot., vol. ii. p. 79.

⁹ Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. pp. 400, 416.

¹⁰ Acta Auditorum, p. 8.

¹¹ Regist. de Aberbrothok, p. 166.

¹² Regist. Magni Sigilli.

cities, between January 1479-80 and December 1496.¹ The title of "Provost of the Lady Kirk beside Saint Andrews," also occurs in 1490.

Magister LEONARDUS LOGY, Vicarius de Kilconquhar, Prebendarius de Dura in Ecclesia collegiata beate Marie de Rupe infra Civitatem Sancti Andree, 15th June 1506.

Mr ROBERT ERSKINE, Canon of the Collegiate Church or Chapel Royal (Collegiate Ecclesie sive Capelle Regie) of St Andrews and St Mary of the Rock, was collated to the canonry and rectory of Arbuthnot, called a prebend of the said collegiate church, vacant by the resignation of William Rynd, 2d Ides [14th] July 1552.²

Mr JAMES LERMONTH was Provost of Kirkhill beside the Citie of St Andrews, at the eventful era of the Reformation. In April 1561, the Presbytery of St Andrews resolved and declared that "the Lady Colledge Kirk upon the Hauch was ane prophane house, and sa to be haldyn in tyme cuming."³ Lermouth, as Provost, granted leases of land in the Parochine of Seres, 7th December 1565, and 16th September 1570.⁴ He died 20th March 1577-8.⁵

Mr THOMAS BUCHANAN was presented to the Provostry of Kirkhill, in the room of umquhill Mr James Lermouth, 1st April 1578.⁶ He was the nephew of George Buchanan; was educated in St Andrews, and became master of the Grammar School of Stirling before he was appointed minister of Ceres, which was conjoined to the Provostry. "Mr Thomas Buchanan, Provost of Kirkheuch, and minister at Ceres," died 12th April 1599.⁷ His successor was his nephew.

Mr ROBERT BUCHANAN, son of umquhill Walter Buchanan of Drumma-kill, was presented "to the Colledge Kirk of Sanct Marie of the Heuch, liand within the Citie of Sanct Andrews, 12th April 1599.⁸ He also was minister of Ceres, and died in the year 1617.

¹ Acta Auditorum, p. 188; Acta Parl. Scot., vol. ii. p. 153. Registrum de Aberbrothok, pp. 210, 298.

² Spalding Miscellany, vol. iv. p. 52.

³ Extracts of Presbytery Proceedings, Maitland Miscellany, vol. iii. pp. 270, 292.

⁴ M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 260.

⁵ Reg. Conf. Test., Edinb., 10 Feb. 1580.

⁶ Register of Presentation to Benefices.

⁷ Register of Presentations to Benefices.

⁸ Register of Conf. Testaments, Edinburgh, 12th June 1599.

It is only necessary to add, that Kirkheugh lost its importance as a Chapel Royal towards the close of the fifteenth century. Restalrig was designed as the Chapel Royal in the reign of James the Third, until the Chapel Royal at Stirling, in the reign of James the Fourth, became the chief place so designed, the Dean enjoying, by Papal authority, episcopal dignity, being conjoined with the See of Galloway. At a later period, subsequent to the Reformation, the Provostry was annexed to the Crown, and in the arrangements for the introduction of Episcopacy by James the Sixth, the Provostry, with Ceres and other church livings, was conveyed to the Archbishop of St Andrews in 1606, in return for his having resigned the Castle of St Andrews to the Crown.

II.

NOTICE OF SOME STONE CROSSES, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MARKET-CROSSES OF SCOTLAND. BY JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot.

From the interest lately created by the proposed restoration of the ancient City Cross of Edinburgh, it occurred to me that, having at various times made sketches of a number of Scottish market-crosses, a notice of a few of these might be acceptable to this Society.

In addition to Market or Town Crosses, there are two other kinds of Crosses that may be mentioned, viz., Ecclesiastical and Memorial. Of the latter, we have a great many in Scotland. For illustrations of a highly-interesting class of these, the public owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Spalding Club for their beautiful volume on the "Standing Stones of Scotland," so well edited by their and our secretary, Mr Stuart.

There is, however, a class not included in this volume to which I will simply allude, such as the one on the Hawkhill, near Alloa, having merely a rude cross carved on each side (fig. 2). This seems to be the first step in advance from the rude upright monolith, marking the site of a battle—such as the one at Dunbar (fig. 1)—or the grave of a chief. By the wayside, near Finzean House, Aberdeenshire, stands one stated by tradition to be erected to the memory of Dardanus, one of our mythic Scottish kings; while in the wood close by is his cairn—a very large one.

Next comes a rude attempt at art, a good specimen of which stands near Hume Castle, having incised upon it on one side the figure of a knight with his hound at his feet, and on the other his shield and sword, terminating with a cross enclosed in a circle (fig. 3). In the churchyard of Foulis, near Dundee, is a curious flat tombstone, having a canopy sculptured on it, below which is a knight's sword, while his hunting horn hangs over the edge of the stone; at the foot of the grave is a rude upright cross (fig. 4). In the churchyard of Dunbar is another of the



Fig. 1. Standing Stone near Dunbar.

same class, having a floriated cross, and also the shield of arms and sword sculptured on it.

With the ecclesiastical cross, every one who has wandered in Italy and other Roman Catholic countries must be familiar; and in this country, no doubt, they were also very common previous to the Reformation, and were generally placed by the solitary wayside, to remind the faithful of their duty as good Catholics, or in some public place of a town, either

placed there by the Church or erected by some pious devotee in the spirit with which Sir Walter Scott inscribes the well in "Marmion:"—

"Drink, weary pilgrim, drink and pray
For the good soul of Sybil Gray,
Who built this cross and well."

Of this class I only know of one, at Goodlieburn, near Perth (fig. 5). It



Fig. 2. On the Hawkhill, near Alloa

has been a crucifix, having the figure of Christ sculptured on it, the under part, from the waist downwards, now only remaining, although I was told that people still remembered the upper part lying in the field. In a cottage garden by the roadside near Markinch, there is a stone with a cross rudely sculptured on it in relief. This may have belonged to the same class. At Crossrig, a few miles from Biggar, and at Preston near Dunse, fragments of such wayside crosses still remain. In the churchyard of Borthwick there remains a socket, which may have formed part of a cross, erected on the spot where stood St Kentigern's Marvellous Cross, which, with

his residence here, is thus alluded to in Jocelyn's Life of the saint, published by Pinkerton in his *Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum*—"Aliam quoque crucem incredibilem dictu, nisi posset explorari visu et tactu, in Lothwerd (Borthwick) juste et religiose de resurrectione cogitans de sola arena maris construxit. In quo loco ipse octo annorum spacio mandit." Again, on a rock jutting out into the road near South Queensferry, is the socket of such a cross, being the spot from which the pious pilgrims first got

sight of Dunfermline. This interesting fragment was saved by the Earl of Roseberry, who insisted that the trustees should not interfere with it in making the road. A similar one was pointed out to me last autumn near Melrose, where it goes by the name of a Holy Water Font. Another class were boundary crosses, erected either as landmarks or to point out the extent of sanctuary of church lands. Some such still remain in connection with the Preceptory of Torphichen, radiating from one in the churchyard. However, Market or Town Crosses are those I wish particularly to call the attention of the Society to. They were generally placed in some large open space of a town, such a position being chosen not only to show where the market was held, but as a centre from which edicts, either royal or burghal, might be proclaimed, and where civil offenders might be punished. In Scotland they generally consisted of a pillar raised upon a flight of steps, or a solid basement without steps of any sort. On most crosses of this sort there still remains the iron staple to which the joughs (a collar used for chaining up malefactors for the public edification) were attached, serving thus the same purpose as the stocks in England, or for the more serious punishment of the pillory, where the offenders might be jeered at and pelted with everything unsavoury and disagreeable—a mode of punishment only abolished by Act of Parliament in 1837. In some cases, probably, the branks (another variety of the same class of punishment) may have been fixed at the opposite



Fig. 8. At Eccles, Berwickshire.

side of the Cross from the joughs. It seems to have been so at Ormiston and Crieff, in both of which the iron staples still remain. In the latter it is higher up the shaft than on the opposite side. The Market Cross sometimes consisted of a larger building, having a stair inside leading to the roof, which was surrounded by a parapet, and from the centre of the roof the pillar sprang. In country districts the joughs seem to have been attached either to the gateway of the churchyard, as at Duddingstone and Restalrig, near Edinburgh, or on the doorway of the church. At Spott, East Lothian, they are so fixed; the old bellman, who was a native of this parish, and who only died a few years ago, recollected

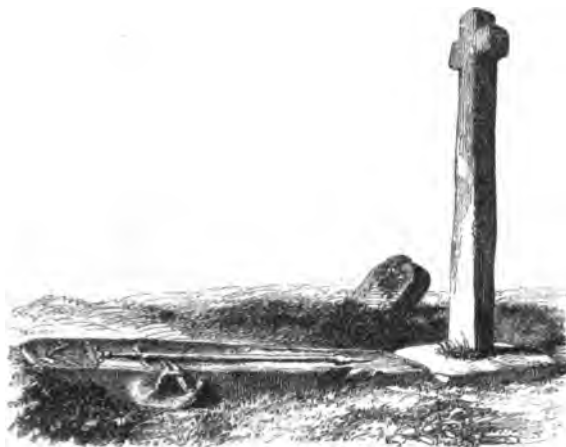


Fig 4. In the Churchyard of Foulis-Easter.

having seen a man fixed in the joughs for some ecclesiastical misdemeanour. At Biggar the joughs are on a buttress by the church door; while on a buttress a few yards on the other side of the door, there remains a staple where, very probably, the branks, or witch's bridle, was attached. Sometimes they were attached even to a tree. A pair which had been so placed in the churchyard of Applegirth, Dumfriesshire, are now in possession of Sir William Jardine. In towns they were occasionally on the door-post of the common prison. At the ancient

village of Water of Leith they hung at the doorway of an old house still standing. This house, or some part of it, was used as a prison. The Cross was also used to measure punishment from. You have all heard the story of the judge who condemned a notorious offender to be publicly whipped from the Cross to the Watergate, but who so little appreciated the benefit that, shaking his fist in the judge's face, he told him with an oath that he had done his worst—whereupon the judge laconically added, "and back again;" and in the old ballad of "Adam Bell" we are told that preparations were made by the Justice for the execution of William of Cloudesly at the Pillory or Cross—

"Then went he to the Market place,
As fast as he could hie,
There a pair of new gallows he set up
Beside the pillory."

Crosses were no doubt originally ecclesiastical, and their transition from this character to their ordinary use is simple. In rude and lawless times we can suppose a paction of any sort being considered binding, if contracted at a Cross, with its sacred significance. This would perhaps be rendered doubly sure if, while hand-fasting, they touched with the other hand the Cross. The place where it was situated thus becoming a place of bargain-making, and the Cross gradually losing its religious significance; its very cruciform shape disappearing, until at last it was transformed into the ordinary Market Cross. The Crosses of Cockburnspath and Clackmannan (figs. 6 and 7) are characteristic in this respect, the one at Ormiston still preserving the cruciform shape ;



Fig. 5. Near Goodlieburn, Perthshire.

having, however, a shield of arms

sculptured on it, the ecclesiastical character is lost. But the most beautiful of all Scottish market-crosses I have yet seen is that of Inverkeithing (see Plate II.), seeming to me to possess all the requisites of such an erection. It is heraldic (which, fortunately, fixes its date), has a sun-dial, which is again surmounted by the Scottish Unicorn, with the shield. Attached to the shaft the staple for the jougs still remains, the whole surrounded by a parapet wall, in which is a doorway. The capital



Fig. 6. Market-Cross, Cockburnspath.

is formed by heraldic shields, two of them being charged with the royal arms; one for the king; the other being assumed by the Duke of Rothesay as the king's eldest son and heir apparent; those of Anabella Drummond, queen of Robert III., viz. the royal and Drummond arms impaled—and of the Earl of Douglas. May not this Cross have been a gift of the queen on the occasion of the marriage of her son, the Duke of Rothesay, with the daughter of the Earl of Douglas, in 1398, as the heraldry suggests? consequently carrying us back to troublous times in our history, when the Wolf of Badenoch was devastating Morayshire, sacking and burning Elgin Cathedral, and committing all sorts of cruelties and excesses; when the Clan Key and the Clan Chattan nearly extirpated one another on the Inch of Perth; and recalling the tragical and cruel murder of the Duke of Rothesay in 1401, who was starved to death by the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Douglas. Shortly after the death of the Prince a chapel was built in St Giles', having on the capital of its centre pillar the arms of these two noblemen; and it is not unlikely that this may have been a votive offering for the deed of blood. This capital bears a strong resemblance to the capital of this cross, only having two shields

instead of four. Occasionally there is a date, but this seems generally more modern than the erection of the Cross, and seems to mark either a removal or restoration. On the Cross of Biggar there are two dates—1633, which, I suppose, may be the time of its first erection; while on a stone placed above the old capital is the date 1694, with the initials E. J. W., showing that at this date it had been repaired by John, sixth Earl of



Fig. 7. Market-Cross, Clackmannan.

Wigton. Sometimes a coat of arms or a crest was carved on the capital, as at Clackmannan, Kincardine, Doune, Coldingham and many others.

I come now to a subject which I approach with some timidity; namely, the restoration of our City Cross. About the manner and style of doing this two opinions exist. Is it to be a close or open Cross? Is it to be a restoration in form, size, and proportion of the Cross removed in 1756? Or is it to be an entirely new design? This is a matter which has at various times been talked of. It has now been taken up in

earnest, the shaft and capital of the ancient City Cross, now standing in the grounds of Drum House, having lately been proffered to the town by Alexander Mitchell of Stow, Esq. The magistrates having accepted of this gift, it occurred to some enthusiastic citizens that money could be raised among the inhabitants to restore it in the style and of the proportions of the Cross removed in 1756. A committee was accordingly formed for this purpose, who resolved that, until they had fully considered how the restoration should be carried out, it would be as well that the matter should not be brought before the Town Council or any one connected with it, that it might, as much as possible, be a citizen affair. While the committee were still deliberating, Mr William Chambers, its secretary, produced a design for an open cross, by Mr David Cousins, the city architect—Mr Chambers recommending this design and its style, “as imparting a light and graceful effect to the structure, not unlike the Scott Monument”! Such a design, however, could in no sense be considered a restoration of the Cross taken down in 1756, excepting that it would occupy the same space of roadway. Unfortunately, this design, which was not approved of by the committee, was shown at a meeting of the Town Council held on the 12th February—a body who previously thought so well of the project of the restoration, that they not only granted a site, but actually caused a movable structure of wood and canvas to be placed at various points in the street, that thus it might be determined which was the most eligible site. Now, however, on the motion of Mr Duncan M'Laren, the whole matter was set aside by 21 to 14; and although Mr M'Laren's remarks were in some respects quite uncalled for, yet his language in reference to this design was perfectly just, when he said, that to call this a restoration of the ancient City Cross could only be regarded as a hoax, and as an imposition upon the credulity of the public—an attempt to raise money on false pretences.

The original committee, after holding many meetings, still differing in opinion among themselves whether it should be a simple restoration of the Cross erected in 1617, and removed in 1756, or a modified design of the same proportions, agreed to refer the matter to a joint committee, selected from the Royal Scottish Academy and the Antiquarian Society. On the part of the Antiquaries—Messrs John Hill Burton, James

Drummond, Joseph Robertson (who acted as Secretary), and Professor Simpson (who was chosen chairman). From the Academy—Messrs. William Brodie, George Harvey, D. O. Hill, and W. B. Johnstone. This committee, after mature deliberation, unanimously resolved upon the following Report :—

“ The committee made it their first duty to ascertain whether it would be practicable to incorporate the fragment which Mr Mitchell has so liberally placed at the disposal of the public into an exact restoration, both in form and in dimensions, of the building of which it formed a part. Having, on a full examination of all the existing engravings and other data, come to the unanimous conclusion that such is practicable, the committee communicated their views to that distinguished architect Mr Bryce, who kindly agreed to prepare a plan in accordance with them. This plan (Plate III.) has been carefully considered by the committee, and they are much gratified to find that it thoroughly justifies their expectations. It is not only an unquestionable restoration of the Cross which was taken down in 1756, but it proves that building to have been a very fine example of the national architecture of Scotland before the Union, as displayed with characteristic difference in the nearly contemporary Cross of Preston, and in the later Cross of Aberdeen.

“ The committee unanimously recommend the adoption of this plan, confident that it will supersede all questions as to style or design which may have arisen from the supposition that no sufficient data existed for the restoration of the original Cross of 1617.”¹

As far as I have heard public opinion expressed, it would appear that an almost universal feeling prevails for the restoration of the Cross to

¹ This design was submitted to the Town Council, who, at a meeting held on Tuesday, 18th August 1861, resolved by a majority (18 to 9), that they had no objections to have it erected in front of the County Buildings, knowing well that an Act of Parliament prevents any building being erected on that open space. Thus is sealed the fate of the Cross of Edinburgh, as far as this design is concerned. I will only add, that much misunderstanding has taken place from the mistakes which Mr Duncan M'Laren fell into regarding the history of the Cross and its details, originating partly in the report given in to the Town Council on 4th December 1860 by Mr David Cousin, and who, from his position as City Architect, should have known the difference between carving and spangling.

be as near an approximation as possible, both in proportion and appearance, to that taken down in 1756. (For a history of this Cross, see paper by Mr M'Culloch, *Proc. Ant. Soc.* Vol. II.) Some, however, I am sorry to say, were carried away by having seen the design for an open cross, which was for some time exhibited in a draper's window near to Mr William Chambers's place of business, as the proposed restoration of the Ancient City Cross. Such must have been designed under an entire misapprehension of what was wanted. Two arguments have been used in justification: it would be so light and airy; and that this style prevails in England, and the Aberdeen Cross is an open one—both of which arguments show that due attention has not been paid to the requirements of such a structure as we want, or to the purposes for which English market-crosses were dedicated. In style they were entirely different from our Scottish market-crosses. The beautiful market-crosses at Chichester and Malmesbury were finished in a lantern such as the spire of St Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh, or that of King's College, Aberdeen. The one at Glastonbury had its roof radiating from a centre; Chedder Cross had a domed roof; and that at Salisbury was built in the fourteenth century for country people selling poultry under. In all of these there is or was a centre shaft for the support of the superstructure; but in none was there a stair to the top. They were all polygonal buildings, with an open archway on each of the sides, and vaulted within, being of size enough to hold a considerable number of persons. In fact, Leland, writing in the time of Henry VIII., tells us that these places were erected "for the shelter and accommodation of poor market folk to stand in when it raineth."

Neither must we be confounding what is wanted with preaching crosses. These were generally placed near a church. St Paul's Cross, London, demolished by Act of Parliament in 1645, as savouring of Popery and Prelacy, was a good specimen of this class. It consisted of a pulpit of wood raised upon steps, and covered with a lead roof. Nor with such as Waltham Cross or the Scott Monument: they are memorial, and belong neither to kirk nor market. Yet, strange as it may seem, I have heard all these advanced as precedents for our guidance in the restoration of the Cross of Edinburgh. Now, what is wanted is a substantial reality, not a toy, but something on which heralds and their attendants may stand with a feel-

ing of security,—something shadowing forth, as it were, the stability and power of the Government they represent, and in whose name, in all the pomp of heraldry and at the sound of the trumpet, they proclaim, in a voice of authority, royal edicts for coronations, for peace and for war, parliamentary ordinances affecting the peace, happiness, and prosperity of the nation at large, and on which traitors may be punished; a building, in short, having some resemblance to a castle with its parapet wall, as a protection to those acting under the royal authority. Complaints of the want of such a structure have been made for years. Now, surely the architects who designed such structures at a time when they were much used, knew best what was wanted, and they seem all to have been closed crosses—the English so-called crosses being merely ornamental sheds erected in a market-place for shelter during bad weather. As to the “light and airy” argument, no two reasons could have been used more condemnatory of such a design, not having even the excuse of old Leland, to shelter poor market folks during rain. As far as I have been able to ascertain, there were only five crosses in the style of the Edinburgh one, built in 1617. Preston Cross (Plate III.) is evidently of the same date, and is, perhaps, the purest in architectural style of any cross of the same class. The privilege of holding weekly markets and annual fairs was granted to the barony of Preston in 1617; and about this time, no doubt, that Cross would be erected. Unfortunately, the whole family papers of Hamilton of Preston were destroyed by fire in 1650; and as the superiority of the barony belonged to this family, anything like accurate information is not now to be had. The fraternity of the Chapmen of the Lothians allege that their predecessors acquired a right to it in 1636. They still meet there annually for the election of office-bearers. They are also bound, I believe, to keep it in repair. It is now in the middle of a market garden, although the gardener, now about ninety years of age, remembers when the Cross was in the centre of a large open square, from the outskirts of which the foundations of the houses were only removed at the end of last century. He has also occasionally come upon the causeway of former streets. The architect of this Cross may have been William Wallace, who not only belonged to this part of the country, but was much employed in the neighbourhood. He was for many years principal master-mason to the king, and died in 1631, while

acting as master-mason of Heriot's Hospital.—The third was Perth. It was pulled down by Cromwell's army in 1651, and rebuilt in 1669. The shaft of this Cross, like the Edinburgh one, was spangled with thistles; and so much importance was attached to the painting and gilding of these, that, on its restoration in 1669,¹ an agreement was entered into between the Magistrates of Perth and the Lord Lyon to grant a license to Charles Wilson to come from the Herald Office in Edinburgh "to gilde the Croce." The shaft is now preserved in the grounds of Fingask Castle. The Cross was finally condemned and demolished, as an incumbrance to the street, in 1765.—The fourth was at Dundee. It was taken down in 1777. About this period the demon of destruction seems to have seized those in power. Edinburgh alone had to lament, in a period of eleven years, the wanton destruction of three of its most interesting historical relics. In 1753 the Royal Porch of Holyrood Palace was taken down; in 1756 the Cross disappeared; and in 1764 the Netherbow Port was pulled to pieces, and the materials sold by auction. The shaft of the Dundee Cross now lies in the ground floor of the church tower, ignominiously covered up with old mural stones and rubbish. Until within the last three years it stood in the churchyard.—And the fifth is the Aberdeen one, erected in 1686, on the site of a more ancient cross; in 1821 we are told it was thoroughly repaired; and in 1837 altogether removed to another site, when it was made an open cross, as being of no other use than the ornamental—there is not even a stair to the top. This Cross was built by John Montgomery, mason in Old Rayne. He received for the work L.100 sterling, which was paid from the Guild wine funds. It is hexagonal in form, and about 18 feet to the top of the parapet. From the centre springs a Corinthian column *wreathed* with thistles, and about 12½ feet high. The capital is surmounted by the unicorn in marble, with the royal shield of Scotland at its breast. The upper part of the building is divided into twelve compartments, two of these being occupied by heraldic shields—the one of the royal, the other of the city arms. In the other ten are royal Scottish medallions, beginning with James I. and ending with James VII. An attempt has lately been made to show that the Cross of Peebles was of this important

¹ Perth Council Register.

class. However, on causing inquiry to be made of old people on the spot, and who well remember the old Cross, they all distinctly describe it as raised upon a solid pedestal six or eight feet high, slightly raised towards its centre to allow the rain to run off, but with no stair, inside or out.

Two questions naturally suggest themselves: What was the form of the original or ancient Cross of Edinburgh, taken down in 1617? and, Where did it stand? There seems little difficulty in answering the former query, my own opinion being that it was something similar in design to the Inverkeithing Cross—a simple column, surmounted by the unicorn, and raised upon a flight of steps, only larger and more important, and having perhaps the large stone basin now preserved at Abbotsford, from the centre of which the shaft may probably have sprung; the whole being surrounded by a parapet wall of no great height, but sufficient to keep the crowd out on ordinary occasions, in which was an entrance with a door of iron or wood. These statements receive confirmation from various entries in the Treasurer's accounts of the City:—

1560. Item, for ane band to y^e Croce dur, ii^s
 Item, for mending of y^e lok of y^e Croce dur, xvii^d
1584. 5. Julii. Item, y^e sam day given for ane lok to y^e
 Croce duir, and thre keyis for it, xviii^s
1584. Payit to David Williamson, for making and upputting of
 the Uicorunn upon the head of the Croce, . £30 0 0

With regard to the original site of the Cross, it seems, from the account of Queen Mary's visit to the city in 1561, to have been opposite St Giles's, at the east end of the Luckenbooths; and from the fact also that it is *not* shown in any of the earliest views of the city, which are so drawn that the church must have concealed it, while the Canongate or St John's Cross is shown in its proper place. This Cross is now placed against the wall of the Tolbooth in the Canongate. The staple for the jouns still remains, and there was also a contrivance of some sort for fixing the legs. Old people still living recollect of a woman being put in the jouns here for stealing yarp, a hank or hasp of it being coiled round her neck during the pillory. Arnott says there were three Crosses



in the Canongate—St John's, the Canongate, and the Girth Cross near the Watergate; which last marked the extent of the sanctuary at Holyrood. What remains of the Ancient City Cross of Edinburgh, and now standing with part of its shaft in the grounds of Drum House, near Dalkeith, is deserving of notice, from the beauty of its design and workmanship. The capital, which is of elegant form and proportions, represents animals of the dragon kind, entwined both head and tail, and amid



Fig. 9. Canongate Cross.

clustering foliage, surrounding the capital; the sculpturing is most delicate and beautifully detailed, both animals and leaves being undercut, and standing out in bold relief, which gives it a light and sparkling effect, especially during sunshine, as the light glints through the open spaces in the carving. On scraping away part of the whitewash with which the shaft is unfortunately encrusted, traces of paint are here and there come upon, which has sunk into the texture of the stone, no doubt the preparation on which gilt thistles were spangled, as mentioned by Arnott, who says the shaft was 20 feet long. The Cross crosslet which surmounts the capital is modern, as also the pedestal.

Arnott's description of the Cross of 1617 has caused much needless discussion. He describes the capital as Corinthian, whereas in the Cross at the Drum it is Gothic. Now, when we know the careless way in which architectural details are sometimes described by those who should know better (even at the present day), we cannot be surprised that Arnott fell into such an error, describing it, as he no doubt did, from the drawing which he has engraved, in which the capital is quite as like Gothic as the nondescript animals doing duty as gurgools are like the originals, which were lions, one of which, fortunately, is preserved at Lixmount, near Edinburgh.

From the resemblance of the capital of the Cross to some of the bosses in St Giles's Church, more especially to one representing animals chasing one another round a flower, presented to this Society by Mr J. Gibson-Craig, and which belonged to one of the chapels destroyed during the unfortunate repairs of this church, I should suppose the date to range somewhere between 1400 and 1420.

But why, it is often asked, was this Cross removed, and the Luckenbooths, which were also in the street, allowed to remain? The answer is a simple one. If the Cross was designed, as I suppose it originally to have been, in connexion with the collegiate church, and long before the Luckenbooths were thought of, it would occupy the centre of the street; whereas the Luckenbooths, as shown in the diagram, were entirely to one side, leaving plenty of room for the royal cavalcade. On the 25th March 1617, we are told by Calderwood, this Cross was taken down, the old long stone having been translated, with the assistance of "certane mariners in Leith, from the place where it stooode, past memorie of man, to a place beneath in the Hight Street, without anie harme to the stane; and the bodie of the old Crosse was demolished, and another buildit, wherupon the long stone or obelisk was erected and set upon." It being considered necessary by the magistrates to widen the street upon the occasion of the visit of King James the Sixth to his native country, which took place during the month of May this same year.

In the Treasurer's Accounts of the City of Edinburgh there are fifteen pages entitled, "The compt of the debursements for taking doune



Fig. 10. Remains of Edinburgh Cross at Drum.

the Ald Croce and building the New, beginning the fourt of Januar 1617."

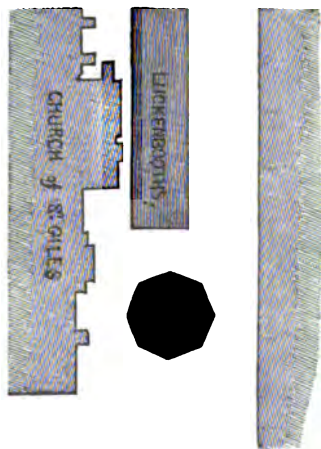


Fig. 11. Position of Original Cross of Edinburgh.

Many of the *Items* in this account being interesting, I will select a few. The Cross seems to have been four months and a-half in building, and the amount expended, on reckoning up the summas at the foot of the pages, was £4486, 5s. 6d. Scots.

The names of seven or eight master-masons are specified in the accounts. At first they were paid at the rate of L.4 the week; but this sum was raised to L.4, 13s. 4d. By the term *master-mason* we are only to understand skilful workmen in distinction from those called ordinary workmen, who were employed at the rate of L.2, 10s., increased to L.3, 12s. the week. But it is evident that the true master-mason of the work was JOHN TALIPHERE, as will be seen from the following extracts:—

1617.

Jan. 11th.	Item, to John Taliphère and John Mylne,			
	masons extraordinar, debursit be thame, .	£3	0	0
— —	— to John Taliphère, John Watt, Thomas			
	Taliphère, Thomas Cranstoune, Thomas			
	Patersons, William Sympeone, Master			
	Measones, at £4 the piece,	24	0	0
— —	— to eight other Measones at £2 10s.	20	0	0
— 25th.	— to John Taliphère, himself and five			
	M ^r Measones,	24	0	0
— —	— to the other Measones,	25	0	0
Feb. 1st.	— to John Mylne of chairges for gawing			
	to Inver Leith, both hire and carriage, of			
	some calmestane extending to his compt, .	16	10	0

1617.

Feb. 1st.	Item, to John Taliphere and 7 M ^r Measones, at £4 13s. 4d.	£32 14 4
— —	— to 14 other Measones at £3 12s.	50 8 0
— 17th.	— this day, when the Croce was fundit, given to the M ^r Measones amongst them,	5 6 8
— —	— to the rest of the Measones and work- men,	3 0 0
— 22d.	— to the foresaid vij. M ^r Measones as the last oulk,	32 13 4
— —	— to the other 15 Measones at £3 12s.	54 0 0
March 1.	— to John Taliphere, Alexander Watt, John Watt, John Sympsone, Thomas Tali- phere, Thomas Paterson, William Symp- sone, M ^r Measones, at £4 13s. 4d.,	32 13 4
— 8th.	— Similar payments to these and to the ordinary masons, on 18th, 22d, and 28th March; also on the 5th, 12th, 19th, and 27th April.	
— 25th.	— for six tries tane to Edward Stewart from John Murray to help the ingyne that the Croce was sett on, at 30s. elk trie,	9 12 0
— —	— The Croce of Edinburgh wes this day put upon the new seat, and payit for Dis- joyne and Denner to the Marineris in Leyth,	24 15 0
— —	— to the Trumpetouris,	5 6 8
— —	— to the Drummer of Leyth, &c.	
— —	— to Edward Stewart and our awin wrichtis, after the up-putting of the Croce,	6 6 8
April 15th.	— to John Milne and his twa men, wha wrocht this oulk at the Croce,	13 16 0
— 27th.	— to six workmen that brocht the stanes frae the Deyne, that sic be put upon the Croce,	1 12 0

1617.

April 27th.	Item, to 16 ordinar masones, at £3 12s.,	£57 12 0
— —	— given them of extraordinary, because they began at four hours in the morning, and wrocht neir until aucht at nicht, 12s. the piece,	9 12 0
— —	— to John Mylne and his men,	10 16 0
May 1st.	— to Thomas Drysdail (herald), servitour to my Lord Chancellour, for his paynes for helping in setting doune our airmes,	6 13 4
— 3d.	— mair, twa stane lead to zett the Vnicorne upone the heid of the Croce,	3 12 0
— —	— to John Mylne and his thrie men,	18 0 0
— 10th.	— to the same,	18 0 0
— —	— to David Browne (for making of ane dure to the Croce), and for waynscot,	2 0 0
— —	— to his men for making of scaffoldis be David Browne, three sundrie tymes to put up the Vnicorne, and uther turnis to the Paynter,	12 10 0
— 17th.	— to Patrick Walker for furnishing tyn to the greit Vnicorne, also to the little Vnicorne, and to the Croune, and twa globbis, as his compt,	18 13 4
— —	— to John Mylne this oulk for waiting,	6 13 4
— —	— to John Stewart, Paynter, conform to his compt,	133 6 8
— —	— mair to him besyd ane roisnobill,	10 13 4
— —	— given to JOHN TALIPHERRIE, Master Measone, for his extraordinary paynis, quhilk was promissed him by the Counsell,	40 0 0
— —	— payit to Thomas Broune, locksmyth, for ane chene to the Croce of Edinburgh,	20 0 0
— —	— for twa staine wecht of battis to the Vnicorne and the heid of the Croce, at 53s. 4d. the stane, is	6 6 8

It would appear from the foregoing extracts, that John Milne who was sent for to Perth by the Magistrates of Edinburgh, in November 1616, to assist John Lambert in carving the statue of the king for the Netherbow Port, was employed with his men after the Cross was put up; and as he received higher wages than the other master-masons, it may be inferred that with his men he was engaged to carve ornamental details, such as heads, armorial bearings, and gurgails. This is the more likely, seeing he received the same pay while assisting John Lambert.

The John Milne¹ here mentioned was subsequently appointed principal master-mason to the king in 1631, on the decease of William Wallace.

This last Cross again was demolished in 1756. The scene is thus described in the "Scots Magazine" of that date:—"As soon as the workmen began, which was in the morning of March 13th, some gentlemen, who had spent the night over a social bottle, caused wine and glasses to be carried thither, mounted the ancient fabric, and solemnly drank its dirge. The beautiful pillar which stood in the middle, fell and broke to pieces, by one of the pulleys used on the occasion giving way." This accounts for its present deficiency in length, being now only 14 feet 7 inches.

I may also add a few historical incidents which bear some relation to the first Cross.

Drummond of Hawthornden, in his History of Scotland, tells us that in 1436 the murderers of King James I. were thus disposed of. The Earl of Athole, after being stripped to his shirt, "was mounted on a *pillar* in the market-place, and crowned with a diadem of burning iron, with a placard bearing 'The King of Traitors;'" afterwards he was tortured on a scaffold, and there had his head cut off. Chambers and Stewart were also beheaded on a high scaffold erected in the market-place, while the commoner sort were hanged on gibbets.

¹ For many particulars in the history of the Mylne family, I am indebted to Robert W. Mylne, Esq., architect, London.

1669-70.	Item, to George Porteous for painting the Croce,	800	lib.
	merks, and to his men 2 lib. 10s.		
		=	536 14 8
—	Item, for drink money to Robert Mylne's men, and spent		
	with the said Robert Mylne, for ye armis on the Croce,	46	8 0

This was for restoring it after its defacement during the Protectorate, in 1652.

In Dunbar's Poem to the Merchants of Edinburgh, he alludes to the Cross—some of the complaints, shall I say, being as applicable now as they were about the year 1500, when they were written:—

“ Quhy will ye, Merchants of renoun,
 Lat Edinburgh, your nobill toun,
 For laik of reformatioun
 The commone proffeitt tyne and fame?
 Think ye nocht schame
 That ony uther regioun
 Sall with dishonour hurt your name!

May nane pass throu your principall gaittis
 For stink of haddockis and of scaittis;
 For cryis of carlingis and debaitis;
 For fensum flyttingis of defame,
 Think ye nocht schame
 Befoir strangeris of all estaittis
 That sic dishonour hurt your name!

.
 At your hie Croce, quhair gold and silk
 Sould be, there is but curdis and milk;

Singular proffeit so dois yow blind,
 The common proffeit gois behind:
 I pray that Lord remeid to fynd
 That deit into Jerusalem;
 And gar yow schame!
 That sum tyme ressoun may yow bind,
 For to [reconqueis] yow guid Name.”¹

In 1561, Sept. 2, when Queen Mary made her entry into Edinburgh after her arrival from France, we are told that “after an entertainment in the Castle, she rode into the city accompanied by her nobility, amid volleys from the cannon in the Castle, and was met by fifty of the young men of the burgh, dressed as Moors. Sixteen of the burghers also, in gowns and bonnets of velvet, bare up the pall of purple velvet, which was

¹ Dunbar's Poems, by Laing, vol. i. p. 97.

lined with red taffety, and fringed with silk and gold, &c. The first place stopped at was the Butter Tron, where a gate was erected. Under this was a cloud, which opened, when a child descended and presented the keys of the city, together with a bible and psalm-book. The child delivered a speech, again ascending into the cloud. Next she stopped at the Tolbooth, where scaffolds were erected and another speech made by "a fair wirgin (virgin), callit Fortune. And after ane littel speitch maid thair, the quenis grace come to the Croce, quhair thair was standand four fair virgynnis, cled in the maist hevenlie clething, and fra the quhilk Croce the wyne ran out at the spouttis in greit abundance; thair wes the noyiss of pepill casting the glassis with wyne." The wine was no doubt contained in such a large stone basin as the one preserved at Abbotsford, and ran out at the mouths of the grotesque heads sculptured on it, beside each of which probably stood one of the four fair damsels. This notice is particularly interesting, as giving the relative position of the first Cross—a point which has been much disputed.

1565. In Knox's "History of the Reformation," we are told that the Reformed clergy seized Sir James Carvet (or Tarbat), a Roman Catholic priest, "revested him with all his garments upon him, and so carried him to the market-cross, binding the chalice in his hand, and himself fast tied to the cross for the space of an hour; the same was repeated the next day for the space of three or four hours, during which time the boys and others served him with his Easter eggs. The press of people so increased upon the Cross, that Archibald Douglas, the provost, came with some halberdiers and released him, and carried him safe again to the Tolbooth." Had the Cross been anything of the form of that of 1617, the victim would have been in no danger from the pressing of the crowd upon him, to say nothing of the shelter which the parapet at such a height would have afforded from the unsavoury missiles of the rabble.

"1598. The 10th Julii.—Ane man, sume callit him a juglar, playit sic sowple tricks upone ane tow, qlk was festinit betwixt the tope of St Geills Kirk steiple and ane stair beneathe the Crosse, callit Josias Close¹ heid, the lyk was nevir sene in yis countrie, as he raid doune the tow and playit sa maney pavies on it.

¹ This Close, with others in its neighbourhood, has disappeared.

"The 27 of Maii, the laird of Johnestoun his pictor hung at the Crosse with his heid dounwart, and declarit ane mansworne man; and upone the 5th of Junii, he, and his complices, were put to the horne, and pronuncit rebellis at the Crosse be opin proclamatioun."

In the year 1599 a company of English comedians obtained the royal license to act plays in Edinburgh. This permission gave offence to the clergy, who began to "exclaim in their sermons against stage-players, their unruliness and immodest behaviour;" and they even ventured to prohibit the people, under the pain of ecclesiastical censures, from attending the theatre. As the act of the church-session or consistory was a direct attempt to annul the King's license, it was resented as a contempt and indignity offered to his Majesty. An Act of Privy Council, passed on the 8th of November, "ordains ane officiar of armes to pass to the *Mercat-Croce of Edinburgh*, and thair be oppin proclamacioun in his hienes name and auctoritie to command and charge the hail personis of the saidis foure sessiones, becaus thay are an multitude, to convene thame-selffis in thair accustomat place of convening within thrie houris next eftir the said charge, and thair be ane speciall act, to cass annull and discharge the vther act forsaid, and with that to gif ane speciall ordinance and directioun to thair hail ministeris, that thay eftir thair sermonis vpon the nixt Sonday publictlie admonische thair awne flockis to reuerence and obay his majestie, and to declair to thame that thay will not restreane nor censure ony of thair flockis that sall repair to the saidis commedeis and playis, considering his majestie is not of purpois or intentioun to awthorize allow, or command ony thing quhilk is prophane, or may cary ony offence or sclander with it; and to charge thame heirtu under the pane of rebelloun and putting of thame to the horne." This brought the clergy immediately to their senses; and two days after, it was again proclaimed at the *Mercat-Croce* that they had been advised "verie raschlie and vnaduisitlie to contramand be ane publict act, his majesties said warrand;" and that now "thair floikis may friely at thair awne ples-sour repair to the saidis commedeis and playis without ony pane, skaithe, censuring, reproche or sclander to be incurrit be thame thairthrow."¹

In Birrell's "Diary" we have the following quaint description of an

¹ The History of Scottish Poetry. By David Irving, LL.D. Edin., 1861.

interesting scene. 1600. "The 11th day of Auguste, being Monday, the King came over the water. The toune, with the haill suburbs, met him upone the Sandys of Leithe in armes, wt grate joy, and schutting of muskettis, and shaking of pikes. He went to the Kirk of Leith, to Mr David Lindesayis orisone. Yr'after, the toune of Edr., having conveyit up to Edr., and standing at the hie gaitt, hes M. past to the Crosse, the Crosse being hung wt tapestrie, and went up yr'on wt his nobillis. Mr Patrick Galloway being yair, made ane sermone upon the 124 Psalm; he declarit the haill circumstances of the treasone proposit by the Earle of Gowrie and hes brother, qlk the King testifiet be hes awen mouth, sitting upone the Crosse all the tyme of the sermone.—12th. The next day following, at 6 houris at evin, the fyve ministers of Edr. banischit be open proclamation and sound of trumpet at the Crosse, for not affirming the King's words qlk he ratifiet at the Crosse."

Now, if this means anything, it is surely that the steps of the Cross were carpeted with tapestry for the king and his nobles to sit upon, the object being that the king, who was fond of doing things in a homely way, might show himself to his loving subjects, and join them thus openly in a prayer of thankfulness, and also receive their congratulations on his escape from the treasonable attempt upon his life by the Earl of Gowrie, which he could not have done had he sat down on such a structure as the last Cross—he would have disappeared behind the parapet wall. On such an occasion, it is also very probable that the shaft and basin would be covered with hangings.

After such evidence as these notices furnish, it seems to me there can be no doubt that at all events the original Cross had no such understructure as that of 1617, otherwise there would have been no occasion for the erection of "ane wooden skaffalt at the mercat-croce," for the quartering, drawing, and heading of traitors, &c. And, moreover, it could not have been used as a pillory, which may be proved from the following extract from "Nicholl's Diary:"—"26 Marche 1655. Mr Patrik Maxwell, ane arrant decevar, was brocht to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, *quhair a pillorie was erectit*, gairdit and convoyed with a company of sodgeris; and thair, after ane full houris standing on that pillorie, with his heid and handis lyand out at hoillis cuttit for that end, his ryght lug was cuttit af."

Now, in the first Cross the shaft of it was used as the pillory, as may be seen in the Treasurer's Accounts :—

1561. Item, the 24th day of Marche, for ane chenzie of iron to y^e branx at y^e Croce, iii^s
 Item, for inputtyng of y^e said chenze and y^e led yrto
 —to y^e mason, xviii^d
 1562. Item, the laist day of Junii, for ane lok to y^e brankys
 to brank y^e sklater y^e wantit y^e hand, . . . xii^d

A few from Nicoll's Diary¹ in connection with the last Cross may be interesting, as graphically illustrative of the manners and customs of these times. Montrose having been taken prisoner at the end of April 1650, he was ordered by the Estates of Parliament to be hanged at the Cross. "This sentence was punctuallie execute upon him at the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh upon Tysday the 21st day of May 1650, and he hangit upon ane heigh gallows, maid for the view of the pepill more than ordinar, with his buikis and declaratiounes bund on his bak. He hang full thrie houris; thairefter cut down, falling upon his face, nane to countenance him bot the execntioner and his men. His heid, twa leggis, and twa airmes tane fra his body with ane aix, and sent away and affixit at the places appoyntit thairfoir; his body cassin in to ane lytill schoirt kist, and takin to the Burrow mure of Edinburgh, and bureyed thair amang malefactouris." His head was spiked on the Tolbooth.

"Feb. 1652.—Upone Settirday the sevint day of Februar 1652, by ordouris from the Commissioners of the Parliament of England now sittand at Dalkeith, thair were maissones, carpentaris, and hammermen direct to the Kirk of Edinburgh, quhair the Kinges sait was erectit, and to the mercat croce of Edinburgh, quhair his airmes and unicorne with the croun on his head was set; and thair pulled down the Kinges airmes, dang down the unicorne with the croun that wes set upone the unicorne, and hang up the croun upone the gallowis. (By these treacherous villanes.) The same day, the lyke was done at the entrie of the Parliament Hous and Nather Bow, quhair the Kinges portrat was fund; defacing and

¹ Diary of John Nicoll. Printed for the Bannatyne Club. Edin. 1836. 4to.

dinging doun all these monumentis and curious ensignes. The lyke, also, in the Castell of Edinburgh and Palice of Halyrudhous."

1660.—"This Proclamatione wes solemnlie actit at the Mercat Croce of Edinbrugh, upon sevint day of August be four severall heraldis in thair coates of airmes, the ane reidand, and the uther procleamand, in presens of the Magistrates of Edinburgh and Town Counsell, all of thame standing upone the Croce in thair riche robbis, the Magistrates and Aldermen in thair skarlet robbis, and the Counsell in thair blak gownis, the Croce being richlie clad," &c.

On the occasion of the coronation of Charles II., 23d April 1661, "the Mercat Croce was buskit up with floweris and grene bransches of treyis, and sum punszeones of wyne layd on the heid of the Croce, with Bachus set thairon, and his fallow servandis ministoring unto him, quha drank lairglie, and distribute full glassis abundantlie, casting thame over among the pepill." "Efter denner the Magistrates of Edinburgh come throw the citie to the Mercat Croce, quich wes gairdit with a great number of partizens, and thair drank the Kinges helth upon thair kneysis, and at sindry uther pryme pairtes of the citie; the nobles also and gentrie did the lyke at sindrie of the bonefyres of the Croce, dansing about thame, and drinking thair wyne upone thair kneysis."

"Upon the 13th day of May 1661, Sir Archibald Johnnestoun of Warystounne, lait Clerk Register, being forfait in this Parliament, and being fugitive fra the lawis of the kingdome for his tresonable actis, he was first oppinlie declairit traitour in face of Parliament, thairefter the Lord Lyon king at airmes, with four heraldis and sex trumpetteris, went to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, and thair made publict intimation of his forfaitrie and treason, rave asunder his airmes, and trampled thame under thair feet, and kuist a number of thame over the Croce, and affixed ane of thame upone the height of the great stane, to remayne thair to the public view of all the beholders. Thir airmes were croced bakward, his heid being put downmest and his feet upmest."

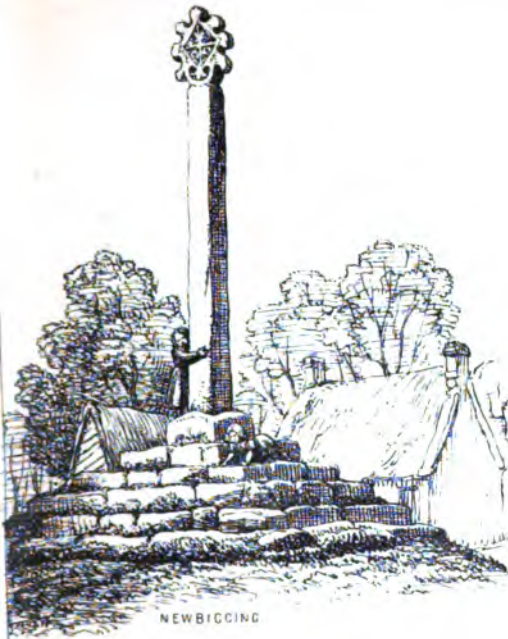
1662.—"To wit in July and August, thair wer sindrie commedois actit, playing and dancing, at the Croce of Edinburgh, upone towis, done by strangeris, for quich, and for droges sauld be thame, thai resavit much money, and for dancing and volting upone a tow to the admiration of many."

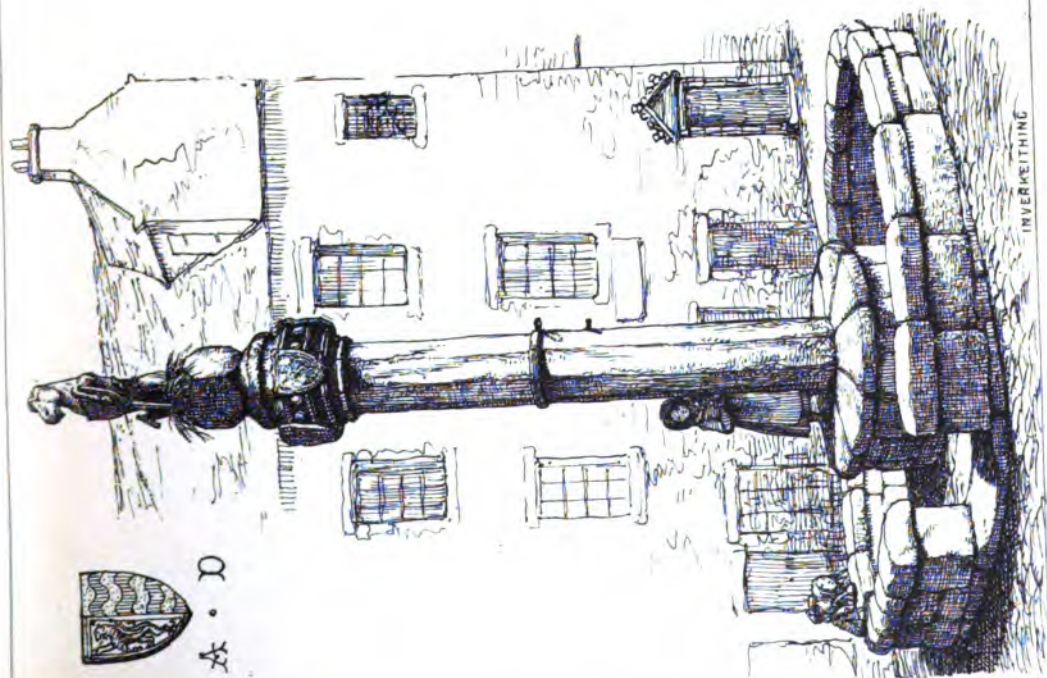
1663, May 29.—The Magistrates, with the usual demonstrations of loyalty, celebrated the Restoration by “drinking mirrelie” at the Cross, also “erectit ane lairge skaffold upone the eist syde of the Croce, quhairan thair wes placed sex dancieris, all this tyme the viores playing, the drums beating,” &c.

1666, 22d Dec.—“Ther was six men hanged at Edinburgh Croce, comonlie callit The Whigs: quairof Mr Hew M’Kell, expectant minister was on, and Umphra Colquhon, merchand in Glasgow, was ane uther, with uther four: quho all of thame pretendit they died ‘For God and the Covenant.’”

I cannot help, in conclusion, alluding to what passed at a meeting of the Architectural Institute, held on the 8th April, when a paper was read by Mr Lessels on the Restoration of Old Buildings. In the course of his remarks the following sentence occurred: “Each building possesses a value in itself, not only as a work of architecture, but an exponent of the wants and feelings of ages that are past.” Now, if ever a building was expressive in these respects, it was the Cross of Edinburgh, supposed to be the first in a style so peculiarly national that I am not at present aware of anything similar out of Scotland, erected at the most interesting period of our civic and baronial architecture; and yet the following extraordinary opinion was advanced by Mr Lessels: “I think we may be grateful that we are spared the trouble of its removal, for a greater piece of barbarism can hardly be conceived to have existed.” Peculiarities, I may be allowed to remark, but certainly not barbarisms; for if such language refers to the mixture of architectural styles, such as the introduction of classical details, &c., it would also apply to Heriot’s Hospital, Wyntoun House, and to most of the baronial mansions in Scotland built about this period, and which have ever since been copied and quoted as authorities by architects who have adopted the Scottish baronial style. And I feel quite convinced, that if Mr Lessels had taken the trouble of making one of his own careful drawings, even from the wretched engraving of the old Cross, he could never have used the language he did on this occasion. Every one knows how a fine picture may be ruined, as the Cross has been, by a poor engraving.

In addition to the Market-Crosses figured, there are many others well worthy of notice. Those of Scone, Lochmaben, Ancrum, Aberlady, Gifford,





A. D.



A. D.

CHIEFF

W. & A. J. S. & Co. Edinburgh.

SCOTTISH MARKET-CROSSES

Kincardine, Airth, Coldingham, and others, are raised upon steps. The average height of the pillar and capital of these is from 9 to 13 feet. Those of Musselburgh, Thornhill, and Pencaitland, again, consist of a solid basement having the Cross or pillar springing from the centre of it. At Falkirk the old site of the Cross is occupied by a public well, which is surmounted by the Scottish lion. This may have formed part of the ancient Market-Cross. It is called the Cross Well. Fragments remain of those of Bowden, Kinross, Upper Airth, &c.; while the Cross at West Linton is a female now raised on the top of the public well. It is thus described by Dr Pennecuik in his "Description of Tweeddale," published in 1715: "The Cross, now decayed, is a lively specimen of natural genius without the assistance of art, being the entire labour of one Giffard, a small feu-proprietor in Linton, which he erected in 1666 at his sole expense, to perpetuate the memory of his beloved wife and five children. She is represented in a devout posture, on a pedestal, supported with four infants around her, and a fifth on her head." The children have disappeared.

Such Crosses as those of Inverary and Campbeltown can scarcely be looked upon as market crosses, having originally been memorial stones, which were brought from neighbouring churchyards. On both of these there are inscriptions, mentioning to whom they were erected.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATE I.

No. 1.—*Newbigging Market-Cross, Lanarkshire.*

In the "Memorie of the Somervills," written by Lord Somervill in 1679, mention is made of a Cross having been erected in Carnwath by Hugh, Lord Somervill, in 1516, bearing his own and his lady's name on it, with their arms. "Neither was there any Crosse at Carnwath before that tyme, nor within the baronie, save that of Newbigging, built by Sir Gaulter of Newbigging (he died 1880), or some of his predecessors. For that Crosse hes nether letters nor other armes, save a double Crosse, resembling that which the Crosse dollers beares at present." The Cross at Carnwath has been replaced by a commonplace modern one.

No. 2.—*Market-Cross at Ormiston, Haddingtonshire.*

On this Cross there is a shield, but the arms are completely defaced.

No. 3.—*The Market-Cross of Melrose, Roxburghshire.*

The oldest part of this Cross is the octagonal shaft, on the upper part of which are the shadowy remains of a shield and crest, or crozier. On the top of this shaft is a rude square capital, surmounted by the unicorn rampant, supporting between its fore legs the Scottish shield, displaying the lion, within its double treasure, of the royal arms. On the front of this squared base or capital there is the date 1645; on one side the remains of letters, apparently $\overset{I}{E} \overset{H}{H}$; on the other, a shield bearing the Mell and Rose of Melrose, and below these, masons' compasses crossed. On the back of the capital is cut a sun-dial. The date here given is apparently that of repairs or alterations made by or under the superintendence of the person whose initials are carved on it. There is a small plot of ground in the neighbourhood of Melrose called the Corse Rig, or Cross Ridge, the rent of which is, or used to be, devoted to keep the Cross in repair.

No. 4.—*Doune Market-Cross, Perthshire.*

On the capital of this Cross are two shields of arms, the principal being those of the earldom of Moray, the other the coat of arms of the Campbells. It is surmounted by a lion, his fore paws resting on a shield charged with the crest of the Earl of Moray. There are also two sundials on the capital.

PLATE II.

No. 1.—*The Market-Cross of Inverkeithing, Fifehire.*

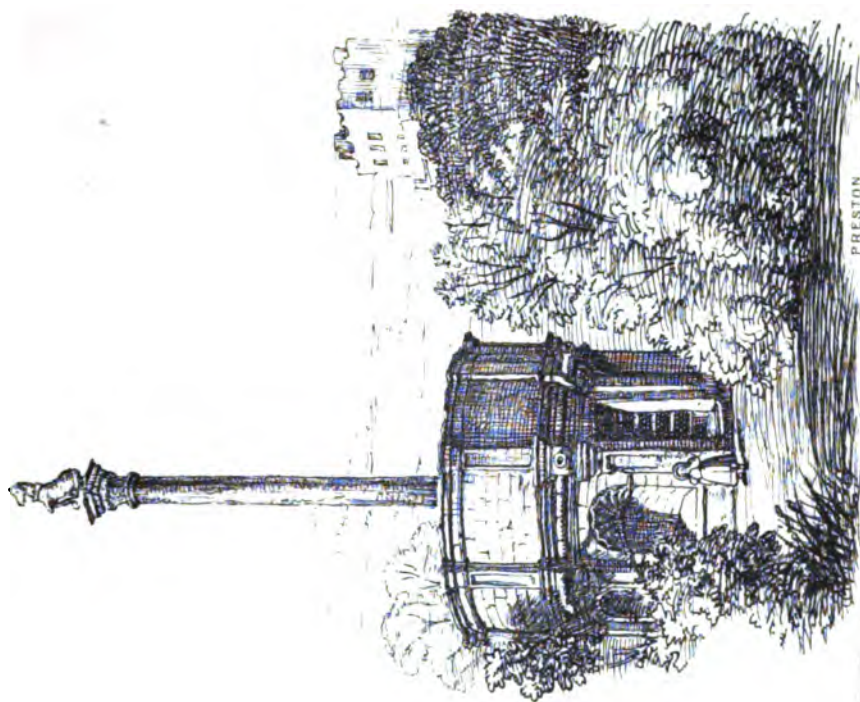
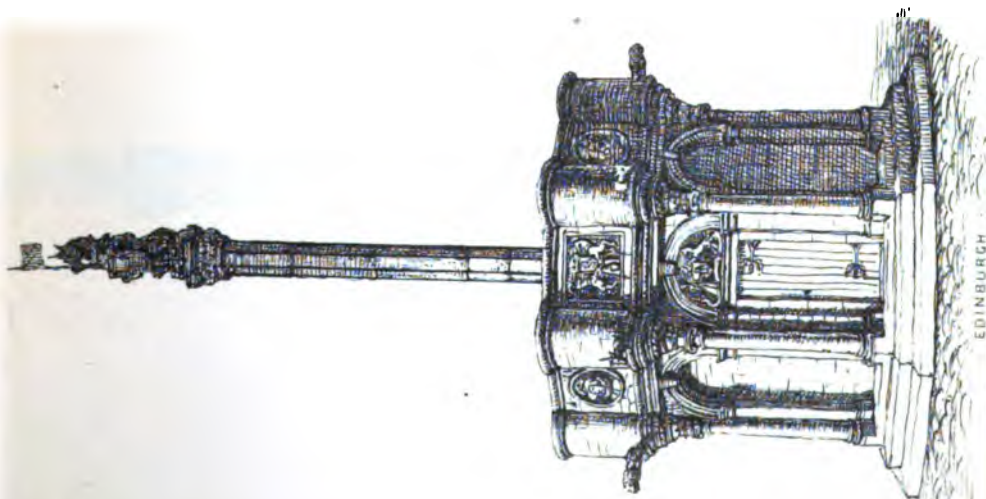
The height of the pillar, capital, and unicorn, is 14 feet 6 inches; diameter of parapet wall, 16 feet 2 inches.

No. 2.—At Crieff, in Perthshire, there are two Crosses. The one, which is a memorial cross, was removed from the neighbourhood, and placed within a railing in a central position of the town. It is figured in the Spalding Club volume of Standing Stones. The other is, however, the Market-Cross, and is said to have been erected by James Drummond, Earl of Perth, who was Chancellor to James VII. From its timeworn appearance, it looks much older than this date. On the capital has been the shield of arms of the Drummonds, surmounted by a coronet. These are very indistinct. It is not in its original position, but is placed near the Town House or jail. Close by it is a set of very massive iron stocks. This, I think, is unique in Scotland.

PLATE III.

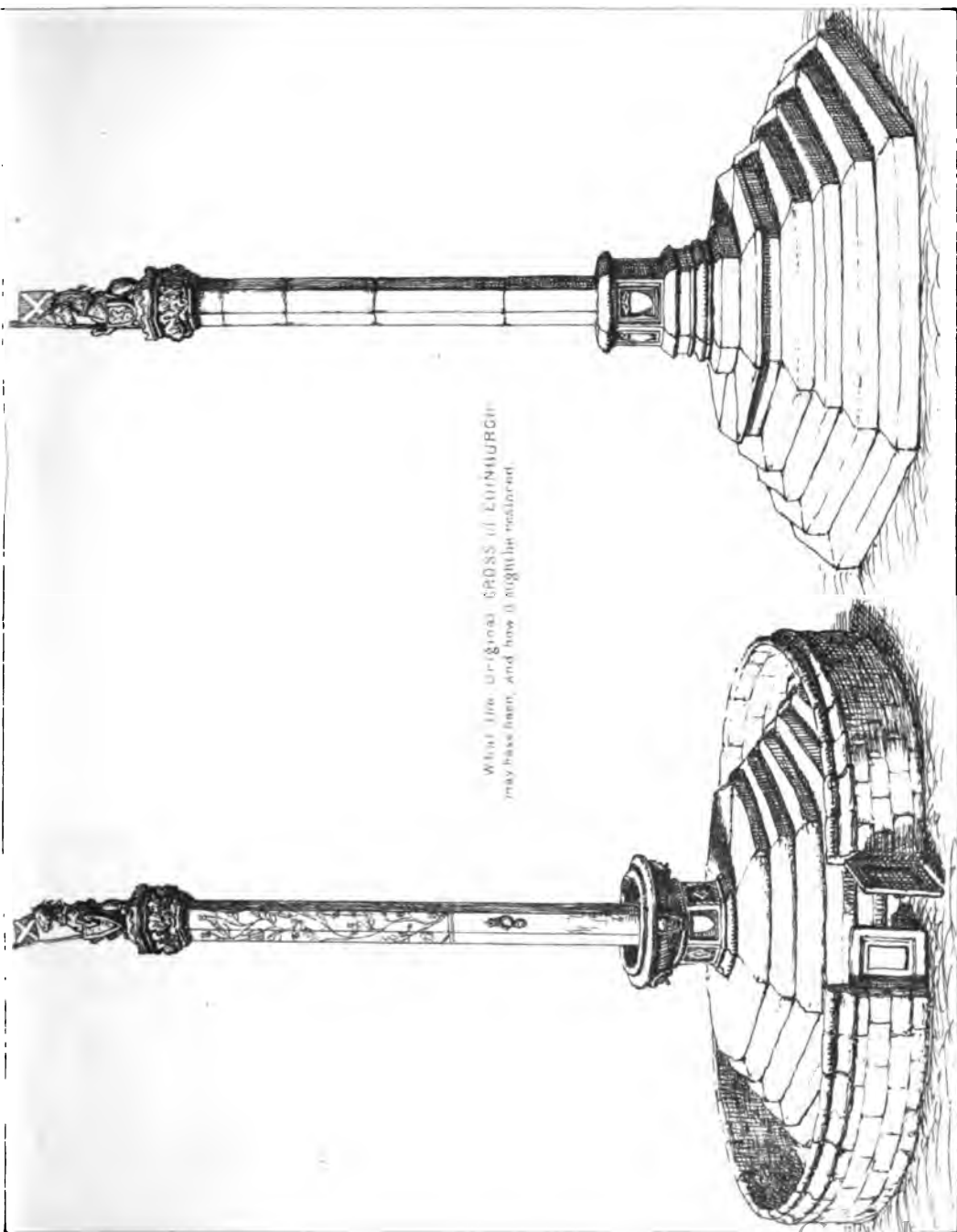
No. 1.—*The Market-Cross of Edinburgh,*

As restored by Mr Bryce from the old engraving; the only difference being, that instead of the very rude attempts at Roman heads, the royal Scottish medallions

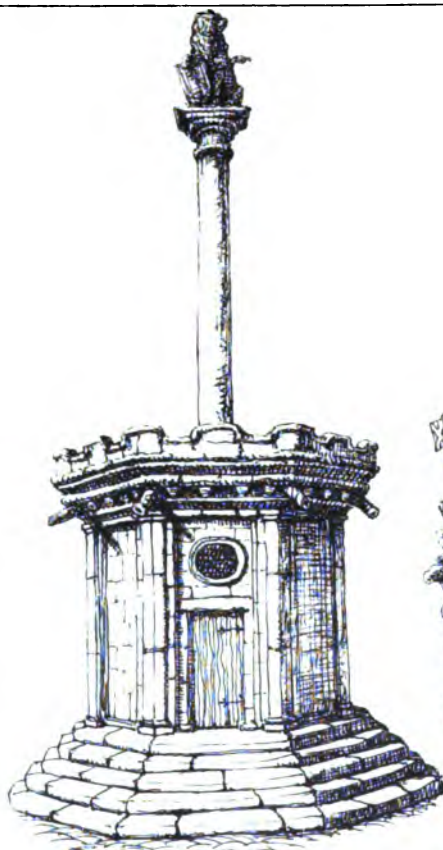


SCOTTISH MARKET CROSSES

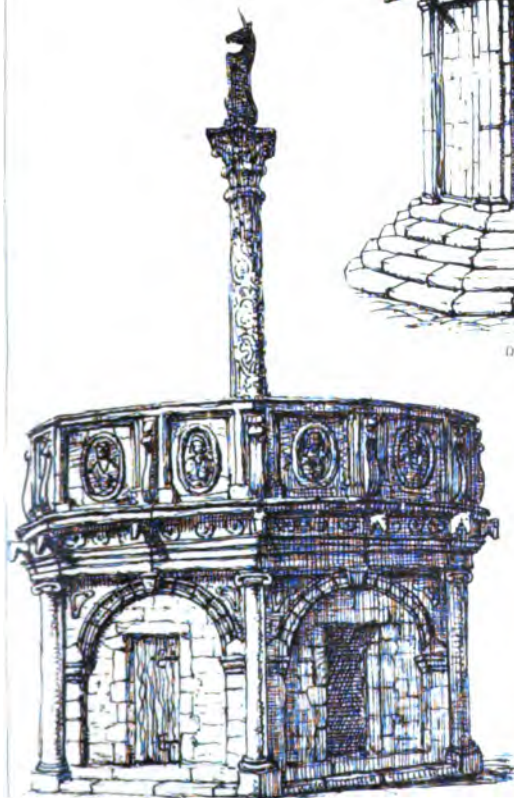
Illustrations of the Market Crosses of Scotland.



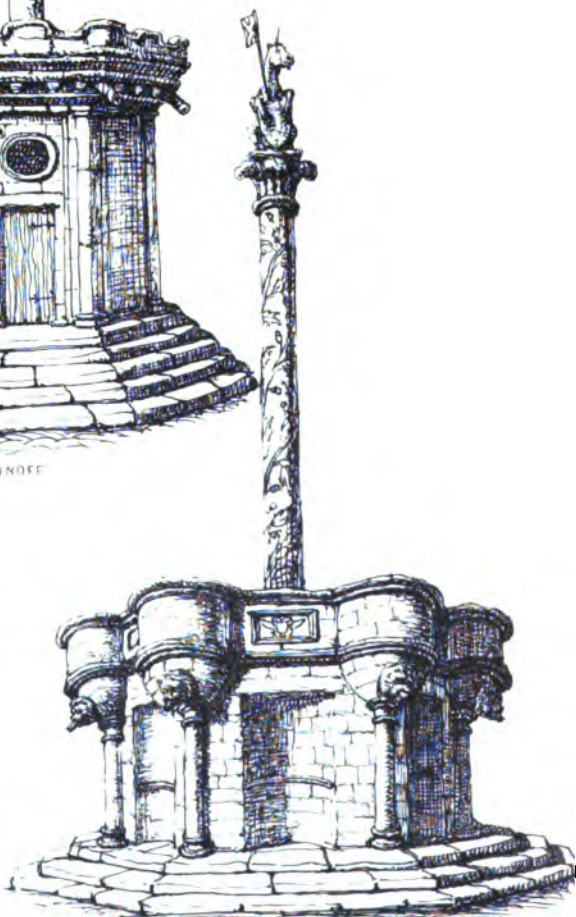
SCOTTISH MARKET-CROSSES



DUNDEE



ANLUNDE



PERTH

from James I. to Charles II. are substituted, and the City Arms are placed above the door of entrance. The capital is from the original at Drum, while the character of gargoyle is taken from one at Lixmount, near Edinburgh, which formed part of the old Cross. The pillar was 20 feet high. The diameter of the main building was 16 feet, its height 15 feet; the form octagonal.

No. 2.—*The Market-Cross at Preston, Haddingtonshire.*

The height of the understructure of this beautiful Cross is 11 feet 6 inches, its diameter 15 feet. The height of the pillar or shaft and unicorn is 20 feet.

PLATE IV.

No. 1.—What the original Cross of Edinburgh may have been—the shaft, now at Drum, springing from a stone basin, such as the one preserved at Abbotsford, which is stated to have been also part of the Cross. From this wine would flow on high days and holidays.

No. 2.—How it might be restored. The centre of the Exchange square, or somewhere in the Parliament Square, behind St Giles' Church, might be a suitable position for such a restoration.

III.

OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING ARTICLES COLLECTED IN THE OUTER
HEBRIDES, AND NOW PRESENTED TO THE MUSEUM. BY CAPTAIN
F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N., CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT.

No. 1. Cross-stone, Paib-le Taransay, Harris.—This stone, which is of syenite, is 16 inches long, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and about 3 inches thick. On one face is an incised Latin cross; the shaft is 10 inches and the arms 6 inches in length. Both arms and the head of the cross are terminated by concave semi-spherical depressions or cups, about one inch in diameter; and in each of the angles of the cross is a like cup, forming a square of about 3 inches.

This cross-stone had been used in building the tacksman's house at Paib-le, and was taken out and preserved when some alterations were made in the house. The tradition is, that the house was built out of the ruins of St Taran's Chapel, the site of which is still very distinct within a few yards of the house; it is therefore probable that the cross-stone formed part of the furniture of the chapel. Concerning St Taran,

I know no more than that he is said, on the authority of Usher, to have been a bishop of Lismore, which place may be either in Scotland or Ireland; it is to be noted that the island is named after the saint.

A suspicion has, however, arisen in my mind that Saint Taran was a lady; for, separated only by a trifling rivulet at Paib-le, are the ruins of another chapel dedicated to a saint, who, in the first impressions of Martin's book, is called St Ché, but in subsequent editions St Keith. I am able to record, on the authority of Mr Macdonald, tacksman of Taransay, that the proper name is Ché (pronounced very like *cghay*); and a competent Gaelic scholar is of opinion that Ché and Keith are not synonymous.

The singular legend recorded by Martin must be familiar to many; it is to the effect that no man should be buried in the ground consecrated to St Taran, nor a woman in that consecrated to St Ché, or the corpse would be found above ground on the day after it was interred.

Now, in an interesting little book called "Legends of Mount Leinster," by Kennedy, I find an almost similar tradition related of a place called Temple-shambo, near Newton-Barry, in the county of Wexford. The hero, Cathal, out of gratitude for his victory over an Uile-bhiastor, monster, "intended to build a church at the old Rath of Cromoge; but getting up one morning, after a dream he had had the night before, he followed a duck and mollard¹ that flew before him, till they lit, one on each side of the mountain stream that flows through what was then a rocky and bushy glen, but is ever since that time the churchyard of Temple-shambo. So he built a house for monks where the drake alighted, and for the nuns on the other side. This passed about eight hundred years ago; and of course the nuns' burying-place was on one side of the stream, and the monks kept to the side of the rising of the sun. Well and good; after both buildings went to decay, or were destroyed, still the country people kept laying their dead in the old way, and no womankind ever attempted to bury herself on the men's side."

From this example we may be at liberty to suppose, that the origin of having distinct places of sepulture for the different sexes was the

¹ In another part of the book he is said to have followed a duck and a drake.

same at Taransay as at Temple-shambo, and that a community of holy men dwelt on that side of the burn dedicated to St Ché, and of holy women on that to St Taran.

Nos. 2 and 3 are fragments of stone dishes from a ruin at the Sands of Rath, Taransay.

A bare sand-hill, having its sides covered with loose stones, was dug into in the expectation of finding a Pict's house; it proved, however, to be only a sand-heap that a small ruin on the surface had kept from blowing, while the soil (sand) surrounding it had been excavated by the wind to a depth of 20 feet. The broken dishes were lying about.

These stone-dishes are common among the ruins of old settled places, and are usually constant in character,—an undressed slab, generally less than 2 feet square, in which is a concavity of the size and shape of an ordinary soup plate. We found a broken one when excavating a Pict's house at Paib-le, Taransay, but it was too heavy for easy transport; and I saw another at Mealista in Uig, Lewis.

What was the use of these stone-dishes is not very apparent; they are too heavy to be lifted without trouble, and the concavity is too small to be usefully employed for holding liquids. I do not think they were the fonts of the early churches; and the only plausible purpose I have heard assigned to them was for shelling barley.

It is to be observed that similar stones, which my late respected friend, Mr R. Heddle, called corn-crushers, were sepultured in a remarkable manner in a Pict's castle in South Ronaldshay, Orkneys. (See *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 124.) But it is difficult to imagine that so bad a substitute for a mill would be in use, when a quern (parts of which are almost always turned up from the oldest dwellings) would have answered the purpose so much better.

No. 4 is the lower stone of a snuff-mill; it was brought from Valtos in Uig, Lewis; and similar instruments are still, or were very lately, in use, about 9 inches in diameter.

No. 5 is a double-pointed bone pin, found at the same place as the stone-dishes (Nos. 2 and 3), 3 inches long.

No. 6 is another bone pin, with an eye at one end. It is from Paib-le, Taransay, and has been probably used at interment; $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

No. 7 is a small bronze buckle, of a rather unusual form, from Paib-le, Taransay, and, like Nos. 6 and 8, has formed part of the funeral trappings of some early Christian. It may not be out of place to observe, that it was remarked to me by an intelligent man at Paib-le, that in the earliest graves the bodies seem to have been interred in simple stone graves (*kirt-vaens*), and without any coffins.

No. 8 is a circular bronze brooch, 3 inches in diameter, found at Uidh, Taransay; though there is no tradition of a church having stood there, I have no doubt that there was one there formerly. A Latin cross, 22 inches long and 14 inches wide, the breadth of the shaft and arms being 6 inches, is incised to the depth of a quarter of an inch on a rude block of gneiss, which is 10 feet long, 2 broad above, and averages a foot in thickness. A burying-ground most usually points out the site of an ancient church, even though the ruins, as is very frequently the fact, have been entirely removed to build dikes or houses; but a circumstance has come to my knowledge which might interfere with this conclusion. In the Highlands a coffin has frequently to be carried long distances, and often over a pathless moor. It is with good reason that those who attend the funeral expect refreshment, for I have myself seen a deceased laird borne sixteen miles by relays of men. But a pauper who has outlived all his friends need expect no such attention; no one will be at the trouble of carrying him a mile, and he may be interred at some accidental spot with as little ceremony as with a dog. In some such manner a new burying-ground has been commenced behind the inn at Tarbert, Harris.

Another circumstance against which the archæologist must be on his guard is, that the remains found in a tomb or grave may belong to a very different person than the one for whom the place was made. I have been told some amusing instances of poaching on this species of property; but the most impudent is that of a boat's crew from Harris, who robbed the grave of a knight in Barra of the stone that bore his effigy—which stone now dignifies an ignoble grave in the burying-ground at the parish church of Harris!

No. 9. *Clach-nathrach*, or snake-stone, 1 inch in diameter, Lewis.—This stone is said to be formed by the association of twelve snakes, and the hole is where the snake or snakes have passed through. I am not sure whether the stone is made from the slime agglutinating the sand and earth, or whether the stone exudes from the reptiles. When the cattle are bitten by the snakes, the snake-stone is put into water, with which the affected part is washed, and it is cured forthwith. So much for the legend; and I believe one of these charms has been used quite lately; but not the least curious circumstance connected with this superstition, is the fact that there are no venomous snakes in Lewis. The blind-worm is not uncommon, but it is quite innocuous. However, there is a full belief that if a sheep, for instance, were to lie down upon one of them, the wool and skin would both peel off; and the man is probably alive who trod upon a *righinn*,—the local name for the blind-worm (from a tradition that it is a princess metamorphosed),—and in consequence the skin came off the sole of his foot.

Since my return to Edinburgh, I learn that these snake-stones are a part of the gear of the distaff; and it is strange that their original use should be quite unknown in Harris and Lewis, although the distaff is there in common use.

No. 10. Ditto.

IV.

ON THE CAT-STANE, KIRKLISTON: IS IT NOT THE TOMBSTONE OF THE GRANDFATHER OF HENGIST AND Horsa? BY J. Y. SIMPSON, M.D., PROFESSOR OF MEDICINE AND MIDWIFERY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, V.P. R.S.A., Scot., &c.

The Mediæval Archæology of Scotland is confessedly sadly deficient in *written* documents. From the decline of Roman records and rule, onward through the next six or eight centuries, we have very few, or almost no written data to guide us in Scottish historical or antiquarian inquiries. Nor have we any numismatic evidence whatever to appeal to. In consequence of this literary dearth, the roughest lapidary inscriptions, be-

longing to these dark periods of our history, come to be invested with an interest much beyond their mere intrinsic value. The very want of other contemporaneous lettered documents and data imparts importance to the rudest legends cut on our ancient lettered stones. For even brief and meagre tombstone inscriptions rise into matters of historical significance, when all the other literary chronicles and annals of the men and of the times to which these inscriptions belong have, in the lapse of ages, been destroyed and lost.

It is needless to dwell here on the well-known fact, that in England and Scotland there have been left, by the Roman soldiers and colonists who occupied our island during the first four centuries of the Christian era, great numbers of inscribed stones. British antiquarian and topographical works abound with descriptions and drawings of these Roman lapidary writings. But of late years another class or series of lapidary records has been particularly attracting the attention of British antiquaries,—viz., inscribed stones of a late-Roman or post-Roman period. The inscriptions on this latter class of stones are almost always, if not always, sepulchral. The characteristically rude letters in which they are written consist—in the earliest stones—of debased Roman capitals; and—in the latest—of the uncial or minuscule forms of letters which are used in the oldest English and Irish manuscripts. Some stones show an intermixture of both alphabetical characters. These “Romano-British” inscribed stones, as they have been usually termed, have hitherto been found principally in Wales, in Cornwall, and in West Devon. In the different parts of the Welsh Principality, nearly one hundred, I believe, have already been discovered. In Scotland, which is so extremely rich in ancient Sculptured Stones, very few Inscribed Stones are as yet known; but if a due and diligent search be instituted, others, no doubt, will betimes be brought to light.

An inscribed Scottish stone of the class I allude to is situated in the county of Edinburgh, and has been long known under the name of the Cat-stane or Battle-stone. Of its analogy with the earliest class of Romano-British inscribed stones found in Wales, I was not fully aware till I had an opportunity of examining last year, at the meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Society, a valuable collection of rubbings and drawings of these Welsh stones, brought forward by that excellent anti-



THE CAT-STANE, KIRKLISTON,
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

quary, Mr Longueville Jones ; and afterwards, *in situ*, one or two of the stones themselves. I venture, in the following remarks, to direct the attention of the Society to the Cat-stane, partly in consequence of this belief in its analogy with the earliest Welsh inscribed stones ; partly, also, in order to adduce an old and almost unknown description of the Cat-stane, made in the last years of the seventeenth century, by a gentleman who was perhaps the greatest antiquary of his day ; and partly because I have a new conjecture to offer as to the historical personage commemorated in the inscription, and, consequently, as to the probable age of the inscription itself.

Site and Description of the Stone.

The Cat-stane stands in the parish of Kirkliston, on the farm of Briggs,¹ in a field on the north side of the road to Linlithgow, and between the sixth and seventh milestone from Edinburgh. It is placed within a hundred yards of the south bank of the Almond ; nearly half a mile below the Boathouse Bridge ; and about three miles above the entrance of the stream into the Frith of Forth, at the old Roman station of Cramond, or Caer Amond. The monument is located in nearly the middle of the base of a triangular fork of ground formed by the meeting of the Gogar Water with the River Almond. The Gogar flows into the Almond about six or seven hundred yards below the site of the Cat-stane.² The ground on which the Cat-stane stands is the beginning of a ridge slightly elevated above the general level of the neighbouring fields. The stone itself consists of a massive unhewn block of the secondary greenstone-trap of the district, many large boulders of which lie in the bed of the neighbouring

¹ The farm is called " Briggs, or Colstane " (Catstane), in a plan belonging to Mr Hutchison, of his estate of Caerlowrie, drawn up in 1797. In this plan the bridge (brigg) over the Almond, at the boathouse, is laid down. But in another older plan which Mr H. has of the property, dated 1748, there is no bridge, and in its stead there is a representation of the ferry-boat crossing the river.

² In this strategetic angular fork or tongue of ground, formed by the confluence of these two rivers, Queen Mary and her suite were, according to Mr Robert Chambers, caught when she was carried off by Bothwell on the 24th of April 1567. (See his interesting remarks " On the Locality of the Abduction of Queen Mary " in the Proceedings of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, vol. ii. p. 381.)

river. In form it is somewhat prismatic, or irregularly triangular, with its angles very rounded. This large monolith is nearly twelve feet in circumference, about four feet five inches in width, and three feet three inches in thickness. Its height above ground is about four feet and a-half. The Honourable Mrs Ramsay of Barnton, upon whose son's property the monument stands, very kindly granted liberty last year for an examination by digging beneath and around the stone. The accompanying woodcut, taken by my friend Mr Drummond, is a copy of a



Fig. 1.

sketch, made at the time, of the stone as exposed when pursuing this search around its exposed basis. We found the stone to be a block seven feet three inches in total length, and nearly three feet buried in the soil. It was placed upon a basis of stones, forming apparently the

remains of a built stone grave, which contained no bones¹ or other relics, and that had very evidently been already searched and harried. I shall indeed have immediately occasion to cite a passage proving that a century and a half ago the present pillar-stone was surrounded, like some other ancient graves, by a circular range of large flat-laid stones; and when this outer circle was removed,—if not before,—the vicinity and base of the central pillar were very probably dug into and disturbed.

Different Readings of the Inscription.

The inscription upon the stone is cut on the upper half of the eastern and narrowest face of the triangular monolith. Various descriptions of the legend have been given by different authors. The latest published account of it is that given by Professor Daniel Wilson in his work on Scottish Archæology. He disposes of the stone and its inscription in the two following short sentences :—"A few miles to the westward of this is the oft-noted Catt Stane in Kirkliston parish, on which the painful antiquary may yet decipher the imperfect and rudely lettered inscription,—the work, most probably, of much younger hands than those that reared the mass of dark whinstone on which it is cut,—IN [H]OC TVMVLO IACET VETTA . . VICTR . . About sixty yards to the west of the Cat-stane a large tumulus formerly stood, which was opened in 1824, and found to contain several complete skeletons; but nearly all traces of it have now disappeared."

In the tenth volume of the Statistical Account of Scotland, collected

¹ The comparative rapidity or slowness with which bones are decomposed and disappear in different soils, is sometimes a question of importance to the antiquary. We all know that they preserve for many long centuries in dry soils and dry positions. In moist ground, such as that on which the Cat-stane stands, they melt away far more speedily. On another part of Mrs Ramsay's property, namely, in the policy, and within two hundred yards of the mansion-house of Barnton, I opened, several years ago, with Mr Morritt of Rokeby, the grave of a woman who had died—as the tombstone on the spot told us—during the last Scottish plague in the year 1648. The only remains of sepulture which we found were some fragments of the wooden coffin, and the enamel crowns of a few teeth. All other parts of the body and skeleton had entirely disappeared. The chemical qualities of the ground, and consequently of its water, will of course modify the rapidity of such results.

² Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, p. 96.

by Sir John Sinclair, and published in 1794, the Rev. Mr John Muckarsie, in giving an account of the parish of Kirkliston, alludes in a note to the "Cat-stane standing on the farm of that name in this parish." In describing it he observes "The form is an irregular prism, with the following inscription on the south-east face, deeply cut in the stone, in a most uncouth manner:—

IN OC T
VMVLO IACI
VETTA D
VICTA

We are informed," continues Mr Muckarsie, "by Buchanan and other historians, that there was a bloody battle fought near this place, on the banks of the Almond, in the year 995, between Kennethus, natural brother and commander of the forces of Malcolm II., King of Scotland, and Constantine, the usurper of that crown, wherein both the generals were killed. About two miles higher up the river, on the Bathgate road, is a circular mound of earth (of great antiquity, surrounded with large unpolished stones, at a considerable distance from each other, evidently intended in memory of some remarkable event). The whole intermediate space, from the human bones dug up, and graves of unpolished stones discovered below the surface, seems to have been the scene of many battles."¹

In the discourse which the Earl of Buchan gave in 1780 to a meeting called together for the establishment of the present Society of Scottish Antiquaries, his Lordship took occasion to allude to the Cat-stane when wishing to point out how monuments, rude as they are, "lead us to correct the uncertain accounts which have been handed down by the monkish writers." "Accounts, for example, have (he observes) been given of various conflicts which took place toward the close of the tenth century between Constantine IV. and Malcolm, the general of the lawful heir of the Scottish Crown, on the banks of the River Almond, and decided towards its confluence to the sea, near Kirkliston. Accordingly, from

¹ Statistical Account of Scotland, collected by Sir John Sinclair, vol. x. pp. 68, 75.

Mid-Calder, anciently called Calder-comitas, to Kirkliston, the banks of the river are filled with the skeletons of human bodies, and the remains of warlike weapons; and opposite to Carlowrie there is a well-known stone near the margin of the river, called by the people *Catt Stane*. The following inscription was legible on the stone in the beginning of this (the eighteenth) century; and the note of the inscription I received from the Rev. Mr Charles Wilkie, minister of the parish of Ecclesmachan, whose father, Mr John Wilkie, minister of the parish of Uphall, whilst in his younger days an inhabitant of Kirkliston, had carefully transcribed:—

IN HOC TUM · JAC · CONSTAN · VIC · VICT¹

Lord Buchan adduces this alleged copy of the Cat-stane inscription as valuable from having been taken early in the last century. The copy of the inscription, though averred to be old, is, as we shall see in the sequel, doubtlessly most inaccurate. And there exist accounts of the inscription both older and infinitely more correct and trustworthy.

The oldest and most important notice of the Cat-stane and its inscription that I know of is published in a work where few would expect to find it,—viz., in the "*Mona Antiqua Restaurata*" of the Rev. Mr Rowlands. It is contained in a letter addressed to that gentleman by the distinguished Welsh archæologist, Edward Lhwyd. The date of Mr Lhwyd's letter is "Sligo, March 12th, 1699–1700." A short time previously he had visited Scotland, and "collected a considerable number of inscriptions." At that time the Cat-stane was a larger and much more imposing monument than it is now, as shown in the following description of it. "One monument," says he, "I met with within four miles of Edinburgh, different from all I had seen elsewhere, and never observed by their antiquaries. I take it to be the tomb of some Pictish king; though situate by a river side, remote enough from any church. It is an area of about seven yards diameter, raised a little above the rest of the ground, and encompassed with large stones; all which stones are laid lengthwise, excepting one larger than ordinary, which is pitched on end, and contains this inscription in the barbarous characters of the fourth and fifth centuries, IN OC TUMULO JACIT VETTA F. VICTI. This the common

¹ The Scots Magazine for 1780, p. 697. See also Smellie's "Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland" (1782), p. 8.

people call the *Cat-Stene*, whence I suspect the person's name was *Getus*, of which name I find three Pictish kings; for the names pronounced by the Britons with *G*, were written in Latin with *V*, as we find by Gwyrtheyrn, Gwyrthefyr, and Gwythelyn, which were written in Latin Vortigernus, Vortimerus, and Vitelinus."¹

Besides writing the preceding note to Dr Rowland regarding the Cat-stane, Mr Lhwyd, at the time of his visit, took a sketch of the inscription itself. In the "Philosophical Transactions" for February 1700, this sketch of the Cat-stane inscription was, with eight others,



Fig. 2.

published by Dr Musgrave, in a brief communication entitled, "An Account of some Roman, French, and Irish Inscriptions and Antiquities, lately found in Scotland and Ireland, by Mr Edward Lhwyd, and com-

¹ Rowlands' "Mona Antiqua Restaurata," second edition, p. 313. The inscription is printed in italics by Rowland. I have printed this and some of the following readings in small Roman capitals, in order to assimilate them all the more with each other.

municated to the Publisher from Mr John Hicks of Trewithier, in Cornwall." The accompanying woodcut (fig. 2) is an exact copy of Mr Lhwyd's sketch, as published in the "Philosophical Transactions." In the very brief communication accompanying it, the Cat-stane is shortly described as "A Pictish monument near Edinburgh, IN OC TUMULO JACIT VETA F. VICTI. This the common people call the Ket-stean; note that the British names beginning with the letter Gw began in Latin with V [and the three examples given by Lhwyd in his letter to Dr Rowland follow]. So I suppose (it is added) this person's name was Gweth or Geth, of which name were divers kings of the Picts, whence the vulgar name of Ket-stone."¹

In the course of the last century, notices or readings of the Cat-stane inscription, more or less similar to the account of it in the "Philosophical Transactions," were published by different writers, as by Sir Robert Sibbald, in 1708,²—by Maitland, in 1753,³—by Pennant, in his Journey through Scotland in 1772,⁴—and by Gough, in 1789, in the third volume of his edition of "Camden's Britannia."⁵

All the four authors whom I have quoted agree as to the reading of the inscription, and give the two names mentioned in it, as VETTA and VICTI. But in printing the first of these names, VETTA, Maitland and Pennant, following perhaps the text in the "Philosophical Transactions," carelessly spell it with a single instead of a double T; and Gough makes the first vowel in VICTI an E instead of an I. Sir Robert Sibbald gives as a K the mutilated terminal letter in the third line, which Mr Llwyd deciphered as an F. Sibbald's account of the stone

¹ Philosophical Transactions, vol. xxii. p. 790.

² Historical Inquiries concerning the Roman Monuments and Antiquities in Scotland, p. 50.

³ The History of Edinburgh, p. 508.

⁴ Tour in Scotland in 1772, Part ii. p. 287. When describing his ride from Kirkliston to Edinburgh, he observes: "On the right hand, at a small distance from our road are some rude stones. On one called the *Cat-stean*, a compound of Celtic and Saxon signifying the Stone of Battle, is this inscription: IN HOC TUMULO JACIT VETA F. VICTI; supposed in memory of a person slain there."

⁵ Camden's Britannia, edited by Richard Gough, vol. iii. p. 817. Mr Gough cites also as Mr Wilkie's reading, "IN HOC TUM, JAC. CONSTANTIE VICT."

and its inscription, in 1708, is short but valuable, as affording an old independent reading of the legend. It is contained in his folio essay or work entitled, "Historical Inquiries Concerning the Roman Monuments and Antiquities in Scotland" (p. 50). "Close (says he) by Kirkliston water, upon the south side, there is a square pillar over against the Mannor of Carlowry with this inscription:—

IN OC TV
MVLO IACIT
VETTA K
VICTI

This (Sibbald continues) seemeth to have been done in later times than the former inscriptions [viz., those left in Scotland by the Romans]. Whether (Sir Robert adds) it be a Pictish monument or not is uncertain; the vulgar call it the *Cat Stane*."

Mr Gough, when speaking of the stone in the latter part of the last century, states that the inscription upon it was "not now legible." It is certainly still even sufficiently legible and entire to prove unmistakably the accuracy of the reading of it given upwards of a century and a half ago by Lhwyd and Sibbald. The letters come out with special distinctness when examined with the morning sun shining on them; and indeed few ancient inscriptions in this country, not protected by being buried, are better preserved,—a circumstance owing principally to the very hard and durable nature of the stone itself, and the depth to which the letters have been originally cut. The accompanying woodcut (Plate V.) is taken from a photograph of the stone by my friend Dr Paterson, and very faithfully represents the inscription. The surface of the stone upon which the letters are carved has weathered and broken off in some parts; particularly towards the right-hand edge of the inscription. This process of disintegration has more or less affected the terminal letters of the four lines of the inscriptions. Yet, out of the twenty-six letter composing the legend, twenty are still comparatively entire and perfectly legible; four are more or less defective; and two nearly obliterated. The two which are almost obliterated consist of the first V in TVMVLO, constituting the terminal letter of the first line, and the

last vowel I, or rather, judging from the space it occupies, E in JACIT. A mere impress of the site of the bars of the V is faintly traceable by the eye and finger, though the letter came out in the photograph. Only about an inch of the middle portion of the upright bar of I or E in JACIT can be traced by sight or touch. In this same word, also, the lower part of the C and the cross stroke of the T is defective. But even if the inscription had not been read when these letters were more entire, such defects in particular letters are not assuredly of a kind to make any palæographer entertain a doubt as to the two words in which these defects occur being TVMVLO and JACIT.

The terminal letter in the third line¹ was already defective in the time of Edward Lhwyd, as shown by the figure of it in his sketch. (See woodcut, No. 2.) Sibbald prints it as a K, a letter without any attachable meaning. Lhwyd read it as an F (followed apparently by a linear point or stop), and held it to signify—what F so often does signify in the common established formula of these old inscriptions—F(ILIVS). The upright limb of this F appears still well cut and distinct; but the stone is much hollowed out and destroyed immediately to the right, where the two cross bars of the letter should be. The site of the upper cross-bar of the letter is too much decayed and excavated to allow of any distinct recognition of it. The site, however, of a small portion of the middle cross bar is traceable at the point where it is still united to and springs from the upright limb of the letter. Beyond, or to the right of this letter F, a line about half an inch long, forming possibly a terminal stop or point of a linear type, commences on the level of the lower line of the letters, and runs obliquely upwards and outwards, till it is now lost above in the weathered and hollowed-out portion of stone. Its site is nearer the upright limb or basis of the F than it is represented to be in the sketch of Mr Lhwyd, where it is figured as constituting a partly continuous extension downwards of the middle bar of the letter itself. And perhaps it is not a linear point, but more truly, as Lhwyd figures it, the lower portion of a form of the middle bar of F, of an unusual though not unknown type. The immediate descent or genealogy of those whom these Romano-British inscriptions commemorate is often given on the

¹ In the VETTA of this line the cross bar in A is wanting, from the stone between the upright bars being chipped or weathered out.

stones, but their status or profession is seldom mentioned. We have exceptions in the case of one or two royal personages, as in the famous inscription in Anglesey to "CATAMANUS, REX SAPIENTISSIMUS OPINATISSIMUS OMNIUM REGUM." The rank and office of priests are in several instances also commemorated with their names, as in the Kirkmadrine Stone in Galloway. In the churchyard of Llangian, in Caernarvonshire, there is a stone with an ancient inscription written not horizontally, but vertically (as is the case with regard to most of the Cornish inscribed stones), and where MELUS, the son of MARTINUS, the person commemorated, is a physician—MEDICVS. But the inscription is much more interesting in regard to our present inquiry in another point. For—

MEQ MEDICI
FILI MARTINI
IACIT

as the accompanying woodcut of the Llangian inscription shows—the F in the word FILI is very much of the same type or form as the F seen by Lhwyd in the Cat-stane, and drawn by him. (See his sketch in the preceding woodcut, Fig. 2.) The context and position of this letter F in the Llangian legend leaves no doubt of its true character. The form is old; Mr Westwood considers the age of the Llangian inscription as "not later than the fifth century."¹ An approach to the same form of F in the same word FILI, is seen in an inscribed stone which formerly stood at Pant y Polion in Wales, and is now removed to Dolan Cothy House. Again, in some instances, as in the Romano-British stones at Llandysilir, Clyddan, Llandyssul, &c., where the F in Filius is tied to the succeeding I, the conjoined letters present an appearance similar to the F on the Cat-stane as figured by Lhwyd.

While all competent authorities are nearly agreed as to the lettering and reading of the first three lines, latterly the terminal letter of the fourth or last line has given rise to some difference of opinion. Lhwyd, Sibbald, and Pennant unhesitatingly read the whole last line as VICTI. Lhwyd, in his sketch of the inscription, further shows that, following the last I, there is a stop or point of a linear form. The terminal I is three inches long, while the linear point or stop following it is fully an inch in length. Between it and the terminal I is a smooth

¹ *Archæologia Cambrensis* (for 1848), vol. iii. p. 107.

space on the stone of five or six lines. Latterly this terminal I, with its superadded linear point, has been supposed by Mr Muckersie to be an A, and by Dr Wilson to be an R. Both suppositions appear to me to be erroneous; and of this one or two considerations will, I think, satisfy any cautious observer who will examine carefully either the stone itself, or the cast of the inscription that was made in 1824—copies of which are placed in our own and in other museums. Mr Muckersie and Dr Wilson hold the upright bar forming the letter I to be the primary upright bar of an A or R; and they think the remaining portions of these letters to be indicated or formed by the linear stop figured by Lhwyd. That the letter is not A, is shown by the bar being quite perpendicular, and not oblique or slanting, as in the two other A's in the inscription. Besides, the middle cross stroke of the A is wanting; and the second descending bar of the letter is quite deficient in length—a deficiency not explicable by mutilation from the weathering of the stone, as the stone happens to be still perfectly entire both at the uppermost and the lowest end of this bar or line. This last reason is also in itself a strong if not a sufficient ground for rejecting the idea that the letter is an R; inasmuch as if it had been an R, the tail of the letter would have been found prolonged downwards to the base line of the other letters in the word. For it is to be held in remembrance, that though the forms of the letters in this inscription are rude and debased, yet they are all cut with firmness and fulness.

The idea that the terminal letter of the inscription is an R seems still more objectionable in another point of view. To make it an R at all, we can only suppose the disputed "line" to be the lowest portion of the segment of the loop or semicircular head of the R. The line, which is about an inch long, is straight, however, and not a part of a round curve or a circle, such as we know the mason who carved this inscription could and did cut, as witnessed by his O's and C's. Besides, if this straight line had formed the lower segment of the semicircular loop or head of an R, then the highest point of that R would have stood so disproportionally elevated above the top line or level of the other letters in this word, as altogether to oppose and differ from what we see in the other parts of this inscription. This same reason bears equally against another view which perhaps might be taken; namely, that the

straight line in question is the tail or terminal right-hand stroke of the R, placed nearly horizontally, as is occasionally the form of this letter in some early inscriptions, like those of Yarrows and Llangian. But if this view be adopted, then the loop or semicircular head of the R must be considered as still more disproportionally displaced upwards above the common level of the top line; for in this view the whole loop or head must have stood entirely above this straight horizontal line, which line itself reaches above the middle height of the upright bar forming the I. Immediately above the horizontal line, for a space about an inch or more in depth, and some ten or twelve inches in length, there has been a weathering and chipping off of a splinter of the surface of the stone, as indicated by its commencement in an abrupt, curved, rugged edge above. This lesion or fracture of the stone has, I believe, originally given rise to the idea of the semblance of this terminal letter of the inscription to an R. Probably, also, this disintegration is comparatively recent; for in the last century Lhwyd, Sibbald, Maitland, and Pennant, all unhesitatingly lay down the terminal letter as an I. But even if it were an A or an R, and not an I and hyphen point, this would not affect or alter the view which I will take in the sequel, that the last word in the inscription is a Latinised form of the surname VICTA or WECTA; as, amid the numberless modifications to which the orthography of ancient names is subjected by our early chroniclers, the historic name in question is spelled by Aethelweard with a terminal R,—in one place as UUITHAR, and in another as WITHER.¹ Altogether, however, I feel assured that the more accurately we examine the inscription as still left, and the more we take into consideration the well known caution and accuracy of Edward Lhwyd as an archæologist, the more

¹ See his "Chronicon," in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica," pp. 502 and 505. Nouns, and names ending thus in "r," preceded by a vowel, were often written without the penultimate vowel, particularly in the Scandinavian branches of the Teutonic language; as Baldr for Balder and Baldur; Folkvangr for Folkvanger; Surtur for Surtur and Surtar, &c. (See the Glossary to the prose Edda in Bohn's edition of Mallet's Northern Antiquities, and Kemble's Saxons in England, pp. 346, 368, &c.) For genealogical lists full of proper names ending in "r" with the elision of the preceding vowel, see the long tables of Scandinavian and Orcadian pedigrees printed at the end of the work on the pre-Columbian discovery

do we feel assured that his reading of the Cat-stane legend, when he visited and copied it upwards of a hundred and sixty years ago, is strictly correct, viz. :—

IN OC TV
MVLO JACIT
VETTA F.
VICTI.

Palæographic Peculiarities.

The palæographic characters of the inscription scarcely require any comment. As in most other Roman and Romano-British inscriptions, the words run into each other without any intervening space to mark their separation. The letters all consist of debased Roman capitals. They generally vary from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches in length; but the O in the first line is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep. The O in TVMVLO in these ancient inscriptions is often, as in the Cat-stane, smaller than the other letters. M. Edmond Le Blant gives numerous marked instances of this peculiarity of the small O in the same words, "IN HoC TVMVLo," in his work on the early Romano-Gaulish inscriptions of France.¹ Most of the letters in the Cat-stane inscription are pretty well formed, and firmly though rudely cut. The oblique direction of the bottom stroke of L in TVMVLO is a form of that letter often observable in other old Romano-British inscriptions, as on the stone at Llanfaglan in Wales. The M in the same word has its first and last strokes splaying outwardly; a peculiarity seen in many old Roman and Romano-British monuments—as is also the tying together of this letter with the following V. In the Romano-British inscription upon the stone found at Yarrow, and which was brought under the notice of the Society by Dr John Alexander Smith,

of America, "*Antiquitates Americanae*," &c., which was published at Copenhagen in 1837 by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. In the first table of genealogies giving the pedigree of Thorfinn the son of Sigurd, of the Orkney dynasty, &c., we have, among other names—Olaf, Grismr, Ingjaldr, Oleifr (*Rex Dublini*); Thorsteinn Raudr (*partis Scotiæ Rex*); Dungadr (*Earl of Katanesi*); Arfidr, Havadr, Thorfinnr, &c. (*Earls of Orkney*); &c. &c.

¹ *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule, antérieures au VIII. Siècle.* See Plates Nos. 10, 11, 15, 16, 24, 25, &c.

there are three interments, as it were, recorded, the last of them in these words:¹

... HIC IACENT
IN TVMVLO DVO FILI
LIBERALI.

The letters on this Yarrow stone are—with one doubtful exception²—Roman capitals, of a ruder, and hence perhaps later, type than those cut on the Cat-stane; but the letters MV in TVMVLO are tied together in exactly the same way on the two stones. The omission of the aspirate in (H)OC, as seen on the Cat-stane, is by no means rare. The so-called bilingual, or Latin and Ogham, inscribed stone at Llanfechan, Wales, has upon it the Latin legend TRENACATVS IC JACET FILIVS MAGLAGNI—the aspirate being wanting in the word HIC. It is wanting also in the same way, and in the same word, in the inscription on the Maen Madoc stone, near Ystradfellte, viz., DERVACI FILIVS IVLII IC IACIT; and on the Turpillian stone near Crickhowel. In a stone, described by Mr Westwood, and placed on the road from Brecon to Merthyr, the initial aspirate in “hoc” is not entirely dropped, but is cut in an uncial form, while all the other letters are Roman capitals; thus IN hOC TVMULO.

Linear hyphen-like stops, such as Lhwyd represents at the end of the fourth, and probably also of the third line on the Cat-stane inscription, seem not to be very rare. In the remarkable inscription on the Caerwys

¹ The name LIBERALIS is probably the Latinized form of a British surname having the same meaning. Rydderch, King of Strathclyde, in the latter part of the sixth century, and the personal friend of Kentigern and Columba, was sometimes, from his munificence, termed Rydderch *Hael*, or, in its Latinized form, Rydderch *Liberalis*. The first lines of the Yarrow inscription appear to me to read, as far as they are decipherable, as follows:—

HIC MEMOR IACIT F
LOIN :: NI :: HIC
PE :: M
DVMNOGENI.

The true character of the G in the fourth line was first pointed out by Dr Smith. It is of the same form as the G in the famous SAGRAMANVS stone, &c.

² The exception is the letter D in DVO, which verges to the uncial form.

stone now placed at Downing Whitford, "Here lies a good and noble woman"—¹

HIC JACIT! MVLI
ER BONA NOBILI(S)

an oblique linear point appears in the middle of the legend, after the word JACIT. The linear stop on the Cat-stane inscription, at the end of the fourth line, is, as already stated, fully an inch in length, but it is scarcely so deep as the cuts forming the letters; and the original surface of the stone at both ends of this terminal linear stop is very perfect and sound, showing that the line was not extended either upwards or downwards into any form of letter. Straight or hyphen lines, at the end both of words—especially of the proper names—and of the whole inscriptions, have been found on various Romano-British stones, as on those of Margan, (the Naen Llythyrog), Stackpole, and Clydau, and have been supposed to be the letter I, placed horizontally, while all the other letters in these inscriptions are placed perpendicularly. Is it not more probable that they are merely points? Or do they not sometimes, like tied letters, represent both an I and a stop?

WHO IS COMMEMORATED IN THE CAT-STANE INSCRIPTION?

In the account which Mr George Chalmers gives of the Antiquities of Linlithgowshire in his "Caledonia," there is no notice of the inscription on the Cat-stane taken; but, with a degree of vagueness of which this author is seldom guilty, he remarks, that this monolith "is certainly a memorial of some conflict and of *some* person."²

Is it not possible, however, to obtain a more definite idea of the person who is named on the stone, and in commemoration of whom it was raised?

In the extracts that have been already given, it has been suggested by different writers whom I have cited, that the Cat-stane commemorates

¹ In the inscription all the words are, as usual, run together, with the exception of the Jacit and Mulier, which are separated from each other by the oblique linear point. See a plate of the inscription in the "Archæologia Cambrensis" for 1856, p. 163.

² Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 844.

a Scottish king, Constantine IV., or a Pictish king, Geth. Let us first examine into the probability of these two suggestions.

1. **CONSTANTINE?**—In the olden lists of our Scottish kings, four King Constantines occur. The Cat-stane has been imagined by Lord Buchan and Mr Muckersie to have been raised in memory of the last of these—viz., of Constantine IV., who fell in a battle believed by these writers to have been fought on this ground in the last years of the tenth century, or about A.D. 995. In the “New Statistical Account of Scotland,” the Reverend Mr Tait, the present minister of Kirkliston, farther speaks of the “Catstean (as) supposed to be a corruption of Constantine, and to have been erected to the honour of Constantine, one of the commanders in the same engagement, who was there slain and interred.”¹

In the year 970 the Scottish king Culen died, having been “killed (according to the Ulster Annals) by the Britons in open battle;” and in A.D. 994, his successor, Kenneth MacMalcolm, the founder of Brechin, was slain.² Constantine, the son of Culen, reigned for the next year and a half, and fell in a battle for the crown fought between him and Kenneth, the son of Malcolm I. The site of this battle was, according to most of our ancient authorities, on the Almond. There are two rivers of this name in Scotland, one in Perthshire and the other in the Lothians. George Chalmers places the site of the battle in which Constantine fell on the Almond in Perthshire; Fordun, Boece, and Buchanan place it on the Almond in the Lothians, upon the banks of which the Cat-stane stands. The battle was fought, to borrow the words of the *Scotichro-*

¹ New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. i. p. 188. For the same supposed corruption of the name Constantine into Cat-stane, see also Fullarton's *Gazetteer of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 182.

² The brief history of Kenneth, his parentage, reign, and mode of death, as given in one of the earliest Chronicles of the Kings of Scotland, quoted by Father Innes (p. 802), contains in its few lines a very condensed and yet powerful story of deep maternal affection and fierce female revenge. The whole entry is as follows:—“Kinath Mac-Malcolm 24, an. et 2. mens. Interfectus in Fotherkern a suis per perfidium Finellæ filias Cunechat comitis de Angus; cujus Finellæ filium unicum prædictus Kinath interfecit apud Dunsinoen.” The clumsy additions of some later historians only spoil and mar the original simplicity and force of this “three-volume” historical romance.

nicon, "in Laudonia juxta ripam amnis Almond."¹ The Chronicle of Melrose gives (p. 226) the "Avon"—the name of another large stream in the Lothians—as the river that was the site of the battle in question. Wyntown (vol. i. p. 182) speaks of it as the "Awyne." Bishop Leslie transfers this same fight to the banks of the Annan in Dumfriesshire, describing it as having occurred during an invasion of Cumbria, "ad Annandiæ amnis ostia."²

Among the authorities who speak of this battle or of the fall of Constantine, some describe these events as having occurred at the source, others at the mouth of the Almond or Avon. Thus the ancient rhyming chronicle cited in the *Scotichronicon* gives the locality of Constantine's fall as "ad caput amnis Amond."³ The Chronicle of Melrose, when entering the fall of "Constantinus Calvus," quotes the same lines, with such modifications as follows:⁴—

"Rex Constantinus, Culeno filius ortus,
Ad caput amnis Avon ense peremptus erat,
In Tegalere; regens uno rex et semis annis,
Ipsum Kinedus Malcolomida ferit."

Wyntown cites the two first of these Latin lines, changing, as I have said, the name of the river to Awyne, almost, apparently, for the purpose of getting a vernacular rhyme, and then himself tells us, that

"At the Wattyr hed of Awyne,
The King Gryme slwe this Constantyne."⁵

If the word "Tegalere" in the Melrose Chronicle be a true reading,⁶ and the locality could be identified under the same or a similar derivative name, the site of the battle might be fixed, and the point ascertained whether it took place, as the preceding authorities aver, at the source, "water-head" or "caput" of the river; or, as Hector Boece and George

¹ Tom. i. p. 219, of Goodall's edition.

² De Rebus Gestis Scotorum, chap. lxxxi. p. 200.

³ Joannis Forduni Scotichronicon, tom. i. p. 219.

⁴ Chronicon de Mailros, p. 226 (Bannatyne Club edition).

⁵ Wyntown's Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland, vol. i. p. 188.

⁶ In the *Scotichronicon*, instead of "In Tegalere," the third of these lines commences "Inregale regens," &c.; and it is noted that in the "Liber Dumblain" the line begins "Indegale," &c.

Buchanan¹ describe it, at its mouth or entrance into the Forth at Cra-
mond; "ad Amundæ amnis ostia tribus passuum millibus ab Edin-
burgo."² A far older and far more valuable authority than either Boece
or Buchanan, namely, the collector of the list of the Scottish and Pictish
kings extracted by Sir Robert Sibbald from the now lost register of the
Priory of St Andrews,³ seems also to place the death of King Constan-
tine at the mouth of the Almond, if we interpret aright the entry in it
of "interfectus in Rathveramœn" as meaning "Rath Inver Amœn,"—
the rath or earth-fortress at the mouth of the Amœn.⁴

Even, however, were it allowed that the battle in which Constantine
perished was fought upon the Almond, and not upon the Avon, on the
stream of the former name in the Lothians and not in Perthshire, at the
mouth and not at the source of the river, there still, after all, remains
no evidence whatever that the Cat-stane was raised in commemoration
of the fall of the Scottish king; whilst there is abundant evidence to
the contrary. The very word "Inver," in the last of the designations

¹ Buchanan, in his "*Rerum Scotticorum Historia*," gives the locality as "ad Al-
monis amnis ostium." (Lib. vi. c. 81.)

² *Scotorum Historiæ*, p. 285 of Paris edition of 1574. Bellenden and Stewart, in
their translations of Boece's History, both place the fight at "Crawmond."

³ This document, entitled "*Nomina Regum Scottorum et Pictorum*," and pub-
lished by Father Innes in his "*Critical Essay*," p. 797, &c., is described by that
esteemed and cautious author as a document the very fact of the registration of which
among the records and charters of the ancient church of St Andrews "is a full
proof of its being held authentick at the time it was written, that is about A.D.
1251." (P. 607.)

⁴ The orthography of the copy of this Chronicle, as given by Innes, is very in-
accurate, and the omission of the two initial letters of "*inver*," not very extra-
ordinary in the word Rathveramœn. Apparently the same word Rathinveramon
occurs previously in the same Chronicle, when Donald MacAlpin, the second king of
the combined Picts and Scots, is entered as having died "in Raith in Veramont"
(p. 801). In another of the old Chronicles published by Innes, this king is said to
have died in his palace at "Belachoir" (p. 788). If, as some historians believe, the
Lothians were not annexed to Scotland before his death in A.D. 859, by Kenneth
the brother of Donald, and did not become a part of the Scottish kingdom till the
time of Indulf (about A.D. 954), or even later, then it is probable that the site of
King Donald's death in A.D. 863, at Rathinveramon, was on the Almond in Perth-
shire, within his own territories.

which I have adduced, is strongly against this idea. For the term "Inver," when applied to a locality on a stream, almost invariably means the mouth of it,¹ and not a site on its course—such as the Cat-stane occupies—three miles above its confluence. Nor is there any probability that an inscribed monument would be raised in honour of a king who, like Constantine, fell in a civil war,—who was the last of his own branch of the royal house that reigned,—and was distinguished, as the ancient chroniclers tell us, by the contemptuous appellation of *Calvus*. There is great reason, indeed, to believe that the idea of the Cat-stane being connected with the fall of Constantine is comparatively modern in its origin. Oral tradition sometimes creates written history; but, on the other hand, written history sometimes creates oral tradition. And in the present instance a knowledge of the statements of our ancient historians in all probability gave rise to such attempts as that of Mr Wilkie—to find, namely, a direct record of Constantine in the Cat-stane inscription. But when we compare the inscription itself, as read a century and a half ago by Lhywd and Sibbald, and as capable of being still read at the present day, with the edition of it as given by Lord Buchan, it is impossible not to conclude that the idea of connecting the legend with the name of Constantine is totally without foundation. For, besides minor errors in punctuation and letterings, such as the total omission in Lord Buchan's copy of the inscription of the three last letters VLO of "TVMVLO," the changing of VETTA to VIC, &c., we have the two terminal letters of JACIT, viz. the IT, changed into the seven-lettered word CONSTAN, apparently with no object but the support of a theory as to the person commemorated in the legend and the monolith. Most

¹ I am only aware of one very marked exception to this general law. Malcolm Canmore is known to have been killed near Alnwick, when attacking its castle. Alnwick is situated on the Alne, about five or six miles above the village of Alnmouth, the ancient Twyford, on the Alne of Bede, on the mount near which St Cuthbert was installed as a bishop. But in the ancient Chronicle from the Register of St Andrews, King Malcolm is entered (see Innes, p. 808) as "interfectus in In-neraldan." The error has more likely originated in a want of proper local knowledge on the part of the chronicler than in so unusual a use of the Celtic word "inver;" for, according to all analogies, while the term is applicable to Alnmouth, it is not at all applicable to Alnwick.

assuredly there is not the very slightest trace of any letters on the surface of the stone where the chief part of the word CONSTAN is represented as existing—viz., after JACIT. It would be difficult, perhaps, to adduce a case of more flagrant incorrectness in copying an inscription than Mr Wilkie's and Lord Buchan's reading of the Cat-stane legend affords. Mr Gough, in his edition of "Camden's Britannia" (1784), only aggravates this misrepresentation. For whilst he incorrectly states that the inscription is "not now legible," he carelessly changes Mr Wilkie's alleged copy of the leading word from CONSTAN to CON-STANTIE, and suppresses altogether the word VIC.

GETUS, GWETH, or GETH?—I have already cited Mr Lhwyd's conjecture that the Cat-stane is "the tomb of some Pictish King," and the opinion expressed by him and Mr Hicks, that taking the V in the Latin VETTA of the inscription as equal to the Pictish letters G or Gw, the name of the Pictish king commemorated by the stone was Getus, "of which name," observes Mr Lhwyd, "I find three Pictish kings." In the analogous account sent by Mr Hicks to the "Philosophical Transactions" along with Mr Lhwyd's sketch of the Cat-stane, it is stated that the person's name on "this Pictish monument" was Gweth or Geth, "of which name," it is added, "were divers kings of the Picts, whence the vulgar name of Ket-stone."

It is unnecessary to stop and comment on the unsoundness of this reasoning, and the improbability—both as to the initial and terminal letters—of the surname VETTA in this Latin inscription being similar to the Pictish surname Geth or GETUS, as Lhwyd himself gives and writes it in its Latin form. Among the lists of the Pictish kings, whilst we have several names beginning with G, we have some also commencing in the Latinized forms of the Chronicles with V, as Vist, Vere, Vipoignamet, &c.

But a much more important objection exists against the conjecture of Mr Lhwyd, in the fact that his memory had altogether misled him as to there having been "three" Pictish kings of the name of "Getus," or "divers kings of the Picts of the names of Geth or Gweth," to use the words employed in the "Philosophical Transactions."

Lists, more or less complete, of the Pictish kings have been found in

the Histories of Fordun and Winton, in the pages of the Scalacronica and Chronicles of Tighernach, in the Irish copy of Nennius, in the extracts published by Sir Robert Sibbald and Father Innes from the lost Register of St Andrews, and in the old *Chronicum Regum Pictorum*, supposed to be written about A.D. 1020, and preserved in the Colbertine Library.

None of these lists include a Pictish king of the name of Getus, Geat, or Gweth. Some of the authorities—as the Register of St Andrews, Fordun, and Winton—enter as the second king of the Picts Ghede or Gede, the Gilgidi of the “*Chronicum Regum Pictorum*,” and this latter chronicle contains in its more mythical and earlier part the appellations Got, Gedeol, Guidid, and Brude-Guith; but none of these surnames sufficiently correspond either to Mr Lhwyd’s statement or to the requirements of the inscription.

But whilst thus setting aside the conjectures as to the Cat-stane commemorating the name of a Scottish King Constantine, or of a Pictish King Geth, I would further remark that the surname in the inscription, namely—*VETTA FILIUS VICTI*—is one which appears to me to be capable of another and a more probable solution. With this view let us proceed then to inquire who was

VETTA, the son of VICTUS?

And *first*, I would beg to remark, that the word Vetta is still too distinct upon the Cat-stane to allow of any doubt as to the mere name of the person commemorated in the inscription upon it.

Secondly, The name of Vetta, or, to spell the word in its more common Saxon forms, Wetta or Witta, is a Teutonic surname. To speak more definitely, it pertains to the class of surnames which characterized these so-called Saxon or Anglo-Saxon invaders of our island, and allied Germanic tribes who overran Britain upon the decline of the Roman dominion amongst us.

Bede speaks, as is well known, of our original Teutonic conquerors in the fifth century as coming from three powerful tribes of Germany; namely, the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. “*Advenenerunt autem de tribus Germaniæ populis fortioribus, id est, Saxonibus, Angliis, Jutis*” (lib. i. c. 20).¹

¹ *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum.* (Stevenson’s Edit. p. 85.)

Ubo Emmius, in his History of the Frisians, maintains that "more colonies from Friesland than Saxony, settled in Briton, whether under the names of Jutes, or of Angles, or later of the Saxons."¹ Procopius who lived nearly two centuries before Bede, and had access to good means of information from being the secretary of the Emperor Belisarius, states that at the time of his writing (about A.D. 548) three numerous nations possessed Britain, the Angles and Frisians (*Ἀγγελοι τε και φρισσωνες*), and those surnamed, from the island, Brittones.² Modern Friesland seems to have yielded a considerable number of our Teutonic invaders and colonists; and it is in that isolated country that we find, at all events, the characteristics and language of our Teutonic forefathers best preserved. In his "History of England during the Anglo-Saxon Period," the late Sir Francis Palgrave remarks, "The tribes by whom Britain was invaded, appear principally to have proceeded from the country now called Friesland. Of all the continental dialects (he adds), the ancient Frisick is the one which approaches most nearly to the Anglo-Saxon of our ancestors."³ "The nearest approach," according to Dr Latham, "to our genuine and typical German or Anglo-Saxon forefathers, is not to be found within the four seas of Britain, but in the present Frisian of Friesland."⁴ At present, about one hundred thousand inhabitants of Friesland speak the ancient or Country-Friesic, a language unintelligible to the surrounding Dutch, but which remains still nearly allied to the old Anglo-Saxon of England. Some even of their modern surnames are repetitions of the most ancient Anglo-Saxon surnames in our island, and, among others, still include that of Vetta or Witta; thus showing its Teutonic origin. In discussing the great analogies between ancient Anglo-Saxon and modern Friesic, Dr Bosworth, the learned Professor of Anglo-Saxon Literature at Oxford, incidentally remarks, "I cannot omit to mention, that the leaders

¹ *De Bello Gothico*, lib. iv. c. 20. See other authorities in Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 182.

² *Emmii Rerum Friescarum Historia*, p. 41.

³ *History of England*, vol. i.—*Anglo-Saxon Period*, pp. 88, 84.

⁴ *The Ethnology of the British Islands*, p. 259. At p. 240, Dr Latham states, "A native tradition makes Hengist a Frisian." Dr Bosworth cites (see his *Origin of the English &c. Language and Nation*, p. 52) Maerlant in his *Chronicle* as doubtful whether to call Hengist a Frisian or a Saxon.

of the Anglo-Saxons bear names which are now in use by the Friesians, though by time a little altered or abbreviated. They have Horste, Hengst, Witte, Wiggele, &c., for the Anglo-Saxon Horsa, Hengist, Witte, Wightgil, &c."¹

But Witte or Vetta was not a common name among our more leading Anglo-Saxon forefathers. Among the many historical surnames occurring in ancient Saxon annals and English chronicles, the name of Vetta, as far as I know, only occurs twice or thrice.

I. It is to be found in the ancient Saxon poem of "The Scop," or "Traveller's Tale," where, among a list of numerous kings and warriors, Vetta or Witte is mentioned as having ruled the Swaefs—

"Witte weold Swæfum."²

The Swaefs or Suevi were originally, as we know from classical writers, a German tribe, or confederacy of tribes, located eastward of the old Angles; and Ptolemy indeed includes these Angles as a branch of the Suevi. But possibly the Swaefs ruled by Wittan, and mentioned in "The Scop" in the preceding line and in others (see lines 89 and 123), were a colony from this tribe settled in England.

II. In the list of the ancient Anglo-Saxon Bishops of Lichfield, given by Florence of Worcester, the name "Huita" occurs as tenth on the

¹ See his "Origin of the English, German, and Scandinavian Languages," p. 64. Some modern authorities have thought it philosophical to object to the whole story of Hengist and Horsa, on the alleged ground that these names are "equine" in their original meaning—"henges" and "hors" signifying stallion and horse in the old Saxon tongue. If the principles of historic criticism had no stronger reasons for clearing the story of the first Saxon settlement in Kent of its romantic and apocryphal superfluities, this argument would serve us badly. For some future American historian might, on a similar hypercritical ground, argue against the probability of Columbus, a Genoese, having discovered America, and carried thither (to use the language of his son Ferdinand) "the olive branch and oil of baptism across the ocean,"—of Drake and Hawkins having, in Queen Elizabeth's time, explored the West Indies, and sailed round the southernmost point of America,—of General Wolfe having taken Quebec,—or Lord Lyons being English ambassador to the United States in the eventful year 1860, on the ground that Colombo is actually the name of a dove in Italian, Drake and Hawkins only the appellations of birds, and Wolfe and Lyons the English names for two wild beasts.

² See Thorpe's edition of Beowulf and other Anglo-Saxon Poems, p. 219, line 46.

roll.¹ Under the year 737, Simeon of Durham enters the consecration of this bishop, spelling his name as Hweicca and Hweitta.² In a note appended to Florence's Chronicle, under the year 775, his death is recorded, and his name given as Witta.³

III. The name Vetta occupies a constant and conspicuous place in the lineage of Hengist and Horsa, as given by Bede, Nennius, the Saxon Chronicle, &c. In the list of their pedigree, Vetta or Witta is always represented as the grandfather of the Teutonic brothers.

The inscription on the Cat-stane further affords, however, a most important *additional element* or criterion for ascertaining the particular Vetta in memory of whom it was raised; for it records the name of his father, namely, Victus or Victa. And in relation to the present inquiry, it is alike interesting and important to find, that in the genealogy given by our ancient chronicles of the predecessors of Hengist and Horsa, whilst Vetta is recorded as their grandfather, Victa or Vecta is, with equal constancy, represented as their great-grandfather. The old lapidary writing on the Cat-stane describes the Vetta for whom that monument was raised as the son of Vecta; and the old parchment and paper writings of our earliest chroniclers invariably describe the same relationship between the Vetta and Victa of the forefathers of Hengist and Horsa. Thus Bede, when describing the invasion of England by the German tribes in the time of Vortigern, states that their "leaders were two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, who were the sons of Victgils, whose father was Vitta, whose father was Vecta, whose father was Woden, from whose stock the royal race of many provinces deduces its origin," "Erant autem filii Victgils, cujus pater Vitta, cujus pater Vecta cujus pater Woden, de cujus stirpe multarum provinciarum regum genus originem duxit."⁴ In accordance with a common peculiarity in his orthography of proper names, and owing also, perhaps, to the character of the

¹ Monumenta Historica, p. 628.

² Ib., p. 659.

³ Ib., p. 544.

⁴ Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, lib. i. cap. 15, p. 84 of Mr Stevenson's edition. In some editions of Bede's History (as in Dr Giles' Translation, for example), the name of Vitta is carelessly omitted, as a word apparently of no moment. Such a discussion as the present shows how wrong it is to tamper with the texts of such old authors.

Northumbrian dialect of the Anglo-Saxon tongue, Bede spells the preceding and other similar surnames with an initial V, while by most other Anglo-Saxon chroniclers, and in most other Anglo-Saxon dialects, the surnames are made to commence with a W. Thus, the Vilfrid, Valchstod, Venta, &c., of Bede,¹ form the Wilfrid, Walchstod, Wenta (Winchester), &c. of other Saxon writers. In this respect Bede adheres so far to the classic Roman standard in the spelling of proper names. Thus, for example, the Isle of Wight, which was written as Wecta by the Saxons, is the Vecta and Vectis of Ptolemy and Eutropius, and the Vecta also of Bede; and the name Venta, just now referred to as spelled so by Bede, is also the old Roman form of spelling that word, as seen in the Itinerary of Antonine.

The Saxon Chronicle gives the details of the first advent of the Saxons under Hengist and Horsa in so nearly the same words as the "*Historia Ecclesiastica*," as to leave no doubt that this, like many other passages in the earlier parts of the Saxon Chronicle, were mere translations of the statements of Bede. But most copies of the Saxon Chronicle were written in the dialect of the West Saxons, and, consequently, under A.D. 449, they commence the surnames in the pedigree of our Saxon invaders with a W,—as Wightgils, Witta, Wecta, &c.; telling us that Hengist and Horsa, "waeron Wihtgilses suna, Wihtgils waes Witting, Witta Wecting, Wecta Wodning," &c.

Aethelweard, an Anglo-Saxon nobleman, who himself claimed to be a descendant of the royal stock of Woden, has left us a Latin history or Chronicle, "nearly the whole of which is an abridged translation of the Saxon Chronicle, with a few trivial alterations and additions."² In re-translating back into Latin, the Anglo-Saxon names in the genealogy of Hengist and Horsa, he makes the Wecta of the Saxon Chronicle end with an R,—a matter principally of interest because, as we have already seen, some have supposed the corresponding name in the Cat-stane to terminate with an R. Speaking of Hengist as leader of the Angles,³ Aethelweard describes his pedigree thus: "Cujus pater fuit Wihtgils

¹ See these names in page 414 of Stevenson's edition of the "*Historia Ecclesiastica*."

² *Monumenta Historica Brit.*, preface, p. 82.

³ *Ethelwerdi Chronicorum*, lib. ii. c. 2, in "*Monumenta Historica*," p. 505.

avus Wicta; proavus WITHER, atavus Wothen," &c. In a previous page,¹ the same author tells us that "Hengest et Horsa filii Uuyrhtelsi, avus eorum Uuicta, et proavus eorum Uuithar, atavus eorum Uuothen, qui est rex multitudinis barbarorum."

In the preceding paragraphs we find the same authors, or at least the scribes who copied their writings, spelling the same names in very diverse ways. All know how very various, and sometimes almost endless, is the orthography of proper nouns and names among our ancient chroniclers, and among our mediæval writers and clerks also. Thus Lord Lindsay, in his admirable "Lives of the Lindsays," gives examples of above a hundred different ways in which he has found his own family name spelled. In the "Historia Britonum," usually attributed to Nennius, the pedigree of the Saxon invaders of Kent is given at greater length than by Bede; for it is traced back four or five generations beyond Woden² up to Geat, and the spelling of the four races from Woden to Hengist and Horsa is varied according to the Celtic standard of orthography, as cited already from Edward Lhwyd,—namely, the Latin and Saxon initials V and W are changed to the Cymric or British G, or GU. In the same way, the Isle of Wight, "Vecta" or "Wecta," is spelled in Nennius "Guith" and "Guied;" Venta (Winchester) is written Guincestra; Vortigernus, Guor-thigernus; Wuffa, king of the East Angles, Guffa; &c., &c. In only one, as far as I am aware, of the old manuscript copies of the "Historia Britonum," is the pedigree of Hengist and Horsa spelled as it is by Bede and all the Saxon writers, with an initial V or W, as Wictgils, Witta, Wecta, and Woden. This copy belongs to the Royal Library in Paris, and the orthography alone sufficiently determines it to have been made by an Anglo-Saxon scribe or editor. Of some twenty-five or thirty other known manuscripts of the same work, most, if not all, spell the ancestors of Hengist with the initial Keltic GU,—as "Guictgils, Guitta, Guechta,"—one among other arguments for the belief that the original and most ancient part of this composite "Historia" was penned,

¹ Ethelwerdi Chronic., lib. i., p. 502 of "Monumenta Historica."

² The historical personage and leader Woden is represented in all these genealogies as having lived four generations, or from 100 to 150 years, earlier than the age of Hengist and Horsa.

if not, as asserted in many of the copies, by Gildas, a Strathclyde Briton, at least by a British or Cymric hand. The account given in the work of the arrival of the Saxons is as follows :—" Interea venerunt tres ciulæ a Germania expulsæ in exilio, in quibus erant Hors et Hengist, qui et ipsi fratres erant, filii Guictgils, filii Guitta, filii Guechta, filii Vuoden, filii Frealaf, filii Fredulf, filii Finn, filii Folcwald, filii Geta, qui fuit, aiunt filius Dei. Non ipse esse Deus Deorum Amen, Deus exercitum, sed unus est ab idolis eorum quæ ipsi colebant."¹ In this pedigree of the ancestors of Hengist and Horsa, it is deserving of remark, that Woden, from whom the various Anglo-Saxon kings of England, and other kings of the north-west of Europe generally claimed their royal descent, is entered as a historical personage, living (according to the usual reckoning applied to genealogies) about the beginning of the third century, and who could count his descent back to Geat; while the Irish and other authorities affect to trace his pedigree for some generations even beyond this last-named ancestor.² According to Mallet, the true name of this great conqueror and ruler of the north-western tribes of Europe was "Sigge, son of Fridulph; but he assumed the name

¹ See p. 24 of Mr Stevenson's edition of "Nennii Historia Britonum," printed for the English Historical Society. In the Gaelic translation of the "Historia Britonum," known as the "Irish Nennius," the name Wetta or Guitta is spelled in various copies as "Guigte" and "Guite." The last form irresistibly suggests the Urbs Guidi of Bede, situated in the Firth of Forth. Might not he have thus written the Keltic or Pictish form of the name of a city or stronghold founded by Vittæ or Vecta; and does this afford any clue to the fact, that the waters of the Forth are spoken of as the Sea of Guidi by Angus the Culdee, and as the Mare Fresicum by Nennius, while its shores are the Frisicum Litus of Joceline? In the text I have noted the transformation of the analogous Latin name of the Isle of Wight, "Vecta," into "Guith," by Nennius. The "urbs Guidi" of Bede is described by him as placed in the middle of the Firth of Forth, "in medio sui." Its most probable site is, as I have elsewhere (see "Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. ii. pp. 254, 255) endeavoured to show, Inch Keith; and, phonetically, the term "Keith" is certainly not a great variation from "Guith" or "Guidi." At page 7 of Stevenson's edition of Nennius, the Isle of Wight, the old "Insula Vecta" of the Roman authors is written "Inis Gueith"—a term too evidently analogous to "Inch Keith" to require any comment.

² See Irish Nennius, p. 77; "Saxon Chronicle," under year 855, &c.

of Odin, who was the supreme god among the Teutonic nations, either to pass, among his followers, for a man inspired by the gods, or because he was chief priest, and presided over the worship paid to that deity."¹ In his conquering progress towards the north-west of Europe, he subdued, continues Mallet, "all the people he found in his passage, giving them to one or other of his sons for subjects. Many sovereign families (he adds) of the north are said to be descended from those princes." And Hengist and Horsa were thus, as was many centuries ago observed by William of Malmesbury, "the great-great-grandsons of that Woden from whom the royal families of almost all the barbarous nations derive their lineage, and to whom the Angles have consecrated the fourth day of the week (Wodens-day), and the sixth unto his wife Frea (Frey-day), by a sacrilege which lasts even to *this time*."²

Henry of Huntingdon, in his "*Historiæ Anglorum*," gives the pedigree of Hengist and Horsa according to the list which he found in Nennius; but he changes back the spelling to the Saxon form. They were, he says, "Filiū Wīdgils, filii Wecta, filii Vecta, filii Woden, filii Frealof filii Fredulf, filii Fin, filii Flocwald, filii Ieta (Geta)." Florence of Worcester follows the shorter genealogy of Bede, giving in his text the names of the ancestors of Hengist and Horsa as Wictgils, Witta, and Wecta; and in his table of the pedigrees of the kings of Kent spelling these same names Wihtgils, Witta, and Wehta.³

In giving the ancient genealogy of Hengist and Horsa, we thus find our old chroniclers speaking of their grandfather under the various orthographic forms of Guitta, Uuicta, Witta, Vitta; and their great-grandfather as Guechta, Uuethar, Wither, Wechta, Wecta, and Vecta. In the Cat-stane inscription the last—Vecta or Victa—is placed in the genitive, and construed as a noun of the second declension, whilst Vetta retains, as a nominative, its original Saxon form. The older chroniclers frequently alter the Saxon surnames in this way. Thus, Horsa is sometimes made, like Victa, a noun of the second declension, in conjunction with the use of Hengist, Vortimer, &c., as unaltered nominatives. Thus,

¹ Northern Antiquities, Bohn's edition, p. 71. Sigge is generally held as the name of one of the sons of Woden.

² Gest. I. § 5, I. 11.

³ Monumenta Historica Britannica, p. 707.

Nennius tells us,¹ "Guortemor cum Hengist et Horso pugnabat." (Cap. xlv.) According to Henry of Huntingdon, "Gortimer ex obliquo aciem Horsi desrupit," &c. (Lib. ii.)

The double and distinctive name of "Vetta filius Victa," occurring, as it thus does, in the lineage of Hengist and Horsa, as given both (1) in our oldest written chronicles and (2) in the old inscription carved upon the Cat-stane, is in itself a strong argument for the belief that the same personage is indicated in these two distinct varieties of ancient lettered documents. This inference, however, becomes still stronger when we consider the rarity of the appellation Vetta, and the great improbability of there having ever existed two historic individuals of this name both of them the sons of two Victas. But still, it must be confessed, various arguments naturally spring up in the mind against the idea that in the Cat-stane we have a memorial of the grandfather of Hengist and Horsa. Let us look at some of these reasons, and consider their force and bearing.

Some Objections considered.

Perhaps, as one of the first objections, I should notice the doubts which some writers have expressed as to such leaders as Hengist and Horsa having ever existed, and as to the correctness, therefore, of that genealogy of the Saxon kings of Kent in which Hengist and Horsa are included.²

The two most ancient lists of that lineage exist, as is well known, in the "Historia Britonum" of Gildas or Nennius, and in the "Historia Ecclesiastica" of Bede.

The former of these genealogical lists differs from the latter in being much longer, and in carrying the pedigree several generations beyond the great Teutonic leader Woden, backwards to his eastern forefather,

¹ See his "Chronicon ex Chronicis," in the "Monumenta Historica," pp. 523 and 627.

² See preceding note (1), p. 143. In answer to the vague objection that the alleged leaders were two brothers, Mr Thorpe observes that the circumstance of two brothers being joint-kings or leaders, bearing, like Hengist and Horsa, alliterative names, is far from unheard of in the annals of the north; and as instances (he adds) may be cited, Ragnar, Inver, Ulba, and two kings in Rumedal—viz., Haerlang and Hrollang.—See his Translation of Lappenberg's "History of the Anglo-Saxons," vol. i. pp. 78 and 275.

Geat, whom Mr Kemble and others hold to have been probably the hero Woden, whose semi-divine memory the northern tribes worshipped. Both genealogical lists agree in all their main particulars back to Woden—and so far corroborate the accuracy of each other. Whence the original author of the "*Historia Britonum*" derived his list, is as unknown as the original authorship of the work itself. Some of Bede's sources of information are alluded to by himself. Albinus, Abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury, and Nothhelm, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, "appear," observes Mr Stevenson, "to have furnished Bede with chronicles in which he found accurate and full information upon the pedigrees, accessions, marriages, exploits, descendants, deaths, and burials of the kings of Kent."¹ That the genealogical list itself is comparatively accurate, there are not wanting strong reasons for believing. The kings of the different seven or eight small Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of England all claimed—as the very condition and charter of their regality—a direct descent from Woden through one or other of his several sons. To be a king among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, it was necessary, and indeed indispensable, both to be a descendant of Woden, and to be able to prove this descent. The chronicles of most ancient people, as the Jews, Irish, Scots, &c., show us how carefully the pedigree of their royal and noble families was anciently kept and retained. And surely there is no great wonder in the Saxon kings of Kent keeping up faithfully a knowledge of their pedigree,—say from Bede's time backwards through the nine or ten generations up to Hengist, or the additional four generations up to Woden. The wonder would perhaps have been much greater if they had omitted to keep up a knowledge, by tradition, poems, or chronicles, of a pedigree upon which they, and the other kings of the Saxon heptarchy, rested and founded—as descendants of Woden—their whole title to royalty, and their claim and charter to their respective thrones.²

¹ See Mr Stevenson's Introduction, p. xxv., to the Historical Society's edition of Bede's "*Historia Ecclesiastica*;" and also Mr Hardy in the Preface, p. 71, to the "*Monumenta Historica Britannica*."

² The great importance attached to genealogical descent lasted much longer than the Saxon era itself. Thus the author of the latest *Life* (1860) of Edward I., when speaking of the birth of that monarch at London in 1239, observes (p. 8), "The kind of feeling which was excited by the birth of an English prince in the English

But a stronger objection against the idea of the Cat-stane being a monument to the grandfather of Hengist and Horsa rises up in the question,—Is there any proof or probability that an ancestor of Hengist and Horsa fought and fell in this northern part of the island, two generations before the arrival of these brothers in Kent?

It is now generally allowed by our best historians, that before the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in Kent, Britain was well known at least to the Saxons and Frisians, and other allied Teutonic tribes.

Perhaps from a very early period the shores and comparative riches of our island were known to the Teutons or Germans inhabiting the opposite Continental coast. "It seems hardly conceivable," observes Mr Kemble, "that Frisians who occupied the coast (of modern Holland) as early as the time of Cæsar, should not have found their way to Britain."¹ We know from an incident referred to by Tacitus, in his *Life of Agricola*, that, at all events, the passage in the opposite direction from Britain to the north-west shores of the Continent, was accidentally revealed—if not, indeed, known long before—during the first years of the Roman conquest of Scotland. For Tacitus tells us, that in A.D. 83 a cohort of Usipians

metropolis, and by the king's evident desire to connect the young heir to the throne with his Saxon ancestors, is shown in the Worcester Chronicle of that date. The fact is thus significantly described :—

"On the 14th day of the calends of July, Eleanor, Queen of England, gave birth to her eldest son Edward; whose father was Henry; whose father was John; whose father was Henry; whose mother was Matilda the Empress; whose mother was Matilda, Queen of England; whose mother was Margaret, Queen of Scotland; whose father was Edward; whose father was Edmund Ironside; who was the son of Ethelred; who was the son of Edgar; who was the son of Edmund; who was the son of Edward the elder; who was the son of Alfred." (*The Greatest of the Plantagenets*, pp. 8 and 9.)

Here we have eleven genealogical ascents appealed to from Edward to Alfred. The thirteen or fourteen ascents again from Alfred to Cerdic, the first Anglo-Saxon king of Wessex, are as fixed and determined as the eleven from Alfred to Edward. See them quoted by Florence, Asser, &c.) But the power of reckoning the lineage of Cerdic up through the intervening nine alleged ascents to Woden, was indispensable to form and to maintain Cerdic's claim to royalty, and was probably preserved with as great, if not greater care, when written records were so defective and wanting.

¹ The Saxons in England, vol. i p. 11.

raised in Germany, and belonging to Agricola's army, having seized some Roman vessels, sailed across the German Ocean, and were seized as pirates, first by the Suevi, and afterwards by the Frisians (*Vita Agricolaë*, xlv. 2, and xlv. 2). In Agricola's Scottish army there were other Teutonic or German conscripts. According to Tacitus, at the battle of the Mons Grampius three cohorts of Batavians and two cohorts of Tungrians specially distinguished themselves in the defeat of the Caledonian army. Various inscriptions by these Tungrian cohorts have been dug up at Cramond, and at stations along the two Roman walls, as at Castlecary and Housesteads. At Manchester, a cohort of Frisians seems to have been located during nearly the whole era of the Roman dominion.¹ Another cohort of Frisian auxiliaries seems, according to Horsley, to have been stationed at Bowess in Richmondshire.² Teutonic officers were occasionally attached to other Roman corps than those of their own countrymen. A Frisian citizen, for example, was in the list of officers of the Thracian cavalry at Cirencester.³ The celebrated Carausius, himself a Menapian, and hence probably of Teutonic origin, was, before he assumed the emperorship of Britain, appointed by the Roman authorities admiral of the fleet which they had collected for the purpose of repressing the incursions of the Franks, Saxons, and other piratical tribes, who at that date (A.D. 287) ravaged the shores of Britain and Gaul.⁴

In the famous Roman document termed "*Notitia utriusque Imperii*," the fact that there were Saxon settlers in England before the arrival of Hengist and Horsa seems settled, by the appointment of a "*Comes Littoris Saxonici in Britannica*."⁵ The date of this official and imperial Roman document is fixed by Gibbon between A.D. 395 and 407. About forty years earlier we have—what is more to our present purpose—a notice by Ammianus Marcellinus of Saxons being leagued with the Picts

¹ See the inscription, &c., in Whittaker's "*Manchester*," vol. i. p. 160.

² On these Frisian cohorts, and consequently also Frisian colonists in England, see the learned "*Memoir on the Roman Garrison at Manchester*," by my friend Dr Black. (Manchester, 1849.)

³ Buckman and Newmarch's work on "*Ancient Corinium*," p. 114.

⁴ Palgrave's "*Anglo-Saxons*," p. 24.

⁵ For fuller evidence on this point, see the remarks by Mr Kemble in his "*Saxons in England*," vol. i. p. 13, &c.

and Scots, and invading the territories south of the Forth, which were held by the Romans and their conquered allies and dependents—the Britons.

To understand properly the remarks of Ammianus, it is necessary to remember that the two great divisional military walls which the Romans erected in Britain, stretched, as is well known, entirely across the island—the most northerly from the Forth to the Clyde, and the second and stronger from the Tyne to the Solway. The large tract of country lying between these two military walls formed from time to time a region the possession of which seems to have been debated between the Romans and the more northerly tribes; the Romans generally holding the country up to the northern wall or beyond it, and occasionally being apparently content with the southern wall as the boundary of their empire.

About the year A.D. 369, the Roman general Theodosius, the father of the future emperor of the same name, having collected a disciplined army in the south, marched northward from London, and after a time conquered, or rather reconquered, the debateable region between the two walls; erected it into a fifth British province, which he named "Valentia," in honour of Valens, the reigning emperor; and garrisoned and fortified the borders (*limites* que vigiliis tuebatur et praetenturis).¹ The notices which the excellent contemporary historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, has left us of the state of this part of Britain during the ten years of active rebellion and war preceding this erection of the province of Valentia are certainly very brief, but yet very interesting. Under the year 360, he states that "In Britain, the stipulated peace being broken, the incursions of the Scots and Picts, fierce nations, laid waste the grounds lying next to the boundaries (*loca limitibus vicina vastarent*"). "These grounds were," says Pinkerton, "surely those of the future province of Valentia."² Four years subsequently, or in 364, Ammianus again alludes

¹ Ammiani Marcellini Historiæ, lib. xxviii. c. 1. The poet Claudian, perhaps with the full liberty of a poet, sings of Theodosius' forces in this war having pursued the Saxons to the very Orkneys:—

—maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcadeæ.

² Inquiry into the History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 116. See also Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," chap. xxv.

to the Britons being vexed by continued attacks from the same tribes, namely the Picts and Scots, but he describes these last as now assisted by, or leagued with, the Attacots and with the Saxons—"Picti, Saxonesque, et Scotti, et Attacotti, Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis." Again, under the year 368, he alludes to the Scots and Attacots still ravaging many parts; but now, instead of speaking of them as leagued with the Picts and Saxons, he describes them as combined with the Picts divided into two nations, the Dicaledonæ and Vecturiones:—"Eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicaledonæ et Vecturiones, itidemque Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti per diversa vagantes, multa populabuntur."

In both of these two last notices for the years 364 and 368, the invaders are described as consisting of four different tribes. The Scots and Attacots are mentioned under these appellations in both. But whilst, in the notice for 364, the two remaining assailants are spoken of as Picts and Saxons (Picti, Saxonesque), in the notice for 368 the remaining assailants are described as the "Picts, divided into the Dicaledonæ and Vecturiones." Is it possible that the Saxon allies were now amalgamated with the Picts, and that they assumed the name of Vecturiones after their leader Vetta or Vecta? The idea, at all events, of naming nations patronymically from their leaders or founders was common in ancient times, though the correctness of some of the instances adduced is more than doubtful. Early Greek and Roman history is full of such alleged examples; as the Trojans from Tros; the Achæans from Achæus; the Æolians from Æolus; the Peloponnesians from Pelops; the Dorians from Dorus; the Romans from Romulus, &c. &c.; and so is our own. The Scots from Ireland are, observes Bede, named to this day Dalreudins (Dalriads), from their commander Reuda.¹ The Irish called (according to some ancient authorities) the Picts "Cruithne," after their alleged first king, Crudne or Cruthne. In a still more apocryphal spirit, the word Britons was averred by some of the older chroniclers to be derived from a leader, Brito—"Britones Bruto dicti," to use the expression of Nennius (§ 18); Scots from Scota ("Scoti ex Scota," in the words of the "Chronicon Rhythmicum"), &c.

¹ *Histor. Eccles.*, lib. i. c. 1, § 8.

The practice of eponymes was known also, and followed to some extent among the Teutonic tribes, both in regard to royal races and whole nations. The kings of Kent were known as Aescingas, from Aesc, the son of Hengist;¹ those of East Anglia were designated Wuffingas, after Wuffa ("Uffa, a quo reges Orientalium Anglorum Wuffingas appellant.") In some one or other of his forms, Woden (observes Mr Kemble) "is the eponymus of tribes and races. Thus, as Geat, or through Geat, he was the founder of the Geatas; through Gewis, of the Gewissas; through Scyld, of the Scyldingas, the Norse Skjoldungar; through Brand, of the Brodingas; perhaps, through Baetwa, of the Batavians."³ It could therefore scarcely be regarded as very exceptional at least, if Vetta, one of the grandsons of Woden, should have given, in the same way, his name to a combined tribe of Saxons and Picts, over whom he had been elected as leader.⁴

That a Saxon force, like that mentioned by Ammianus as being joined to the Picts and Scots in A.D. 364, was led by an ancestor of Hengist and Horsa is quite in accordance with all that is known of Saxon laws and customs. As in some other nations, the leaders and kings were generally, if not always, selected from their royal stock. "Descent" (observes Mr Kemble) "from Heracles was to the Spartans what descent from Woden was to the Saxons—the condition of royalty."⁵ All the various Anglo-Saxon royal families that, during the time of the so-called Heptarchy, reigned in different parts of England certainly claimed this descent from Woden. Hengist and Horsa probably led the band of their countrymen who invaded Kent, as members of this royal lineage; and a royal pre-relative or ancestor would have a similar claim and

¹ Bede's Hist. Eccles., lib. ii. cap. v. (Oisc, a quo reges Cantuariorum solent Oiscingas cognominare.)

² Ibid., lib. ii. cap. xv.

³ The Saxons in England, vol. i. p. 341.

⁴ In his account of the kings of the Picts, Mr Pinkerton (Inquiry into History of Scotland, vol. x. p. 293) calculates that the sovereign "Wradech Vechla" of the Chronicon Pictorum reigned about A.D. 880. In support of his own philological views, Mr Pinkerton alters the name of this Pictish king from "Wradech Vechla" to "Wradech Vechta." There is not, however, I believe, any real foundation whatever for this last reading, interesting as it might be, in our present inquiry, if true.

⁵ The Saxons in England, vol. i. p. 149.

chance of acting as chief of that Saxon force which joined the Picts and Scots in the preceding century.

If we thus allow, for the sake of argument, that Vetta, the son of Victus, the grandfather of Hengist and Horsa, is identical with Vetta the son of Victus commemorated in the Cat-stane inscription, and that he was the leader of those Saxons mentioned by Ammianus that were allied with the Picts in A.D. 364, we shall find nothing incompatible in that conjecture with the era of the descent upon Kent of Hengist and Horsa. Bede, confusing apparently the arrival of Hengist and Horsa with the date of the second instead of the first visit of St Germanus to Britain, has placed at too late a date the era of their first appearance in Kent, when he fixes it in the year 449. The facts mentioned in the earlier editions or copies of Nennius have led our very learned and accurate colleague Mr Skene, and others, to transfer forwards twenty or more years the date at which Hengist and Horsa landed on our shores.¹ But whether Hengist and Horsa arrived in A.D. 449, or, as seems more probable, about A.D. 428, if we suppose them in either case to have been born about A.D. 400, we shall find no incongruity, but the reverse, in the idea that their grandfather Vetta was the leader of a Saxon force thirty-six years previously. Hengist was in all probability past the middle period of life when he came to the Court of Vortigern, as he is generally represented as having then a daughter, Rowena, already of a marriageable age.

On the cause or date of Vetta's death we have of course no historical information; but the position of his monument renders it next to a certainty that he fell in battle; for, as we have already seen, the Cat-stane stands, in the words of Lhwyd, "situate on a river side, remote enough from any church." The burrows and pillar stones placed for miles along that river prove how frequently it had served as a strategic point and boundary in ancient warfare.² The field in which the Cat-stane itself

¹ Mr Hardy, in the preface (p. 114, &c.) to the "*Monumenta Historica Britannica*," maintains also, at much length, that the advent and reception of the Saxons by Vortigern was in A.D. 428, and not 449. He contests for an earlier Saxon invasion of Britain in A.D. 374. See also Lappenberg in his *History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. i. pp. 62, 68.

² Two miles higher up the river than the Cat-stane, four large monoliths still

stands was, as we have already found Dr Wilson stating, the site formerly of a large tumulus. In a field, on the opposite bank of the Almond, my friend, Mr Hutchison of Cærlowrie, came lately, when prosecuting some draining operations on his estate, upon numerous stone-kists, which had mutual gables of stone, and were therefore, in all probability, the graves of those who had perished in battle. Whether the death of Vetta occurred during the war with Theodosius in A.D. 364, or, as possibly the appellation Vecturiones tends to indicate, at a later date, we have no ground to determine.

The vulgar name of the monument, the Cat-stane, seems, as I have already hinted, to be a name synonymous with Battle-stane, and hence, also, so far implies the fall of Vetta in open fight. Maitland is the first author, as far as I am aware, who suggests this view of the origin of the word Cat-stane. According to him, "Catstean is a Gaelic and English compound, the former part thereof (Cat) signifying a battle, and stean or stan a stone; so it is the battlestone in commemoration probably of a battle being fought at or near this place, wherein Veta or Victi, interred here, was slain."¹ I have already quoted Mr Pennant, as taking the same view of the origin and character of the name; and Mr George Chalmers, in his "*Caledonia*," propounds the same explanation of the word:—"In the parish of Liberton, Edinburghshire, there were (he observes) several large cairns, wherein were found various stone chests, including urns, which contained ashes and weapons; some of these cairns which still remain are called the *Cat-stanes* or *Battle-stanes*." Single stones in various parts of North Britain are still known under the appropriate name of *Cat-stanes*. The name (he adds) is plainly derived from the British *Cad*, or the Scoto-Irish *Cath*, which signify a battle."² But the

stand near Newbridge. They are much taller than the Cat-stane, but contain no marks or letters on their surfaces. Three of them are placed around a large barrow.

¹ History of Edinburgh, p. 509.

² Transactions of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, vol. i. p. 308. Maitland in his "*History of Edinburgh*," p. 307, calls these cairns the "*Cat-heaps*."

³ *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 86. The only references, however, which Mr Chalmers gives to a "single stone" in Scotland, bearing the name of Cat-stane, all relate

word under the form *Cat* is Welsh or British, as well as Gaelic. Thus, in the "*Annales Cambriæ*," under the year 722, the battle of Pencon is entered as "*Cat-Pencon*." In his edition of the old Welsh poem of the Gododin, Williams (verse 38) prints the battle of Vannau (*Manau*) as "*Cat-Vannau*."

The combination of the Celtic word "*Cat*" with the Saxon word "*stane*" may appear at first as an objection against the preceding idea of the origin and signification of the term *Cat-stane*. But many of our local names show a similar compound origin in Celtic and Saxon. In the immediate neighbourhood, for example, of the *Cat-stane*,² we have instances of a similar Celtic and Saxon amalgamation in the words *Gogar-burn*, *Lenny-bridge*, *Craigie-hill*, &c. One of the oldest known

to this monument in Kirkliston parish. The tallest and most striking ancient monolith in the vicinity of Edinburgh is a massive unhewn flat obelisk, standing about ten feet high, in the parish of Colinton. Maitland (*History of Edinburgh*, p. 507), and Mr Whyte (*Trans. of Scottish Antiquaries*, vol. i. p. 308) designate this monument the *Caïy-stone*. "Whether this (says Maitland) be a corruption of the *Catstean* I know not." The tall monolith is in the neighbourhood of the cairns called the *Cat-stanes* or *Cat-heaps* (see preceding note). Professor Walker, in an elaborate *Statistical Account of the Parish of Colinton*, published in 1808, in his "*Essays on Natural History*," describes the *Cat-heaps* or cairns as having been each found, when removed, to cover a coffin made of *hewn* stones. In the coffins were found mouldering human bones and fragments of old arms, including two bronze spear-heads. "When the turnpike road which passes near the above cairns was formed, for more than a mile the remains of dead bodies were everywhere thrown up." Most of them had been interred in stone coffins made of coarse slabs. To use the words of Professor Walker, "Not far from the three cairns is the so-called '*Caïy-stone*' of Maitland and Whyte. It has always, however," (he maintains) "been known, among the people of the country by the name of the *Ket-stane*." It is of whinstone, and "appears not to have had the chisel, or any inscription upon it." "The *craig* (he adds) or steep rocky mountain which forms the northern extremity of the Pentland Hills, and makes a conspicuous figure at Edinburgh, hangs over this field of battle. It is called *Caer-Ketan Craig*. This name appears to be derived from the *Ket-stane* above described, and the fortified camp adjacent, which, in the old British, was termed a *Caer*." (P. 611.)

¹ See "*Annales Cambriæ*," in the *Monumenta Hist. Britannica*, p. 838.

² In Maitland's time (1753), there was a farm-house termed "*Catstean*," standing near the monument we are describing. And up to the beginning of the present century, the property or farm on the opposite side of the Almond, above

specimens of this kind of verbal alloy, is alluded to above a thousand years ago by Bede,¹ in reference to a locality not above fourteen or fifteen miles west from the Cat-stane. For, in his famous sentence regarding the termination of the walls of Antoninus on the Forth, he states that the Picts called this eastern "head of the wall" Pean-fahel, but the Angles called it Pennel-tun. To a contracted variety of this Pictish word signifying head of the wall, or to its Welsh form Pengual, they added the Saxon word "town," probably to designate the "villa," which, according to an early addition to Nennius, was placed there. "Pengaual, quæ villa Scottice Cenail [Kinneil], Anglice verò Peneltun dicitur."²

The palæographic peculiarities of the inscription sufficiently bear out the idea of the monument being of the date or era which I have ven-

Cærlowrie, was designated by a name, having apparently the Celtic "battle" noun as a prefix in its composition—viz., Cat-elbock. This fine old Celtic name has latterly been changed for the degenerate and unmeaning term Almond-hill.

¹ *Historia Ecclesiast.*, lib. i. c. xii. "Sermone Pictorum Peanfahel, lingua autem Anglorum Penneltun appellatur."

² *Historia Britonum*, c. xix. At one time I fancied it possible that the mutilated and enigmatical remains of ancient Welsh poetry furnished us with a name for the Cat-stane older still than that appellation itself. Among the fragments of old Welsh historical poems ascribed to Taliesin, one of the best known is that on the battle of Gwen-Ystrad. In this composition the poet describes, from professedly personal observation, the feats at the above battle of the army of his friend and great patron, Urien, King of Rheged, who was subsequently killed at the siege of Med-caut, or Lindisfarne, about A.D. 572. Villemarque places the battle of Gwen-Ystrad between A.D. 547 and A.D. 560.

The British kingdom of Rheged, over which Urien ruled, is by some authorities considered as the old British or Welsh kingdom of Cumbria, or Cumberland; but, according to others, it must have been situated further northwards. In the poem of the battle of Gwen-Ystrad (see the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, vol. i. p. 72), Urien defeats the enemy—apparently the Saxons or Angles—under Ida, King of Bernicia. In one line near the end of the poem, Taliesin describes Urien as attacking his foes "by the white stone of Galysten:"—

"Pan amwyth al alon yn Llech wen Galysten."

The word "Galysten," when separated into such probable original components as "Gal" and "lysten," is remarkable, from the latter part of the appellation, "lysten," corresponding with the name, "Liston," of the old barony or parish in

tured to assign to it—a point the weight and importance of which it is unnecessary to insist upon. “The inscription,” says Lhwyd, “is in the barbarous characters of the fourth and fifth centuries.” Professor Westwood, who is perhaps our highest authority on such a question, states

which the Cat-stane stands; the prefix Kirk (Kirk-liston) being, as is well known, a comparatively modern addition. The word “Gal” is a common term, in compound Keltic words, for “stranger,” or “foreigner.” In the Gaelic branch of the Keltic, “lioston” signifies, according to Sir James Foulis, “an inclosure on the side of a river.” (See Mr Muckersie on the origin of the name of Kirkliston, in the “Statistical Account of Scotland,” vol. x. p. 68.) The Highland Society’s Gaelic Dictionary gives “liostean” as a lodging, tent, or booth. In the Cymric, “lystyn” signifies, according to Dr Owen Pughe, “a recess, or lodgment.” (See his Welsh Dictionary, *sub voce*.) The compound word Gal-lysten would perhaps not be thus overstrained, if it were held as possibly originating in the meaning, “the lodgment, inclosure, or resting-place of the foreigner;” and the line quoted would, under such an idea, not inaptly apply to the grave-stone of such a foreign leader as Vetta. Urien’s forces are described in the first line of the poem of the battle of Gwen-Ystrad, as “the men of Cattraeth, who set out with the dawn.” Cattraeth is now believed by many eminent archæologists to be a locality situated at the eastern end of Antonine’s wall on the Firth of Forth—Callander, Carriden, or more probably the castle hill at Blackness, which contains various remains of ancient structures. Urien’s foes at the battle of Gwen-Ystrad were apparently the Angles or Saxons of Bernicia—this last term of Bernicia, with its capital at Bamborough, including at that time the district of modern Northumberland, and probably also Berwickshire and part of the Lothians. An army marching from Cattraeth, or the eastern end of Antonine’s Wall, to meet such an army, would, if it took the shortest or coast line, pass, after two or three hours’ march, very near the site of the Cat-stane. A ford and a fort are alluded to in the poem. The neighbouring Almond has plenty of fords; and on its banks the name of two forts or “caers” are still left, viz. Carlowrie (Caer-l-Urien?) and Caer Almond, one directly opposite the Cat-stane, the other three miles below it. But no modern name remains near the Cat-stane to identify the name of “the fair or white strath.” “Lenny”—the name of the immediately adjoining barony on the banks of the Almond, or in its “strath” or “dale”—presents insurmountable philological difficulties to its identification with Gwen; the L and G, or GW not being interchangeable. The valley of Strath-Broc (Broxburn)—the seat in the twelfth century of Freskyn of Strath-Broc, and consequently the cradle of the noble house of Sutherland—runs into the valley of the Almond about two miles above the Cat-stane. In this, as in other Welsh and Gaelic names, the word Strath is a prefix to the name of the adjoining river. In the word “Gwen-Ystrad,” the word Strath is, on the contrary, in the unusual position

to me that he is of the same opinion as Lhwyd as to the age of the lettering in the Cat-stane legend.

To some minds it may occur as a seeming difficulty, that the legend or inscription is in the Latin language, though the leader commemorated is Saxon. But this forms no kind of valid objection. The fact is, that all the early Romano-British inscriptions as yet found in Great Britain, are, as far as they have been discovered and deciphered, in Latin. And it is not more strange that a Saxon in the Lothians should be recorded in Latin, and not in Saxon or Keltic, than that the numerous

of an affix; showing that the appellation is descriptive of the beauty or fairness of the strath which it designates. The valley or dale of the Almond, and the rich tract of fertile country stretching for miles to the south-west of the Cat-stane, certainly well merit such a designation as "fair" or "beautiful" valley—"Gwen-Ystrad;" but we have not the slightest evidence whatever that such a name was ever applied to this tract. In his learned edition of "*Les Bardes Bretons, Poemes du vi^e Siècle*," the Viscount Villamarque, in the note which he has appended to Taliesin's poem of the battle of Gwen-Ystrad, suggests (page 412) that this term exists in a modern form under the name of Queen's-strad, or Queen's-ferry—a locality within three miles of the Cat-stane. But it is certain that the name of Queensferry, applied to the well-known passage across the Forth, is of the far later date of Queen Margaret, the wife of Malcolm Canmore. Numerous manors and localities in the Lothians and around Kirkliston, end in the Saxon affix "ton," or town—a circumstance rendering it probable that Lis-ton had possibly a similar origin. And further, against the idea of the appellation of "the white stone of Galysten" being applicable to the Cat-stane, is the fact that it is, as I have already stated, a block of greenstone basalt; and the light tint which it presents, when viewed at a distance in strong sunlight, owing to its surface being covered with whitish lichen, is scarcely sufficient to have warranted a poet, indulging in the utmost poetical license, to have sung of it as "the white stone." After all, however, the adjective "wen," or "gwenn," as Villamarque writes it, may signify "fair" or "beautiful" when applied to the stone, just as it probably does when applied to the strath which was the seat of the battle—"Gwenn Ystrad."

Winchburgh, the name of the second largest village in the parish of Kirkliston, and a station on the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, is perhaps worthy of note, from its being placed in the same district as the stone of Vetta, the son of Vetta, and from the appellation possibly signifying originally, according to Mr Kemble (our highest authority in such a question), the burgh of Woden, or Wodensburgh. (See his *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 346.)

Welshmen and others recorded on the early Welsh inscribed stones should be recorded in Latin and not in the Cymric tongue.

Doubtlessly, the Romanised Britons and the foreign colonists settled among them were, with their descendants, more or less acquainted with Latin in both its spoken and written forms. As early as the second year of his march northward for the conquest of this more distant part of Britain, or A.D. 79, Agricola, as Tacitus takes special care to inform us, took all possible means to introduce, for the purposes of conquest and civilisation, a knowledge of the Roman language and of the liberal arts among the barbarian tribes whom he went to subdue.¹ The same policy was, no doubt, continued to a greater or less extent during the whole era of the Roman dominion here as elsewhere; so that there is no wonder that such arts as lapidary writing, and the composition of brief Latin inscriptions, should have been known to and transmitted to the native Britons. There was, however, another class of inhabitants, besides these native Britons, who were, as we know from the altars and stone monuments which they have left, sufficiently learned in the formation and cutting of inscriptions in Latin,—a language which was then, and for some centuries subsequently, the only language used in this country, either in lapidary or other forms of writing. The military legions and cohorts which the Roman emperors employed to keep Britain under due subjection, obtained, under the usual conditions, grants of lands in the country, married, and became betimes fixed inhabitants. When speaking of the veteran soldiers of Rome settling down at last as permanent proprietors of land in Britain—as in other Roman colonies,—Sir Francis Palgrave remarks, “Upwards of forty of these barbarian legions, *some of Teutonic origin*, and others Moors, Dalmatians, and Thracians, whose forefathers had been transplanted from the remotest parts of the empire, obtained their domicile in various parts of our island, though principally upon the northern and eastern coasts, and *in the neighbourhood of the Roman walls*.”² Such colonists undoubtedly possessed among their ranks, and were capable of transmitting to their descendants, a sufficient knowledge of the Latin tongue, and a sufficient amount of art, to form and cut such stone inscriptions as we have been considering; and perhaps

¹ *Vita Agricolæ*, xlv. 2.

² *History of England—Anglo-Saxon Period*, p. 20.

I may add, that in such a mixed population, the Teutonic elements¹ in particular, would, towards the decline of the Roman dominion and power, not perhaps be averse to find and follow a leader, like Vetta, belonging to the royal stock of Woden; nor would they likely fail to pay all due respect, by the raising of a monument or otherwise, to the memory of a chief of such an illustrious race, if he fell amongst them in battle.

Besides, a brief incidental remark in Bede's History proves that the erection of a monument like the Cat-stane, to record the resting-place of the early Saxon chiefs, was not unknown. For after telling us that Horsa was slain in battle by the Britons, Bede adds that this Saxon leader was buried in the eastern parts of Kent, where a monument bearing his name is still in existence"² (*hactenus in orientalibus Cantiae partibus monumentum habet suo nomine insigne*).³ The great durability of the stone forming Vetta's monument has preserved it to the present day; while the more perishable material of which Horsa's was constructed has made it a less faithful record of that chief, though it was still in Bede's time, or in the eighth century, "*suo nomine insigne*."⁴

The chief points of evidence which I have attempted to adduce in favour of the idea that the Cat-stane commemorates the grandfather of Hengist and Horsa may be summed up as follows:—

1. The surname of VETTA upon the Cat-stane is the name of the grandfather of Hengist and Horsa, as given by our oldest genealogists.
2. The same historical authorities all describe Vetta as the son of Victa; and the person recorded on the Cat-stane is spoken of in the same distinctive terms—"VETTA F(ILII)S VICTI."
3. Vetta is not a common ancient Saxon name, and it is highly improbable that there existed in ancient times two historical Vettas, the sons of two Victas.

¹ On the probable great extent of the Teutonic or German element of population in Great Britain as early as about A.D. 400, see Mr Wright, in his excellent and interesting work "*The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*," p. 385.

² *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. i. c. 1; or Dr Giles' Translation, in Bohn's edition, p. 5.

³ Dr Giles' Translation, in Bohn's edition, p. 24.

⁴ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. i. c. 15.

4. Two generations before Hengist and Horsa arrived in England, a Saxon host—as told by Ammianus—was leagued with the other races of modern Scotland (the Picts, Scots, and Attacots) in fighting with a Roman army under Theodosius.

5. These Saxon allies were very probably under a leader who claimed royal descent from Woden, and consequently under an ancestor or pre-relative of Hengist and Horsa.

6. The battle-ground between the two armies was, in part at least, the district placed between the two Roman walls, and consequently included the tract in which the Cat-stane is placed; this district being erected by Theodosius, after its subjection, into a fifth Roman province.

7. The palæographic characters of the inscription accord with the idea that it was cut about the end of the fourth century.

8. The Latin is the only language¹ known to have been used in British inscriptions and other writings in these early times by the Romanized Britons and the foreign colonists and conquerors of the island.

9. The occasional erection of monuments to Saxon leaders is proved by the fact mentioned by Bede, that in his time, or in the eighth century, there stood in Kent a monument commemorating the death of Horsa.²

If, then, as these reasons tend at least to render probable, the Cat-stane be the tombstone of Vetta, the grandfather of Hengist and Horsa, this venerable monolith is not only interesting as one of our most ancient national historic monuments, but it corroborates the floating accounts of the early presence of the Saxons upon our coast; it presents to us the two earliest individual Saxon names known in British history; it confirms, so far as it goes, the accuracy of the genealogy of the ancestors of Hen-

¹ Perhaps it is right to point out, as exceptions to this general observation, a very few Greek inscriptions to Astarte, Hercules, Esculapius, &c., left in Britain by the Roman soldiers and colonists.

² On the supposed site, &c., of this monument to Horsa in Kent, see Mr Colebrook's paper in "*Archæologia*," vol. ii. p. 167; and Halsted's "*Kent*," vol. ii. p. 177. In 1681, Weever, in his "*Ancient Funeral Monuments*," p. 317, acknowledges that "stormes and time have devoured Horsa's monument." In 1659, Phillpot, when describing the cromlech called Kits Coty House—the alleged tomb of Catigern—speaks of Horsa's tomb as utterly extinguished "by storms and tempests under the conduct of time."

gist and Horsa, as recorded by Bede and our early chroniclers; while at the same time it forms in itself a connecting link, as it were, between the two great invasions of our island by the Roman and Saxon—marking as it does the era of the final declinature of the Roman dominion among us, and the first dawn and commencement of that Saxon interference and sway in the affairs of Britain, which was destined to give to England a race of new kings and new inhabitants, new laws and a new language.

MONDAY, 11th March 1861.

PROFESSOR J. Y. SIMPSON, M.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following Gentlemen were balloted for and elected Fellows of the Society:—

Right Hon. ROBERT ADAM CHRISTOPHER NISBET HAMILTON,
of Biel and Dirleton.

ADAM SIM of Cultermains, Esq., Lanarkshire.

ALEXANDER AUCHIE, Esq.

A communication was read from the Secretary of the Royal Scottish Academy, and a copy of a letter from Mr William Chambers, on the subject of the proposed restoration of the Market-Cross of Edinburgh. A committee, consisting of Professor Simpson, Mr J. H. Burton, Mr James Drummond, and Mr Joseph Robertson, was appointed for conference with a committee of the Academy in regard to the plans of the proposed Cross.

The Donations to the Museum were as follows:—

Sepulchral Urn or Drinking-Cup of yellowish clay; found at Inveramsay, in the Parish of the Chapel of Garioch, Aberdeenshire. By PATRICK IRVINE, Esq. of Inveramsay, through T. GRAHAM WEIR, M.D.

The urn measures 7 inches in height, 6 inches across the mouth, and 3½ inches across the bottom. It is contracted a little in shape about

two inches below the wide mouth, and is ornamented with lines, herring-bone, and double Vandyke patterns, alternately plain, and covered with incised lines. Along with the urn were found human bones, which were carefully examined by Dr P. Redfern, Aberdeen, who concludes that they were the bones of a man of about thirty years of age.

Six Water-colour Sketches of portions of Sculptured Stones found at Burghead; and a Coloured Sketch of a Well, also at Burghead. By Lady DUNBAR of Duffus.

Curious Carved Centre Groin-Stone, or Boss, displaying double-headed winged dragons clustering round a central rose. In the centre of the



rose an iron hook is fixed, apparently for suspending a lamp. It was procured at the time of the demolition of the chapel of St Eligius or Eloye the Confessor, patron of the craftsmen of Edinburgh; when alterations were made on St Giles' Church in 1827. This chapel was erected in the year 1387, on the north side of the Collegiate Church of St Giles, Edinburgh;

A Plaster Cast from an antique bronze bust, with Greek inscription.

By JAMES T. GIBSON CRAIG, Esq., V.P.S.A. Scot.

Original model in clay, of Bust of John Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of Logarithms. By MESSRS ALEXANDER and ROBERT BAYSON, watchmakers, &c., Princes Street.

This Bust was modelled by Mr Peter Selater, sculptor, formerly of Edinburgh, now of London, who designed and executed the monument recently erected in memory of Napier in the parish church of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh.

Small piece of Bone, ornamented with a double row of concentric circles, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 5-8ths in breadth ;

A broken portion of a Sun-dial, with square hole for gnomon, which had apparently been used as a building stone ;

A broken portion of Polished Stone, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 5 inches broad, ornamented with the letters I·H·S in relief, enclosed in a circle. Above the monogram is the letter V, and opposite to it another letter, now defaced, each enclosed in circles. The lettering appears to be of a style in use about the date of the fourteenth century ;

An Irregularly-shaped Stone, about 8 inches in diameter, and 4 inches thick, with a cup-shaped hollow in the centre ; and

Two iron Halberts or Bills, and piece of Iron, greatly corroded.

All these relics were found in the course of making excavations at Broughty Castle, near Dundee. By Colonel C. F. SKYRING, R.E.

Circular-shaped Silver Highland Brooch, 3 inches diameter, ornamented with engraved circles. Inscribed on the back C. C., 1760. By the Rev. J. H. POLLEXFEN, Colchester.

Beautifully-executed Medal in Bronze, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, displaying female head looking to the left, with mural crown and olive leaves, emblematic of Hamburg. *Rev.*—A shield, displaying arms of the city of Hamburg. Inclosed in a large wreath of oak and olive leaves. By ADOLPH ROBINOW, Esq., Hanseatic Vice-Consul, Leith.—The medal was struck in gold in honour of Colonel Hodges, Her Britannic Majesty's late Charge d'Affaires at Hamburg, and presented to him by the Senate of Hamburg, as a token of esteem, upon his retiring into private life, after having, during nineteen years, represented the British Government at the Hanseatic Republic.

Pair of Lady's Black Satin high-heeled Shoes, ornamented with small rosettes of satin ribbon ; and

Two pairs of Lady's high-heeled Shoes, of lemon-coloured kid, ornamented with tassels of yellow silk and small steel buckles; fashionable towards the close of the last century.

By JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., Sec. S.A. Scot.

Fluted Dish or Bread Plate, $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, of ancient Delft ware, painted, Cupid and landscape in centre, and wreath of flowers and fruit on the turned-over border. By Mrs JESSIE PAPER, of Coltbridge House, Edinburgh, in whose family the dish had been for several generations.

Lady's high-heeled Shoe of coloured silk damask; with a pair of embroidered flat-soled Clogs. By Mrs YULE, St John Street, through ALEX. BRUCE, Esq., S.S.C.

Leather Brogue or single-soled Shoe, found in a bog in Ireland. By ERSKINE NICOL, Esq., R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot.

Gold St Andrew of James II. JACOBUS . D . GRACIA REX SCOTOR. Royal Arms of Scotland crowned, between two crowns. *Rev.*—SALVVM . FAC . POPULUM TUUM. St Andrew with nimbus on his head, extended on his Cross, reaching to the edge, between two fleurs de lis;

Gold Lion of James II. JACOBUS . DEI . GRACIA . REX . SC . fleurs de lis between the words. Arms of Scotland crowned, in a lozenge shield. *Rev.*—SALVVM . FAC . POPULUM TUUM DNE; in an orle of six crescents, embracing a quatrefoil, and terminating in fleurs de lis, a St Andrew's Cross; with I in the centre between two fleurs de lis. Found, in the month of August 1815, with a number of others, near the ruins of the Castle of Cadder, in the county of Lanark.

By ROBERT DUNDAS, of Arniston, Esq.

Oval Silver Medal, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch broad, with chased loop at top for suspension. On the medal is engraved "LOYAL EDINBURGH SPEARMEN," and it displays a spearman in uniform, with hat and feathers, cutaway coat, and breeches, and in the right hand a spear. *Rev.*—REWARD OF MERIT. By the Rev. ALEX. W. BROWN, Minister of Free St Bernard's Church, Edinburgh.

The corps of Edinburgh Spearmen was one of the many companies of volunteers raised in Edinburgh shortly after the French revolution. It was embodied in 1805, Mr John Bennet, surgeon, being appointed lieutenant-colonel. A biographical notice of Mr Bennet is given in "Kay's

Portraits," vol. i. p. 402, and also a portrait of the Earl of Moira, Commander-in-chief, addressing this regiment upon the occasion when "a stand of colours was delivered to this band of citizen warriors in Heriot's Hospital Green."

The following Communications were read :—

I.

ON THE EARLY FRISIAN SETTLEMENTS IN SCOTLAND.

By W. F. SKENE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

I ought, perhaps, to apologise to the Society for bringing before them a subject so purely historical; but I have been induced to put these notes together in consequence of some remarks which fell from Dr Simpson, the other evening, in the interesting notice he gave of the Cat-stane.

The object of this paper is first, to lay before the Society—and I shall do it as shortly as I can—the evidence which exists to show that the Frisians had formed settlements in Scotland at a period anterior to the date usually assigned for the arrival of the Saxons in England; and, secondly, to say something as to the locality of these settlements, and the remains which they have left behind them.

When Bede wrote his ecclesiastical history of the English nation in the year 731, he had no better account to give of the first settlement of the Saxons in England than this:—In the year of our Lord's incarnation 449, Martian being made emperor with Valentinian, the nation of the Angles or Saxons being invited by the aforesaid king—that is, Vortigern, king of the Britons—arrived in Britain with three long ships, and had a place assigned them to reside in by the same king, in the eastern part of the island. Those who came over were of the three most powerful nations of Germany, viz. the Saxons, the Angles, and the Tutes. The two first commanders are said to have been Hengist and Horsa. They were the sons of Victgils, son of Vitta, son of Vecta, son of Woden.

This statement of Bede is the basis of all the subsequent narratives of

the arrival of the Saxons. It is partly founded on the statement of the first arrival of the Saxons in Gildas, who wrote a century and a-half earlier, but who neither mentions the names of Hengist and Horsa as the leaders of the Saxons, nor of Vortigern as the king of the Britons who invited them, this name being a later interpolation in Gildas. The date of 449, however, has been supplied by Bede himself, upon a construction of the passage in Gildas, and the authority of the cotemporary Life of St Germanus by Constantius, which is undoubtedly erroneous. Constantius mentions that St Germanus was twice in Britain, and that on one of these occasions the Britons were attacked by the Picts and Saxons. Bede attributes this appearance of the Saxons in Britain to the second visit of St Germanus, which was in 449, and coupling this with the fact that Gildas apparently puts the arrival of the Saxons after the letter of the Britons to Ætius *ter-consule*, whose third consulship was in 446, he fixes upon 449 as the date of the arrival of the Saxons. He has, however, misunderstood Constantius, who unquestionably attaches this event to the first visit of St Germanus, which took place in 429; and the appeal in 446 to Ætius for assistance against the barbarians, was certainly directed against the Saxons after they had reduced the Britons to subjection, and not against the Picts and Scots, as implied by Gildas, before their arrival. The matter is put beyond all doubt by Prosper, whose Chronicle was written 455, and who was therefore contemporary with the events he talks of, and who, under 441, says—"Britanniæ usque ad hoc tempus variis cladibus eventibusque latæ in ditionem Saxonum rediguntur."

It is clear from this authority, that so far from the Saxons having arrived for the first time in 449, they had actually completed the entire conquest of the island eight years earlier; and, stripped of its date, the statement by Bede becomes a mere legend of the early settlement of the Saxons in Britain—a tale which had been handed down, and was attached to every statement of their first settlement, but which was not history. This legend represented them at some unknown period as invited by a British king, Vortigern, and arriving under the mythic leaders Hengist and Horsa.

When we turn to Nennius,—a work which, in its original shape, is certainly not later than Bede, but which appeared in successive editions down to the tenth century, and in which a body of most ancient British

legends are preserved,—we find the same legend, but with three different dates assigned to it.

The latest date in Nennius is 428, when he says Guortigern began to reign in Britain, in the consulship of Theodosius and Valentinian; and in the fourth year of his reign the Saxons came to Britain, Felix and Taurus being consuls. This passage occurs in the Harleian MS. only, written 954. The consulship of Theodosius and Valentinian fell in the year 425, and that of Felix and Taurus in the year 428.

The next date is 392, when he says:—"From the first year in which the Saxons came to Britain to the fourth year of King Mervin, are reckoned 429 years." This passage is as old as the edition of 821, which was the fourth of King Mervin of Wales, and places the arrival of the Saxons in 392. It corresponds remarkably with the oldest Welsh chronological tables, and that preserved in the Red Book of Hergest, a MS. of the thirteenth century, which says that from the reign of Guortigern to the battle of Badon are 128 years; and as the date of the battle of Badon is stated by the "*Annales Cambriæ*" to be 676, this places the commencement of the reign of Guortigern in 388, and the arrival of the Saxons four years afterwards, in 392.

The earliest date in Nennius is 374. "Guortigern reigned in Britain when there came three cyuls from Germany, in which were Hors and Hengist, who were brothers, and sons of Guictgils, son of Guitta, son of Guechta, son of Woden. Guortigern received them kindly, and gave them the island of Thanet. While Gratianus the Second and Aquantius reigned, the Saxons were received by Guortigern in the 347th year after the passion of Christ." This passage is certainly part of the original work, and though much corrupted afterwards by the Durham commentators, who tried to bring it into accordance with Bede, it unquestionably stands so in its original shape.

The 347th year after the passion of Christ is equal to the 374th year after his incarnation; and in this year Gratianus was consul a second time, in conjunction with Aquantius. The actions of the traditionary Guortigern correspond in so remarkable a manner with those of the historic Gerontius, who was a Briton, but held the position of comes, and accompanied Constantine the tyrant to Gaul in the year 407, that their identity seems beyond question. But his history belongs rather to the

Kentish story; and its bearing upon the tradition, as well as the correspondence of Nennius' three dates with the three devastations of Britain recorded by Gildas, would lead to too long a digression.

In another passage of Nennius we also have the very important statement, that while one part of the Saxons under Hengist settled in Kent, another body of them under Octa and Ebissa, his son and nephew, settled in Scotland. The passage is as follows:—"Hengist said to Vortigern, I will invite my son with his cousin, for they are warlike men, that they may fight against the Scots, and give them regions which are in the north, near the wall which is called Guaul; and he ordered that they should be invited; and Octa and Ebissa were invited with forty cyuls. And they, when they had navigated round the Picts, laid waste the Orkney Islands, and came and occupied many regions beyond the Mare Frisicum, as far as the confines of the Picts."

I believe this to be a genuine old tradition; and this statement that the Saxons had arrived on the British shores as early as the latter part of the fourth century, and that they made at least two settlements in the country, one in Kent and the other in the extreme north, is remarkably corroborated by the Roman historians.

Ammianus Marcellinus, in recording the first outbreak of the barbaric tribes upon the Roman province in Britain in the year 360, says they consisted of the gentes Scottorum Pictorumque; and in 364, four years after this, describes the barbarian army as consisting of Picti, Saxonesque, et Scotti et Attacotti, so that between 360 and 364 bodies of Saxons had joined in invading the Roman province. In 368 they slew Nictaridus comes tractus Maritimi. This maritime tract was the coast of Kent, which was under the protection of an officer termed Comes; but in 409 the same officer is termed in the *Notitia Imperii* as Comes of the Saxon shore; and it is now thoroughly established that the Saxons had settlements on the shore, so that it is plain that one of the settlements mentioned by Nennius, viz. that on the Kentish shore, had taken place between 368 and 409, thus embracing his two earliest dates of 374 and 392.

The other settlement in the north, which Nennius says commenced with the Orkneys, and finally settled on the shore of the Mare Frisicum, must also have been as early as this period; for Claudian, in referring to

the expulsion of the barbarians from the Roman province in 369, says, in describing the effect of his campaign—"Maduerunt Saxone fuso Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule, Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."

Thus, as icy Ireland wept her heaps of Scots slain, so the Orcades grew red with Saxon blood, an indication which coincides remarkably with Nennius' notice that the northern settlement had commenced with Orkney, and with the date of 374, which he attaches to the first arrival of the Saxons.

The name of Saxon was at this early period one of a very comprehensive character, and was applied to numerous people who, known formerly by distinctive appellations, now appear under the general name of Saxons. It embraced all the cities on the northern shore of Holland and Germany, from the Rhine to the Elbe,¹ and included among others the nation of the Frisii, who had, as far back as history reaches, been the inhabitants of the low-lying country extending from the Rhine to the Weser. That this early settlement of a people called by the general name of Saxons was in reality an offshoot from the Frisii or Frisians, appears from these facts :—

1st, Procopius says that Brittia lies between Britannia and Thule, by which he evidently means North Britain; and that it was inhabited by three nations, each under its proper king, viz., the Angli, the Frisones, and the Britons synonymous with the Isle.

The Angles, we know, were the population of Northumberland, and settled there for the first time under Ida, their leader, in 547. By the Frisones or Frisians, he evidently meant the older colony under Octa and Ebissa.

2dly, The legend in Nennius is a Frisian legend, and the genealogy of the Saxons there given a Frisian genealogy; for he deduces the ancestors of the leaders of this Saxon colony from Finn, son of Folcwald, son of Geta, who was "ut aiunt filius Dei."

Now Finn, son of Folcwald, is mentioned as a mythic hero in several

¹ In stating that the Saxons extended from the Rhine to the Elbe, I give a somewhat wider signification to the name than is done by Zeuss and others; but I consider that the name of Saxones was used in a looser sense than is generally supposed, and included the Low German tribes extending from the Elbe to the Rhine.

of the old Anglo-Saxon poems, and in one, termed the Traveller's Song, we have "Finn Folcwalding Fresna Cynne,"—Finn, son of Folcwald, of Frisian race.

3dly, These settlements were on the shore of a sea termed the Mare Fresicum or Frisian Sea, which must have taken its name from Frisian settlements on its shores.

Assuming it then to be clear that a people known by the general name of Saxons, but who were in reality Frisians, and to whom tradition assigns as leaders Octa and Ebissa, had appeared on the coasts of North Britain, and made one or more settlements there as early as the year 374, the next question is, what part of the shores of North Britain are we to look to for these settlements? and I think we have materials for determining at least three localities.

The first and principal seat of them appears to have been the northern shore of the Firth of Forth, and extending along the shore of Forfarshire, and perhaps Kincardine, as far as Stonehaven. Nennius describes them as occupying "plurimas regiones ultra mare Fresicum," and the Durham commentators add "quod inter nos Scotorque est," which shows that the Firth of Forth is meant; and this is confirmed by Jocelyne, in his *Life of Kentigern*, who terms the shore of Culross "Frisicum litus," or the Frisian shore. This district includes the whole of Fife and Kinross, and the maritime part of Forfar; and the Frisian settlements did not probably extend further inland than the secondary chain of the Ochils and Sidlaw Hills, which separates the low region along the shore from the great straths of Stratherne and Strathmore. This region bears the indications of a Saxon population in the peculiar term applied to the hills which is here so frequent, viz. Laws; and the frontier range itself bears the name of the Sidlaw Hills.

We find a very peculiar word applied to parts of the district lying between the Ochils and the Sidlaw Hills and the sea, and that is the word Comgalls.

In an old notice of St Serf by Angus the Culdee, who wrote in the ninth century, Culross is said to be in the Comgalls between Sleavenochill, or the Ochill Hills, and Muirnguidan, or the Sea of Guidan; and again, in the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Inverkeiller, near Arbroath, it is said, "the ancient name of this parish was Conghoilles, as appears

from a charter describing the lands of Boisach."¹ This is evidently the same word.

The name of Galls was applied by the Irish to the Danish and Norwegian pirates who infested their coasts in the ninth century; and in their traditionary history it is applied to all foreign races who attacked them from the sea. They distinguished the Norwegians from the Danes by terming the former Fingalls, and the latter Dubhgalls; and the district settled by the Norwegians in Ireland bore the name of Fingall. In the same way that the native population of Ireland called the Norwegian pirates Fingalls and their settlement Fingall, so I think did the native population here call the Frisian pirates Comgalls, and their settlement the Comgalls. In corroboration of this it will be observed that it is the same district, viz. the district between the Ochils and the sea in which Culross is situated, that is called by the Irish authority Comgalls, and by Jocelyn Fresicum litus, a Frisian shore. Though forming to a great extent the population of this district, they must eventually have become subject to the Pictish kingdom, as Bede undoubtedly includes it in the provincia Pictorum; but it accounts in some degree for the Angles of Northumbria having for thirty years maintained possession of this part of the provincia Pictorum; and when that possession terminated in 686 with the defeat and death of Egfrid, it is rather striking to observe that he appears to have advanced to the Sidlaw range without opposition; and that the great conflict with the Picts, in which the latter were victorious, took place at Dunnichen, in an attempt by the Saxons to penetrate through the Sidlaw range, which, according to this view, must have been the barrier which separated the Pictish and the Frisian population.

The extension of the Pictish boundary to the Forth, and the expulsion of the Angles, which followed this victory, must have likewise proved the ruin and end of the Frisian settlements on this side of the Firth.

The second locality in which I think we can trace them is that part of the coast of East-Lothian where it projects into the Firth, a great promontory consisting of the parishes of Dirleton and North Berwick,

¹ Through the kindness of Mr Howe, W.S., I have obtained an extract of this charter. It describes the lands of Ballysak and others—Jacen. in Baronia de Reid-castell Conghoillis, alias Innerkellour.

and where there was anciently a ferry to the opposite coast of Fife, which is here not more than eight miles distance.

Here we have North Berwick Law and the barony of Congalton, or the town of the Comgalls. It may be objected to this etymology, that it is placing the Saxon affix *ton* or *town* to a Celtic word; but in an old charter of the barony of Congalton, in which the boundaries are given, we find one of the points of the boundary is termed Knockingallstane. Knockingall is unmistakeably Celtic, and means the hillock of the Galls, thus confirming the meaning of Comgalls; and we have the Saxon *stane* appended to it.

You will recollect that in the old notice of St Serf the equivalent of the Mare Fresicum was Muirn Guidan, or the Sea of Guidan. Bede, in describing the Firths of Forth and Clyde, says that the eastern, or Firth of Forth, has in the midst of it, *in medio*, the urbs or city of Guidi, and that the western has on the right hand of it the urbs or city Alcluitt. The latter is known to be Dumbarton Castle; and the contrast between the expressions *in medio* and *supra se hoc est ad dexteram sui*, shows that the urbs Guidi was on an island, and was an urbs in the sense that the fort on Dumbarton rock was an urbs.

The resemblance of the names Muirnguidan and urbs Guidi is too striking not to show that the words are the same; and the probability is that the urbs Guidi was a Frisian seat, because,—First, It was the peculiarity of these early Saxon rovers to make their first settlement on small islands near the shore, as we see in Kent, where the island of Thanet was their first possession; and secondly, the Durham copies of Nennius says the colony of Octa and Ebissa occupied “*plurimas regiones et insulas*,” which can only refer to islands on the Firth of Forth.

The word Guidan and Guidi is from the shape of it, unquestionably a Cymric form; but we must look for it not in its Cymric shape, but rather in its Saxon or its Guidelian equivalent. The Saxon equivalent of *gu* is *v*, and the Gaelic is *f*. Thus Nennius' *guitta* is in Bede *vitta*—*guictgils* is *Vectgils*. Again, the Cymric *gwr*, a man, is in Gaelic *fear*, and the Cymric *guydh*, trees, is in its Gaelic form *fiadh*; and so forth. The Saxon form of *guid* is therefore *vid* with a *v*, and the Gaelic is *fid* with an *f*. Opposite this part of the coast of East-Lothian are a small group of islands, including the towering rock of the Bass. The name of

one of these islands is Fidra. It is thus described in the Statistical Account of the parish of Dirleton:—

“There are three islands belonging to the parish—Fidra or Fetheray, Ibris or Eybrouchey, and the Lamb.

“The first of these is situated directly opposite the village of Dirleton, about a mile from the shore. Its appearance is highly picturesque; the western part is of considerable elevation, and is united by an isthmus to the eastern part, which rises in a castellated form and is called the Castle of Tarbet. As early as the reign of William the Lion there was a chapel dedicated to St Nicholas on the island, of which the ruins still remain.”

The name of this island contains in it the Gaelic, and perhaps also the Saxon, equivalent of *Guidi*.¹ It possessed a castle and a castle chapel, and it was a royal island, for in a royal charter granted in 1509 to Henry Congalton it is thus described:—“*Insulamet terras de Fetheray unacum monte Castri earundem vocat Tarbet.*”

In the Chartulary of Dryburgh it is mentioned at a very early period in connection with the chapel of St Nicholas as “*insula de Elboitel.*” Elboitel is the name of an estate in the mainland immediately opposite to it; and as there were no fewer than eight Tarbets in Scotland, all named from the narrow isthmus called a Tarbet, and as two of these were castles, this one appears to have been distinguished as Tarbet Elboitel. Under a name almost identical with this it is twice mentioned in the Irish Annals at the years 711 and 730, and the first time in connection with an important notice which throws much light on the subject. The notice is this:—

710. Devastation upon the race of the Comgalls, in which two sons of Doirgarto were slain. Angus, son of Maelan, slain upon the island; Fiachra, son of Dungaile, among the Picts, slain.²

¹ By the expression “in medio,” Bede seems to imply merely an island at all times surrounded by the sea. Thus, in his Life of St Cuthbert, he terms the island of Farne only two miles from the shore, “in medio oceane,” in contradistinction to Lindisfarne, where the channel between it and the land is dry at low water. The sea flows round Fidra at all states of the tide.

² Imbiarea apud genus Comgail ubi duo filii Nechtain me Doirgarto jugulati eunt. Engus mac Maelacn for insci jugulatus. Fiachra mac Dungaile apud Cruithne

The family of Doirgarto were Pictish, and belonged to the opposite region, in which Lochleven was situated; for the isle of Lochleven was granted to St Serf, as appears from the Chartulary of St Andrews, by Brude, son of Doirgarto; and Congal, son of Doirgarto, is said to be the founder of the Castle of Lochleven.

In 712, two years after, there is this notice:—"The burning of Tarbet Boitter, Congal, son of Doirgarto, is slain"—the name of Doirgarto connecting this expedition with the former.

The second notice of this place is 730: the burning of Tarbert Boitter by Dungal. This was in the second year of the Pictish king Angus, son of Fergus, and this Dungal was his brother's son; as, in the same year, we have, in a subsequent battle, the death of Dungal, son of Conguil, son of Fergus; but this Angus, son of Fergus, is the Pictish king who, in the legend of the foundation of St Andrews, is said to have led a great army against the Saxons of East Lothian; and to have fought the battle with their king, Athelstane, in which St Andrew appeared to him, which is supposed to have been fought in the neighbouring parish of Athelstaneford; and the parishes of Gulane and North Berwick are both dedicated to St Andrew; from which we may infer that this second burning of Tarbet took place in that expedition.

It would lead to too great a digression to follow this part of the subject further; but I hope to do so ere long in a paper upon the true history of the veneration of St Andrew in Scotland, and the foundation of St Andrews.

jugulatus. An ult ad an. 709. One would naturally be inclined to suppose that the genus Comgall were a Dalriadic tribe, the descendants of Comgall, king of Dalriada; just as the descendants of Gabran, his brother, were termed genus Gabran; but there does not appear to have been a Dalriadic tribe so named. The tract in the Book of Ballymote on the Albanic Scots, mentions the Cineal Gabran, Cineal Ængus and Cineal Joavin only, and includes in the territories of the Cineal Gabran the district of Comgaill, or Corvall, called after this Comgal. And this is corroborated by Tighernac, who, in 574, mentions Duncan, son of Conall, son of Comgall, among the "*servi filiorum Gabran*." The notice of the genus Comgall in 710, places them evidently among the Picts, and apparently in Kinross-shire, as Sir J. Balfour mentions a tradition that the Castle of Lochleven was "the ancient habitation of Congal, son of Doirgart, who founded the samien;" and the Annals of Ulster have, at "711, Congal macDoirgarto moritur."

The third locality in which we find traces of a Frisian settlement, I find in William of Malmesbury, who, in mentioning the discovery of the supposed sepulchre of Walwin, nephew of King Arthur, in the year 1087, says :—"He reigned a most renowned knight in that part of Britain which is still named Walweitha, but was driven from his kingdom by the brother and nephew of Hengist, of whom I have spoken in my first book." By the district named Walweitha is meant Galweithia, or Galloway ; and in referring to his first book, we find he alludes to this same colony of Frisians, supposed to have been led by Octa and Ebissa.

This statement—from which we may infer that a part of Galloway had been occupied by these Frisians—is confirmed by a passage in Jocelyne's *Life of Kentigern*. He says that on Kentigern's return from Wales to Glasgow, he stopped at Holdem, or Hoddelme, in Dumfriesshire ; and there, desiring to preach to the people, the ground on which he stood miraculously rose up, so that he could address them from an eminence. The substance of his discourse is given ; and we are told that he demonstrated to them that Woden, whom they believed to be their principal god, and especially the Angli, from whom they deduced their origin, and to whom they dedicated the fourth day of the week, was a mortal and a man, and a king of Saxons.

It is clear the population of Dumfriesshire must have been one of the Saxon tribes. Among the cities of Britain enumerated by Nennius, there are two, *Caer Breatan* and *Caer Pheris* ;¹ and as the first is certainly *Dumbarton*, and meant the city of the Britains, so, I think, the latter was *Dumfries*, or the city of the Frisians.

Before concluding, I wish to allude very shortly to a people mentioned in the traditionary history of Ireland, whom I believe to be the same with these early Frisian pirates. They are called in Irish tradition the *Fomorians*, or *Fomhroidh*, and appear throughout the whole traditionary history as a race of sea-pirates, occasionally infesting the coasts, and occasionally settling on its shores and subjugating its inhabitants. They are called in these legends African pirates ; but the same name of Africans is attributed by Procopius, who has preserved Frisian and Saxon traditions, to them. They are also called *Lochlannaibh*, which clearly

¹ The names of the twenty-eight cities given by Nennius still remain, with few exceptions, unidentified. The usual identifications are merely conjectural.

marks them out as being pirates from the north coast of Germany. An early king is Bhreas, or the Frisian. Their principal stronghold was on a small island called Tory Island, where they had a fort called Tur Conaing, after the name of a leader—Conaing, the Saxon for king. Their chief seat, this small island called after a leader, being nearly parallel to their chief seat in the Forth, likewise a small island called the city of Guidi, whom I believe to be no other than the Guitta, son of Guechta, of Nennius, and the Vitta, son of Vecta, of Bede, and who also appears in the Pictish Chronicle as Guidid Gadbrechach. The word Fo-mor means under the sea. The old Irish name for the low country lying east of the Rhine was Tirfothuinn, the land under the waves, from its being supposed to be lower than the sea; so was it also called Tirformor, the land under the sea, and its inhabitants Fomorians or Fomhoraigh.

They appear in intimate connection with the Cruthens or Picts. It would take too long to quote the numerous passages which show this traditionary connection between them, but it runs through the whole of their traditionary history; and I cannot help suspecting that they have left their name in the parish in the county of Aberdeenshire termed Foveran, as the Cruthens have in the neighbouring parish of Cruden.

The reason that I mention this traditionary people is that they were the great builders of Cyclopean forts in Ireland.

Two great fortresses, one called Rath Cimbaott in Dalaradia, now part of Down, and another in Meath, are said in tradition to have been the work of four celebrated builders of the Fomoraigh. Conaing, one of their leaders, is said to have built a strong tower in Tory Island, on the coast of Donegal, hence called Torinis; and Balar Beman, another famous champion of the Fomorians, erected another fort on Torinis called Dunard Balair, a great fort of Balar.

But above all, the great Cyclopean fort of Aelech, or Aelech Fririn, in Londonderry—said in old poem, of all the works of Erin the oldest is Aelech Fririn—is said to have been erected by Gaibhan and Fririn, two celebrated builders of the Fomoraigh.

“ Aelech Fririn, the level platform,
The noblest Royal Fortress in the world,
To which stronghold led
Horse roads through fine ramparts;

Many its houses, rare its stones,
 And great were its tributes.
 Lofty castle is Aelech Fririn,
 The Rath of this worthy man,
 Pleasant stone fortress,
 Protecting house of heroes."

(From the "*Dinsheanchas*.")

The fortress of Aelech was of a circular form, built of large stones well fitted together and of great strength, constructed in the style of Cyclopean architecture. There are still considerable remains of the stone fortress, and the wall varies from ten to fifteen feet in thickness, and is of immense strength. The circumference of this building was almost 100 yards, and it was surrounded by three great earthen ramparts.

If in these traditions of the Fomhoraigh there is preserved some recollections of these forerunners of the Saxons and Angles, those Frisians who under the generic name of Saxons first invested our coasts and made settlements on our shores, it is probable that we must attribute to them many of those stupendous hill forts which are to be found within no great distance from the eastern shore, and especially those which crown the summits of the hills termed "Laws," and probably many of the sepulchral remains; while it is not impossible that the Cat Stane, with its inscription of "In hoc tumulo jacet Vetta filius Victi," may commemorate by a Roman hand the tomb of their first leader Vitta, son of Vecta, the traditionary grandfather of Hengist and Horsa.

No. II.

NOTICE OF PATRICK CHALMERS, M.D., OF HASSELHEAD AND FEDERAT, PROFESSOR OF MEDICINE IN ABERDEEN, AND OF HIS PRACTICE AS A PHYSICIAN IN ABERDEEN IN THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. BY JOHN I. CHALMERS OF ALDBAR, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

In looking over some old boxes, I came upon the ledger of Patrick Chalmers, physician in Aberdeen. That portion of it which gives the account of his medical practice begins in 1684; but as he married in 1681, Rachael, eldest daughter of Alexander Forbes of Foveran, with

whom he received a tocher of 6000 merks, and settled in Aberdeen in 1682, it is possible that he commenced practice in the last named year. He was the eldest son of the Rev. William Chalmers, minister of Skene. He studied medicine at the universities of Leyden, Paris, and Padua, and took degrees at each of them. The diploma as doctor of medicine at Padua is dated 1677, and is on vellum, tastefully illuminated. At the death of his father, he succeeded to the lands of Hasilhead and Smiddyhill, and to the barony of Fedderat, all in the county of Aberdeen; but, in 1718, having been concerned in an expensive lawsuit, which was given against him, he found it necessary to make them over to trustees for the liquidation of debt, and they were sold. The lands of Hasilhead were however rebought in 1728 by his youngest son William, who had received a legacy from a female relative, Lady Strachan of Glenkindie. These lands remained in the family for about 150 years, and were ultimately parted with in 1758, thus terminating the connection of the family with the county of Aberdeen. Dr Patrick Chalmers's professional income appears to have varied in amount from £384, 16s. Scots in 1684, as per ledger, to £1084, 2s. 2d. in 1694, which is the largest sum entered in the ledger in any one of the thirty-six years' practice there recorded, the average of the last four years being about £600 Scots. Probably old age was coming upon him, and lessening his practice. But from the year 1700, in which he was appointed by Earl Marischal to the chair of Medicine in Marischal College, there is a diminution of receipts in the ledger. Probably his college duties took up a good deal of his time.

By his wife Rachael Forbes he had a family of thirteen children, which shows that, while ushering into the world the progeny of his friends and country neighbours, he was not altogether unmindful of family duties at home. His youngest son and thirteenth child, William, became, as I have said, proprietor by purchase of Hasilhead, and ultimately, after twenty years' residence as a merchant at Gibraltar, where he held the offices of Paymaster to the Forces, Commissary-general to the Forces, and judge of the Admiralty Court, he returned to Scotland with a moderate fortune, and, after living a few years at Hasilhead, purchased, in 1753, the barony of Aldbar. He was married to his cousin-german, Cecilia, daughter of John Elphinstone of Glack; and to this lady belonged the

old dresses which were exhibited in Edinburgh a few years ago at the meeting of the Archæological Society, and more recently at Aberdeen ; while the gold laced and embroidered coat was the court costume of her husband ; and, in all probability, the splendid cut velvets of a more sober hue were the garments worn by the old doctor and professor on state occasions, and which he had probably brought home with him from Genoa.

A number of valuable books collected by him in Italy and Holland are now in the library at Aldbar.

Among his patients are most of the county names of Aberdeen, including the Earl of Aberdeen, the Ladie Haddo, the Ladie Frendraught, Ladies Marie and Bettie Gordon, Count Leslie, Burnet of Leys, the lairds of Elsick, Finzean, Fasque, Pitfoddels, Warthill, Portlethen, Ballogie, Murthill, Bognie, and many others.

It is to be regretted that most of the accounts are yearly ones, and, with the exception of some cases of "chyld birth," they do not show a scale of charges that can be compared with those of the present day. In this department, the charge for delivery and medical attendance would appear to vary from eight pounds Scots for a baillie's wyfe, to the munificent sum of £66, 13s. 4d. in the case of the Ladie of Drum. There is another entry for "Stonywood's Ladie in a fever ; staid a night," £24, 4d.

In the ledger I found an old prescription, which is most likely in the hand of Dr Patrick or of his son George, who was also an M.D., and resided in Aberdeen. At the end of the ledger will be found various entries of receipts and expenditure connected with the doctor's landed property. I send the prescription, which will probably be of interest to medical members of the Antiquaries'.

Mr STUART read some notices from the ledger, which was sent by Mr Chalmers for exhibition, as illustrative of the diseases and manners of the period. Fever and ague, rheumatism, scrofula, pleurisy, cholera, flux, small-pox, and hydropsie occur frequently. The sums seem to have been in payment of accounts rendered, till towards the end, when fees of a guinea are occasionally entered. Besides the stated sums, there is an entry at the end of the accounts of some years showing the value of the gifts which had been offered by patients, "propynes of meil and malt," and in 1692 they included a hat.

In 1686, from the Earle of Aberdeine for himself, £67; and there are frequent entries of payments by the Earl. In 1689, from James Paule for his aigou, £11, 12s.; and the entries of ague are frequent. In 1690 the propynes of meil and malt are estimated at £26, 13s. 4d. Fevers occur frequently. In 1691, the Laird of Steniewood paid for his lady and himself, in fever, £29; Polmais paid in that year, for his wife's distemper in her stomach and vapours, £5, 16s.; and Gordon of Auchiries, for heat in his urine, paid £3, 2s.; the Laird of Murthill paid for himself, in ane iliack passione, £39, 2s.; Dr Sibbald, for two attendances in one year, paid £14, 10s.; Sir Charles Maitland for his sister []; Achlossen's swelled bellie, paid £14; for propynes this year, a hat, &c., £13. In 1693, my Lady Banph, for a Lent fever, paid £37; the Laird of Glenkindie, for a belching and burning in his stomach, paid £13, 4s. Fevers and colics occur often; and the Dean of Guild of Banff had hernia carnosu, for which he paid £5, 16s. From the relict of Bed. Fyf, for vapours and curved breist at the opening, £27; Mrs Durret, maid to my Lady Dunfermline, paid for her "vapours," £5, 16s.; James Smith, in Abercherder, for madness and enchantment, £14, 10s.; from Col. Buchan, the commander of the forces of James II. in Scotland after the death of Dundee, and for his second son in small-pox, £13, 4s. Frequent entries of ladies in vapours turn up, such as the Laird of Cannon Birnes for his lady, £8, 14s. From John Toss' wife for him —died of drink, ulcer at leg, £5, 16s. The "poks" seem to have prevailed in 1694. James Brebner paid for his sore eyes and scrofulous chouks, £13, 8s.; from Hay of Montblair there is a fee of £13 for cacochimie, which occurs often; Captain David Garioch paid for drunkenness, £6; from the Lady Cushny, for herself, there is a payment, obstruction *fistula in ventre*, £11, 9s. In 1695, the presents amounted to £40. Next year they only came to £9. The Prior of Monymusk, in 1697, paid for his daughter, who was scrofulous, £6, 12s.; and soon after, for amputating her finger, *spina ventosa*, he paid £6, 12s.; Mr Robert Abercrombie paid for two years' attendance on his family, £24: from Mr George Skene, for George Gordone, younger, who died of palsie, there is a fee of £11, 12s.; for Auchlossen's daughter Barbara, who had a spasmodic fever, he received £19, 1s.; from the Laird of Pitfoddels, for his lady, fear of abortione: his daughter, jaundice, £13, 11s. 6d.; from

Lord Haddo, for his lady's childbirth, £59, 2s; from the minister of Strichen for spleen, cacochimi, £19, 6s.; from Bedlie Rag, for himself, cockhectick, £14, 10s.; from James Carnegie for his son, melancholie, £5, 16s.; from Wil. Ogsten, for levitie, £12, 18s. In 1707, my Lord Fraser paid for his lady £54, 16s. Mr Blackwell, Laird Balquhain, Lady Eglintoun, Laird of Bognie, Sir Donald M'Donald, Lord Haddo, Sir John Johnston, Lady Warthill, occur among the patients; and among the list of diseases are frequent instances of rheumatism, pleurisy, scrofula, gonorrhœa, cholera, flux, hydropsie, flooding, suffocation, stone, gravel, &c. From the Sheriff of Murray for itch, £6, 9s.; from Mrs Duncan, in gratitude for her salvation, £12, 18.

For graduating two doctors of phisick, £124; from the Earl of Aberdeen, costive, £24; from Mrs Helen Leslie for vapours and itch, £6, 6s.; from Alexander Cushnie, cut of a fungous lip, £12, 12s.

1721, from the Lady Envery, for her husband's cheik again, a guinea, £12, 12s.; from Envery's brother Charles, a guinea, £12, 12s.

MONDAY, 8th April 1861.

JAMES T. GIBSON CRAIG, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

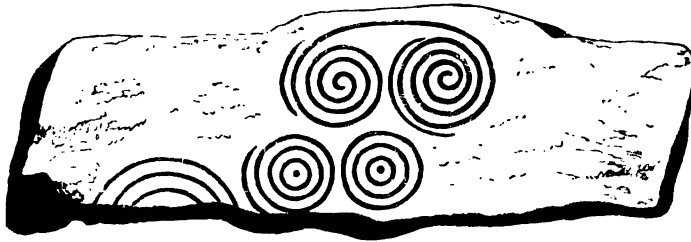
The following gentlemen were balloted for and admitted Fellows of the Society, viz. :—

Colonel JONATHAN FORBES LESLIE of Rothie, Aberdeenshire; and
GEORGE ROWE, B.A., Esq., Master of John Watson's Hospital, Edinburgh.

The Donations to the Museum were as follows :—

Stone (sandstone), 3 feet 6 inches long, 15 inches broad, and 8 inches thick, ornamented with incised concentric circles, found in a "Pict's House" in the Island of Eday, Orkney. By ROBERT J. HEBDEN of Eday, Esq., F.S.A. Scot. In reference to this donation, Mr Hebden writes as follows :—"The place where it was discovered is a large pile of stones that was formerly what is popularly called a Pict's House, but was destroyed about forty years ago for the purpose of building a United Presby-

terian kirk. From the description of old people, there was a long passage or room flagged over, and numerous passages branching out and leading to small quasi-circular cells, some few of which that remained undisturbed I have since opened, but discovered nothing but a rude clay urn, which was unfortunately broken in the removal, a few flint flakes, and the stone in question, which was lying on its face just at the entrance of one of the passages where the former quarrying had stopped. It appears to me to have been split for a lintel, and probably the other half answers that purpose in the U.P. church. The building is externally about 20 yards in length by about 10 in breadth; the ground below and around it (it stands on the slope of a hill, with a small hollow on the west side between it and a higher hill) is covered with small cairns, tombs, or walls, some of them circular and all nearly covered with peat moss, the walls or dykes entirely so, except where they have been exposed in digging for peats. The greatest number of these buildings lie in the



hollow or slope below it. The most of the dykes run in all directions, without the slightest attempt at regularity (except the circular ones). Some of them are regularly built walls, and some merely stones heaped in line."

Stone Ball, 3 inches in diameter, covered over the surface with small rounded projections, found in the Isle of Skye in 1847; and

Upper part of a broken Rapier Blade, 7 inches long, much corroded, but showing traces of having been inlaid with gold; it has been pointed to form a dagger;

By Sir KENNETH S. MACKENZIE of Gairloch, Bart.

Iron Cannon Ball, 3 inches in diameter, and a Lead Bullet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch

in diameter, found on the farm of Monelaws, Coldstream. By A. J. DOUGLAS, Esq., Monelaws.

Portion of a Bronze Torc of a curiously grooved or twisted pattern, similar in style to one presented to the Museum by the Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen. One of the hooked extremities is unfortunately broken off. It is believed to have been brought from Germany;

Two small Iron open or cup-like Lamps, from Germany, similar to the Cruisic of Scotland; with Iron Handle for suspension;

By JAMES JOHNSTONE, Esq., Curator S.A. Scot.

Regularly-shaped oval close-grained dark-coloured Stone, 5 inches in length, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and 2 inches thick, and gradually thinned off to the outer edge, which is sharp. The stone, from its dark colour, may have been used as a touch-stone. Found in Broughton Moss, Peeblesshire. By ANDREW KERR, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Small circular Ring or Wheel of Copper, with two bars crossing each other in the centre, $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of an inch in diameter, described by the donor as a piece of Gaulish Money from Bar-le-duc, in Old Lorraine. By the Rev. E. L. BARNWELL, Ruthin, Wales.

Two Casts in Plaster of small Shields, one displaying the letters I.H.S., the other M., with a crown over it, from Farnell Castle, Forfarshire, which are figured and described in the "Proceedings," vol. ii. p. 198. By ANDREW JERVISE, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Coloured photograph, 22 inches by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of the Glass-stained West Memorial Window recently erected by the donor in St Lawrence's Church, Ludlow. By BERTIE BOTFIELD, Esq., M.P., F.S.A. Scot.

Three Bricks from Nineveh, with inscriptions in cuneiform characters. By ADOLPHUS M. SCRALES, Esq., Blackburn House, Bathgate.

Iron Spear-head with Socket, 8 inches long, found at Cluden Mill near Dumfries. By Mr JOHN DOUGLAS.

Two Celts or Axe-heads of bronze, about 6 inches long, and 3 inches across; and a Spear-head, or Dagger-blade, of bronze, 11 inches long, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ broad at the base, which is rounded and pierced with four holes for fixing to a handle. These weapons were found at Sluie on the Findhorn, and were exhibited by Sir JOHN DICK LAUDER, Bart.

A valuable collection of relics of stone and bronze from the North of

Scotland, collected by the late Sir Thomas Dick Lauder; was exhibited by the Dowager Lady Dick Lauder.

Copy of Baskett's Bible, Edinb. 1726, with an inscription and two specimens of penmanship written by M. Buchinger, born without hands or feet—1674—were exhibited by A. J. Lambe, Esq.

The following communications were read:—

I.

NOTICES, HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL, OF THE ROUND TOWER OF BRECHIN. BY RICHARD ROLT BRASH, Esq., ARCHITECT, CORR.

After quoting some historical notices of Brechin given by Boece, Gordon, Pennant, Grose, Gough, and D. Black, Mr Brash states that he visited Brechin in May 1858 for the express purpose of examining its Tower, and was delighted beyond measure with this truly ancient and interesting monument, which, in its proportions and symmetry, rivals any he has seen in Ireland. The Round Tower immediately adjoins the south-west angle of the nave of the cathedral, a portion of its circular wall being incorporated with it. It presents to the beholder a circular tapering pillar, of large irregular blocks of a hard reddish-grey sandstone, crowned with a roof or spirelet octagonal on plan. The masonry is of admirable character, the surface of the stones truly worked to the curve of the tower. The material seems to have been carefully selected, as the surface is not much weather-worn, while the stone-work of the west end of the cathedral adjoining is considerably disintegrated and eaten away, though not so old, certainly, by several centuries.

Externally, the appearance of this tower is peculiarly symmetrical and graceful; and, as we shall presently see, its proportions are similar to our best examples in Ireland. Mr Black describes the masonry as of large stones cut to the circle, but not squared at top or bottom, nor laid in regular courses, but running round the building in sloping courses in brick, rise above each other like a screw, forming one spiral course from top to bottom. The character of the masonry is correctly described, but I failed to discover the spiral courses running from top to bottom.

Mr Black describes the tower as leaning over to the west side. He says, "While it stands perpendicular to the east, it appears to be about 3 feet off the plumb on the west side, apparently an error in the architecture, as no tilt in the building can be detected, and apparently arising from the difference in the thickness of the wall on the east and west side."

I must confess that I also failed to discover this overhanging of the tower at the west side; instead of that, it appears to me to have a regular batter, or nearly so, from bottom to top; the east side is certainly not exactly perpendicular, but it has a symmetrical batter. In fact, the dimensions at bottom and top show a considerable diminution as the tower rises, quite opposed to Mr Black's statement. As to the difference of the thicknesses of wall at the east and west sides, that does not exist: the tower is perfectly circular, and the difference of the external and internal diameters, with the thickness of wall at doorway subtracted, shows an equal thickness of wall all around. Were matters as stated by Mr Black, the tower would be oval on plan instead of circular.

At the foot of this tower is a plinth or offset 18 inches high, and about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick.

The stones in the base of this tower are of large size; they are interlocked into each other in several places, as is observable in almost every example of Irish towers. The joints of the masonry have been pointed with cement, which gives the work a comparatively smooth and fresh appearance. Before pointing it must have had a very ancient and time-worn look; the breadth of pointing in the joints indicates that the arrises of the stone were much weather-worn.

The height of this structure has been variously stated. Gordon says 85 feet, Pennant states it to be 80. Gough, in his additions to Camden, makes it 85 feet. Grose says that the whole height, including the spire, to the top of the vane, was 108 feet exactly, as measured by a mason who was at work at the church at the time of his visit. Mr Black says the height from ground to roof is 85 feet. Having unfortunately lost some of my own notes, I applied to Mr Andrew Jervise of Brechin, who in the kindest manner supplied me with the measurements I required. From personal survey, he also states the height to be 85 feet.

The most remarkable feature in this tower is its doorway. It faces the

west, and the top of its sill is 6 feet 6 inches from the present ground level; it is semicircular-headed, and has converging jambs; its dimensions are—Breadth at sill, 1 foot $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; breadth at springing, 1 foot 8 inches; height to soffit of arch, 6 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Gordon commits an error in stating that this door faces the south, and that it is of the same size as that of Abernethy, whereas it is much smaller. (See my paper on Abernethy, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. iii. p. 303.) This doorway is composed of four stones; the sill and the two jambs are all the entire thickness of the wall; the semicircular head is hollowed out of the blocks forming the lintel, which is in two thicknesses; the jamb stones, though deep, are narrow on the face, and are ornamented by a raised band 16 inches wide, which runs all round the ope; it is ornamented on the internal and external edges by a small pellet, between narrow fillets. Over the apex of the arched head, and on the lintel, is a much defaced figure, with outstretched arms, obviously intended to represent the Saviour's death; but there is no appearance of a cross. On each of the sides are the almost defaced remains of two figures; in their present state, it is impossible to ascertain what or whom they were intended to represent. There is an almost obliterated lozenge with a patera in the centre, surrounded by the pellet ornament on the face of the sill; and on either end of the same is some defaced carving, quite unintelligible. The interior diameter of the tower at the base is 7 feet 8 inches, the thickness of walling 4 feet 2 inches, the interior diameter at top is 6 feet 5 inches, thickness of wall 2 feet 9 inches; this gives the entire diameter at bottom 16 feet, thus giving a difference of 4 feet 1 inch, which halved makes the entasis, or batter of the tower, 2 feet $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch, or in the ratio of 1 in $41\frac{1}{2}$. There was also a doorway from the tower leading from the south aisle, which is now closed up; and it is stated to have been made for the use of the bellringers before the bell was removed to the tower of the church.

There are six internal string-courses running round the tower; they average about 10 inches deep on face, and 6 inches projection from wall. The first of these is immediately under door-sill; the height from basement floor to top of string-course is 5 feet 3 inches; from the top of first string-course to top of second, 13 feet 9 inches; to top of third, 14 feet 3 inches; to top of fourth, 14 feet 9 inches; to top of fifth, 11 feet 8 inches;

to top of sixth, 18 feet 9 inches; height of the upper storey, 6 feet 10 inches.

The interior of this structure is very insufficiently lighted. The first window ope is in the third storey; it is quadrangular, and faces the east; its dimensions are, breadth at sill 11 inches, at head 10 inches, height 20 inches. In the fourth storey, facing the south, is another ope of similar form and dimensions; the jambs slightly converge, and each ope is formed of three stones. In the upper storey are four window opes facing the cardinal points; they also are quadrangular; their dimensions are, 3 feet 8 inches high, by 1 foot 9 inches wide. It is to be remarked that all these opes are perfectly plain and unornamented.

This tower has an octangular roof or spirelet, the perpendicular height of which is 18 feet according to Mr Black. Mr Andrew Jervise informs me that it is 25 feet. Grose, in his "Antiquities of Scotland," has the following on this subject (vol. ii. p. 94):—"A mason who was at work at the church when I saw it said he had measured this tower for a wager, and found its height to the top of the vane to be 108 feet exactly." The tower to the eave is certainly 85 feet, and allowing the vane to be 5 feet, it would leave the spire 18. This roof is of small ashlar, the courses diminishing as they rise to the apex. It is constructed thus: the upper part of tower is corballed out over the attic window heads, so as to form an octagon, from which springs the spirelet, having a projecting eave, supported by moulded corbals. The line of the roof is not perfectly straight; it is rather convex, or slightly bulbous. This can be discerned by looking upward along the line of the hips or angles of the octagon. There are four Lucerne windows, angular headed, terminated by triangular gabelets; they alternate with the attic windows underneath, and are constructed in the usual manner of spire windows. This roof is evidently an addition or a reconstruction of the more ancient and simple roof-covering of the Celtic builders. Mr Black thinks it to have been erected about A.D. 1360. Mr Hay, architect, in a paper read before the Liverpool Architectural Society, gives it as his opinion that it cannot be later than the twelfth century, in which opinion I am not disposed to agree. That it is not the original roof of the tower is evident to the practical eye, from the unartistic way in which it starts from the upper storey. The original builders of the round towers never used any roof

covering but the cone, which started naturally and gracefully from the circular eave of the structure; the medieval architects used the octagon spire, but almost invariably from a square substruction, by throwing in the broach on the angles. I think we must therefore refer this reconstruction to the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Mr Black's authority evidently refers to the erection of the medieval tower and spire now standing at the west end of the cathedral. The tower is at present provided with floors, and can be safely ascended by ladders.

Having described its general arrangements and dimensions, I will now enter into a comparative analysis of its structural peculiarities, and illustrate the same by reference to the Scoto-Hibernian examples.

In its dimensions and proportion, it bears a close resemblance to the round tower at Clondalkin, county Dublin; both are 85 feet high to eaves; thickness of wall at door sill, Brechin, 3 feet 10 inches—Clondalkin, same; thickness of wall at attic windows, Brechin, 2 feet 10 inches—Clondalkin, 2 feet 8 inches; internal diameter at door sill, Brechin, 7 feet 9 inches—Clondalkin, 7 feet 4 inches; internal diameter at attic storey, Brechin, 6 feet 7 inches—Clondalkin, 6 feet 6 inches. This identity of dimensions gives the towers an identity of proportion and symmetry truly startling; and when we follow out the analogy, and find that both towers have string-courses of the same form, that the attic windows of both are quadrangular, that in fact all the opes in both structures are of the same form, the door of Brechin only excepted,—and if the latter is an insertion, as I believe it to be, the probability is that even these were alike,—surely the above coincidences are too remarkable to be the result of mere chance; they are startling facts, which give us grounds for asserting that they are kindred structures, erected about the same era, according to the same design and proportions, by the same race, and for the same uses. The external masonry of Brechin Tower is of much similar character to that in the round tower at Oran, county Roscommon, and in the basements of the towers at Kildare, Kilmacduagh, and Kilalla. The dimensions of the tower at Tulloherin, county of Kilkenny, very closely coincide with those of the Tower of Brechin; the heights, internal dimensions, and thickness of walling are the same.

The most remarkable feature in the Brechin example is the doorway, the sculptured decorations of which have excited much attention, as

stamping a Christian character on this tower, it being one of the three upon which such emblems are found, and one of five whose sculptured details are supposed to be of early medieval date. As so much stress has been laid on these almost solitary instances by the advocates of their Christian origin and uses, I propose to make some remarks upon these particular examples.

The first I shall instance, as exhibiting Christian emblems, is the Round tower at Antrim, county Antrim. All the openings are quadrangular. The doorway is of this form: its dimensions are, height, 4 feet 4 inches; width at sill, 2 feet; at head, 1 foot 10 inches. This doorway, with its converging jambs and massive stone lintels, is perfectly Pelasgic. On a block of stone over the lintel is carved a cross of most ancient type, which is rather imperfectly delineated in Dr Petrie's work, p. 400, who gives it as an undeniable evidence of the Christian origin and uses of the Round towers. But this, in my opinion, is a weak argument, as the idea will naturally suggest itself, could not this cross have been carved on the tower, or on a stone inserted over the doorway, centuries after its erection? That this custom was general in early Christian times is undeniable. The ancient temples of Egypt and Lybia bear unmistakable evidences of Christian appropriation, in the sacred emblems portrayed thereon; even the pagan pillar stones of Scotland and Ireland evidence the anxiety of the early converts to sanctify by such holy emblems the rude but revered monuments of their ancestors. On the enormous stone lintel which covers a Cyclopean doorway of exactly the same form at Alatrium, in Latium, is carved a cross of ancient type. Will any one from thence assert that these massive works of the Pelasgic colonists of ancient Italy were of Christian times and uses? See Dodwell's "Cyclopean and Pelasgic Remains of Greece and Italy."

The cross on Antrim tower was formed by sinking the centre of the stone all round, and leaving the subject in low relief, not quite half an inch. Many persons have thought that this stone was inserted over the lintel; the original bonding stones having been cut away, that it had been placed to relieve the lintel. This idea receives some confirmation from the fact of both the stones being cracked across, on account of the original disposition of the superincumbent weight having been altered in the above process. A portion of an oak lintel has also been inserted,

evidently showing some subsequent alteration, as no such material as wood exists in any other tower, forming an original and integral portion of the structure.

The next example exhibiting a Christian emblem is that at Donoughmore, county of Meath. It has a doorway, semicircular headed, with converging jambs, and is 2 feet 3 inches wide at sill, 2 feet wide at springing of arch, and is 5 feet 2 inches in height. The arched head is formed of three stones; in front, partly on the centre one, and on the stone over it, is a very diminutive rude figure, with extended arms and legs crossed. There is no appearance of a cross. On Dr Petrie's drawing, page 407 of his great work, this figure is shown in greater relief than it actually is. That gentleman admits, that many persons have asserted that this doorway "plainly appears to an observing eye to be an after work."

In the Doctor's opinion, it is of course original; but there is one significant fact, *the legs of the figure are crossed*. Now we know that in early Christian art, and down to the commencement of the fourteenth century, the Crucifixion was never so represented; the legs and feet of the Redeemer were invariably represented straight and parallel. The custom of delineating the figure on the rood with crossed ankles pierced with one nail was an untruthful innovation of later times. (See De Agincourt's "History of Art by its Monuments.") In the diversity of opinions as to this doorway being an original or an inserted one, and in the teeth of the artistic treatment of this mutilated figure, if so be that it really was intended for a representation of the Redeemer's death, I think it would be rather hazardous to found an hypothesis thereon. The treatment of the subject of the Crucifixion, in ancient Irish sculpture, is also consistent with the mode of treatment adopted by artists of other countries; thus the stone crosses at Kells, Monasterboice, Killaloe, and Clonmacnoise, exhibit the figure of the Redeemer with parallel limbs.

These facts establish incontestably, either that the sculpture is of later date than the commencement of the fourteenth century, or that it never was intended to represent the Saviour's death. If the latter, the doorway must have been an insertion, or the tower must have been erected in or subsequent to the fourteenth century—a juvenility which neither Dr Petrie nor his admirers will, I am sure, admit. These two, then,

amongst the one hundred and twenty or thirty towers existing in Ireland, are the only ones exhibiting Christian emblems.

The towers at Kildare and Timahoe have also been relied on as furnishing testimony to the mediæval era of these structures, on account of the architectural character of their doorways, and which, indeed, are the only entrances to towers in this country exhibiting any positive style or era of art.

The doorway of Kildare is, however, a most palpable insertion, as is apparent to any practical eye. It is composed of pieces of Romanesque arch mouldings, taken from the doorway of some other building, and put together in a very clumsy and inartistic manner: not only do they not properly fit, but the doorway is quite unfinished and imperfect. I examined this doorway myself, and at the first glance detected the fact of its being composed of portions of a former door of some other building, endeavoured to be fitted into the ope of the tower. It appeared to have belonged to one of the more ancient churches of Kildare, very probably of the one which formerly existed on the site of the present cathedral, which is in the first pointed style.

The doorway of the tower at Timahoe is, however, a perfect doorway congruous in all its parts, and very interesting from its sculptured ornaments, and very beautifully illustrated by Dr Petrie. This feature is undoubtedly the work of the twelfth century, and, unlike the one at Kildare, was most certainly executed for the tower. I take the following extract from my notes made on the spot respecting this structure:—

“The doorway faces the east; its sill is 13 feet 9 inches from the ground. It is built of the material already described as a dark, buff-coloured freestone. It has been asserted that this door is an insertion: it may be; there is nothing in its structure that can militate against the idea. It is rather remarkable that there is not a single stone of this entrance bonding into the wall of the tower; the joints of the stones of the external pilasters are one over the other, having no bond or tie into the walling. The stones are exceedingly small, almost like bricks, and seldom exceeding nine inches in height; in fact, the doorway could this moment easily be picked out, and again replaced, without any detriment to the stability of the edifice.” I should consider it indeed very unlikely, if this entrance was coeval with the tower, that its builders should have

neglected the very easy, natural, and necessary condition of substantially bonding its frame-work with the general masonry.

I come now to consider the sculpture on the doorway of Brechin tower. The figure over the archway is evidently a representation of the Redeemer's death; and its position, in conformity with the principles already laid down, indicate that it was certainly executed before the fourteenth century. What then? does it follow that the whole tower was erected at the same time the door was constructed? By no means. I have already, in my former paper on Abernethy, shown the alterations and insertions to which these structures were subjected, in order to assimilate them to the adjoining buildings subsequently erected in proximity to them, or to adapt them to ecclesiastical uses. I have instanced the rebuilding of Kildare tower, the great tower at Clonmacnoise, and sundry other instances of alterations, reparations, and adaptations of towers. That the structure under consideration has undergone reparations is undeniable; these are, the reconstruction of the present roof, and the insertion of the doorway.

My reasons for believing it to be an insertion are as follows:—

1st, The incongruity between this highly ornamented doorway, and all the other opes in the tower, which are of massive simple character, being merely quadrangular opes, without a trace of even the plainest moulding, while the entrance is a semicircular-headed ope, with a broad architrave, enriched with a double row of the pellet ornament, and beautified with sculpture on the archway, the sides, and even the sill. Surely a people acquainted with ornamental design, and equal to the production of sculptured detail at once so chaste and ornate, could never have erected a building of so plain, severe, and unornamented a character. 2dly, The detail of the door ope favours the idea of its insertion; the jambs are composed each of one stone, which is narrow on the face, having no bond in the wall, and could have been inserted without the smallest difficulty, even without the usual shoring. I have had in my professional capacity much larger opes inserted in old buildings, without any injury whatsoever to the fabric. The introduction of such a doorway as this is one of the simplest operations imaginable, particularly where the stones of the masonry are so large.

Mr John Hay, in a paper read before the Liverpool Architectural and

Archæological Society, in speaking of this doorway, says, "There is some worn-out carving round the narrow entrance, which is about six or seven feet from the ground, and seems to be of Saxon or Eastern character; the symbols of the cross said to be on this carving, I must confess, I could not alone have discovered." (*Builder* for 1855, p. 155.) Mr Hay also states it as his opinion, that the roof is not earlier than the twelfth century.

Of this doorway there has been the most extravagant and distorted representations; Ledwich, in his "Antiquities of Ireland," gives a plate of it that has not the smallest resemblance to the original. Godfrey Higgins has reproduced it in his "Celtic Druids." The descriptions of the sculptures are equally amusing. One writer gravely argues, that the lozenge panel on the sill is a heraldic device—but whose, he is unable to divine.

The doorway, as I before stated, is semicircular-headed, with converging sides. It is composed of four stones, one forming the sill, one the arched head, being cut out of the solid block. A single stone forms each side. Over the head, or where the key-stone would be of a regularly formed arch, is a sculptured representation of the Crucifixion, the figure having simply its arms extended, but no appearance of a cross that I could discern. At each side of the springing of the arched head is a block of stone, projecting about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and evidently intended to have been carved into some device, but which was never carried out. About midway between the sill and the springing of the semicircular head, and on the centre of the architrave, is a mutilated figure in low relief, represented as standing upon a corbal. These figures are so defaced, that I could not dogmatically pronounce upon their appropriation. I have before me a drawing, forwarded to me by Mr Andrew Jervise¹ of Brechin, representing these figures in the habits of ecclesiastics, one holding a crosier, the other some sort of a staff with a hammer-head; but I must confess, that when I examined this tower I could not discern upon the sculptures these insignia.

On the extremities of the sill, and outside the architraves, are carved representations of some nondescript animals, similar to some found on the sculptured stones of Scotland. On the centre of the sill is a lozenge

¹ See communication by Mr Jervise, Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., vol. iii. p. 28, with plate and woodcuts.

panel, with traces of the pellet ornament. The whole, however, are so much defaced, that no honest antiquary would pretend to give any elucidation of them. Dr Wise, in his paper on the Pillar Towers of Scotland, published in the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. v. p. 215, gives an excellent and truthful sketch of this entrance.

I am strongly of opinion, that the insertion of the doorway may have been at any time between the tenth and twelfth centuries. The roof is decidedly not original; it has no affinity to the roof coverings of the Irish towers, which are simple cones, and not so highly elevated. There is also a peculiarity in the Brechin example: the lines of the roof are curved outwardly, so that it is slightly bulbous.

If I might hazard a conjecture, I would say that these reparations took place immediately after the sanguinary inroad of the Danes into Forfarshire, as quoted from Hector Boece in the commencement of this paper. It is there stated, that all the houses and ecclesiastical buildings were destroyed, and that this tower alone escaped, "*Mira arte constructam*," as if the admirable manner in which it was constructed, and the solidity of its masonry, preserved it from the fate of the more fragile erections. No doubt, after the retirement of the invaders, the ecclesiastical buildings at Brechin were reconstructed in a more substantial manner, and according to the prevailing taste of the times. This would be in the first or second quarter of the eleventh century, when the Romanesque style of architecture prevailed in these countries; and, doubtless, when the Cathedral Church of Brechin was re-erected in this ornate style, the contrast between the new buildings and the old simple, severe, and unornamented pillar tower was so great, that it induced them to diminish the contrast by the insertion of this highly ornamental entrance. We have one fact certain, that the tower was in existence in A.D. 1012, and was then looked upon as being constructed with wonderful art, a mode of expression usually adopted towards any building of considerable antiquity, and that has successfully resisted the ravages of time.

The present trim appearance of Brechin Tower may, in the opinion of some, militate against the great antiquity I would be disposed to assign to it; but let it be remembered, that it has not long since been pointed with cement, and every joint and crevice carefully filled, which now

gives the whole a smooth and uniform appearance. I have before stated the fact of the existence of pagan remains and traditions in the neighbourhood of, and in connection with these structures, and have shown the existence of such in connection with Abernethy. Brechin is certainly not without evidences of a similar association. See "Black's History of Brechin," p. 264. Mr D. D. Black has kindly communicated to me the only traditions in connection with this tower. It is stated to have been erected by those weird people the Peghts, in some exceeding short space of time, their fee being only one hundred merks Scots, and being even cheated out of a portion of the same. The great Cashel or stone-fort of Caterthun, not far from Brechin, was erected in one night by a witch; there is in one spot a small gap which was left incomplete, in consequence of the witch's apron having given way as she was fetching the last load. I have in my paper on Abernethy tower alluded to the sepulchral remains found therein, as well as in many of the Round towers of Ireland; and I consider that I am perfectly justified, from the amount of evidence obtained in the course of the excavations made in those which have been already examined, in entertaining the theory of the sepulchral uses of those ancient structures. The idea, originally suggested by the talented though visionary Edward O'Brien, was adopted by the South Munster Society of Antiquaries, who determined practically to test its accuracy, by excavating the interiors of these edifices. The fact of the elevation of the doors from the ground levels, suggested to them where they were to make these explorations; they surmised that the height of these entrances from the ground was owing to the retention of the basement storeys for the purposes of sepulture.

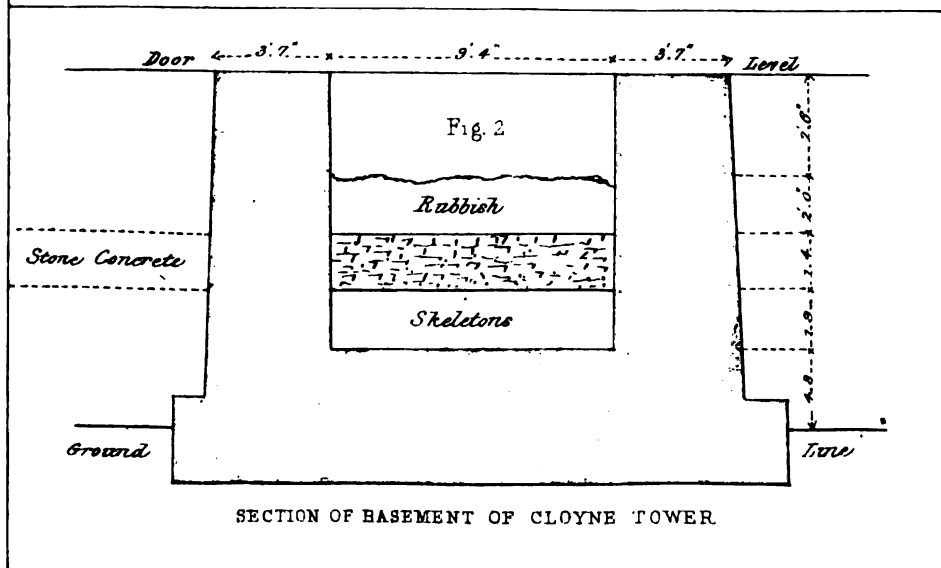
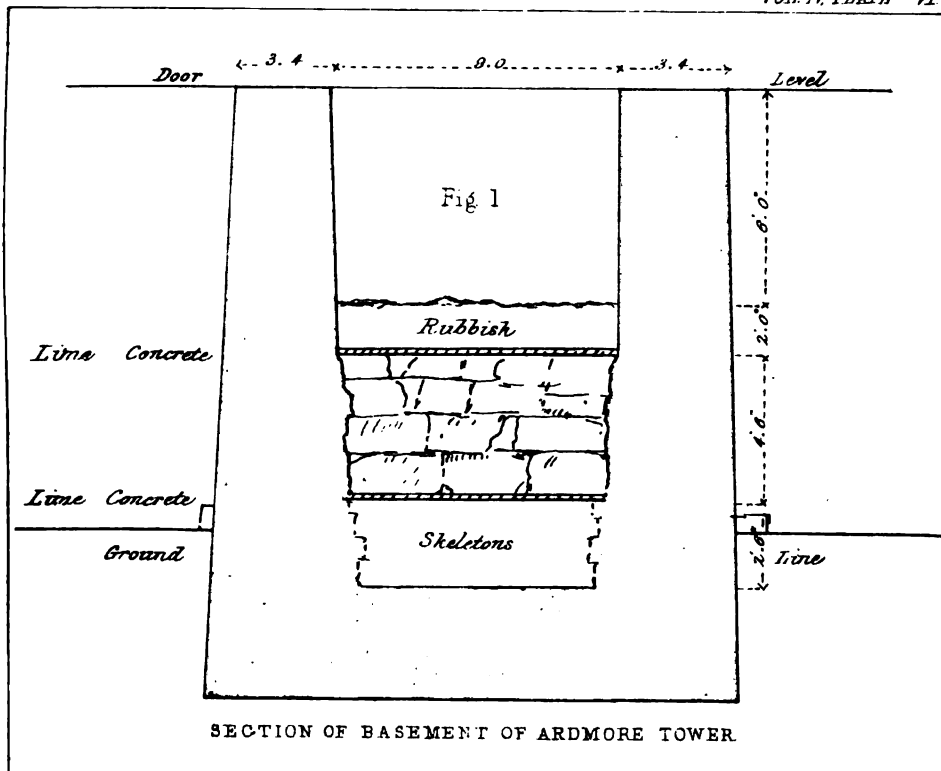
The first tower examined by them was that at Ardmore, in the county of Waterford, an ancient see, whose founder was the celebrated Deglain, one of the three precursors of St Patrick. In 1841, Mr Odell of Mount Odell, the proprietor of the tower and lands adjoining, at the suggestion of Mr William Hackett, an active member of the Society, commenced operations within the base of the structure. The excavation was made to a depth of 8 feet below the door-sill, through a stratum of earth, small stones, &c. At this depth they came to a floor formed of large and small stones, closely and solidly packed, and covered over with a layer of exceeding hard *concrete*, the whole being $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness. Beneath



this were four courses of large flags, breaking joint one over another, and closely fitted; great difficulty was found in breaking through this impediment, underneath which was found another layer of *lime concrete* over a stratum of fine mould, in which were imbedded two skeletons. The first lay right in the centre of the tower, east and west, about a foot under the layer of concrete; the second lay at the south side of the former, but a little nearer the concrete floor, and occupying the same position; these skeletons were perfect, no weapons, utensils, nor ornaments of any description accompanied them; the whole depth excavated was 15 feet 3 inches below the sill of doorway. I would wish here to call attention to the extraordinary care and precaution manifested in the entombment, and in the provision made for the inviolability of the bodies placed therein; the coating of *lime concrete*, the mass of packed rubble, and the four tier of bonded flagging; and, finally, the second layer of *concrete* immediately over the bodies. The lime concrete we must particularly remark, as it is a recurring feature in almost every succeeding example of Round tower sepulture. (See Plate VI., fig. 1, Section of Tower Base.)

The success attending the excavation of Ardmore tower stimulated the zeal of the South Munster antiquaries, and induced them to open the base of the Round tower at Cloyne, county of Cork, an ancient see, founded by St Colman, the son of Lenine. This fine specimen *is based upon the solid rock*, and the public road or street of Cloyne runs between it and the Cathedral church.

The excavation was commenced on the 23d day of September 1841, in the presence of several clergymen and members of the Society, amongst whom were the Rev. Mathew Hogan, Messrs Windle, Hacket, Sainthill, and the late Mr Abraham Abell. The level of ground inside the tower was about 2½ feet below door-sill. After sinking about the same distance through a debris of rubbish, they came to a concreted floor of broken stones so compacted together that the pickaxes of the labourers could scarcely penetrate it. After cutting through this floor, which was 1 foot 4 inches in thickness, the major part of three skeletons was found imbedded in fine loose mould, the bodies lying from N.W. to N.E., two of the skeletons lying above the others, but all having the same direction. The floor of tower, immediately under the remains, was a



layer of large heavy stones, the smooth sides being turned upwards and set in coarse gravel; under this were two layers of flags. I state these minute particulars to show that Dr Petrie's objection, namely, that the towers were built in cemeteries, and the bodies accidentally enclosed in laying their foundations, meets in the above instances a most palpable refutation, the entombments in both cases being the results of most careful forethought and preparation. The entire depth excavated in this instance was 13 feet below the sill of doorway. (See Plate VI., fig. 2, Section of Tower Base.)

About the same time Mr Edward Wall explored the beautiful example situated at Roscrea, county of Tipperary. Roscrea was the seat of an ancient see, founded by St Cronan in the seventh century. The tower stands similarly circumstanced as that at Cloyne, at some distance from the graveyard—the public road running between; the only remains of the ancient church is a fine Romanesque gable, the original west doorway of which forms the entrance to the burial ground. That gentleman communicated the results of his researches in three letters to Mr William Hacket; they were subsequently published by Sir William Betham in his "*Etruria Celtica*," from which I take the following particulars:—"I have had two men at work at the tower these two days. They have sunk 8 feet within the foundations; three feet consisted of earth and loose stones, intermixed with human bones. We then met a floor of *rich mortar*, which had the appearance of *grouting*; it was about 6 inches thick. Beneath it was a *layer of tenacious clay* about 15 inches thick, with *similar layers* to the bottom; all through there were human bones sparingly interspersed. I found three under-jaw bones of aged persons, but one head, the teeth in good preservation, with several thigh bones. . . . Portions of skulls were also found, and the rib of a child. At the bottom we found a bed of clay, in the centre of which was a small round hole about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter." In a second letter he says,—“When I wrote last, I had got about eight feet below the door, or within a foot of the external base; I have now proceeded four feet deeper, and could not proceed lower, as the water flowed in on us. (The tower at present stands in close proximity to a mill stream.) As we proceeded, the human bones became more numerous and longer, imbedded in the tenacious clay. The round hole before described did not reach the length of the shovel handle, and

terminated in a hard, impenetrable substance. . . . I shall examine the round hole at bottom if the water abates, as I think it curious." In his third letter he says,—“ Since I last wrote, I have carried my researches still deeper in the tower, and found the opening to terminate in seven large round stones, which we raised. . . . I can only say we met many more human bones than before in the same space, but much *decayed* from the damp.” In the progress of the excavation, as we have seen, Mr Wall was much impeded by the water rising in the interior of the base of tower.

From the above account it is quite evident that this tower has been used as a sepulchre. We first find three feet of the usual debris and some bones ; these, probably, casually thrown in. We then find the *concrete floor of lime mortar*, or, as Mr Wall terms it, “ grouting,” so usual in the northern towers, as we shall hereafter see, and found also at Ardmore. Beneath this a layer of tenacious clay, 15 inches thick, for the further protection of the sacred deposit ; beneath this were found human bones imbedded in layers of tenacious clay, down to the stones forming the foundation of the structure.

It is quite evident to me, that the tower was not originally built in such close proximity to the stream ; such a proceeding would be unwise, motiveless, and extremely difficult of execution. It is more than probable that the stream has partially changed its bed, and has come close to the tower by the wearing away of its banks. But it is quite evident that the ancient builders of the tower, on excavating the foundations, found a dampness in the soil, and consequently, in depositing human remains therein, took the precaution of protecting them by layers of puddled clay, which every practical person knows is impervious to moisture, and is used in forming dams, cisterns, and other water-works, to exclude and prevent the filtration of water. The fact of there being no whole skeleton is easily accounted for by the extreme dampness of the situation ; for the gravediggers’ experience in “ Hamlet ” held good in ancient as well as more modern times.

The above researches, therefore, incontestably establish the fact of the sepulchral character of this example. The tower at Cashel was opened by the South Munster Society of Antiquaries ; the members present were the late Rev. Mathew Hogan, Messrs Windle, Hacket, Kelle-

her, Abell, Willis. Dr Cotton, Dean of Cashel, also attended, and gave every assistance to the Society in the prosecution of their examination; but in this instance, as in others hereafter to be referred to, they ascertained the tower had been previously excavated; human remains were found scattered through the debris thrown out in the process.

Some exceedingly interesting and important papers have been published in the "*Ulster Journal of Archæology*," giving an account of several Round tower explorations, carried out principally at the suggestion of the late Mr Edmund Getty of Belfast.

I shall not extend this article by giving the particulars of these examinations, but would briefly state the results:—

Drumbo Tower, County of Down.—At a depth of about 9 feet below the sill of doorway was found a floor of *lime concrete*, under which lay an imperfect skeleton in a direction east and west. "No appearance of dress or covering of any kind accompanied these remains, which, *fossil-like in appearance*, lay imbedded in the soil."

Clones Tower, County of Monaghan.—At a depth of $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the sill of doorway, the explorers found a regular floor of *puddled clay of great tenacity*, and 18 inches in thickness. Beneath this were found two flags having on the upper surface traces of fire, with some *charcoal or burned bones*. Under this was a second floor of *lime concrete*, beneath which was found five human skulls, and considerable portions of a skeleton.

Armoy, County of Antrim.—In the excavation was found a human skull, which bore marks of decapitation; the writer gives several instances of the custom of interring heads. In this instance a niche or hollow was formed in the foundations, and the skull deposited therein, on a bed of peat ashes and charcoal.

Devenish Tower, County of Fermanagh.—The excavators penetrated through two floors of *lime concrete*, but no human remains were discovered.

Drumlahan, County of Cavan.—The sill of doorway is 10 feet 2 inches above the present level of ground. The usual floor of concrete was discovered, *but broken in several places*, and underneath a skull and the principal bones of a human skeleton. It was the opinion of the explorers that this tower had been *previously excavated*, which was confirmed by the statement of one of the workmen employed, who informed

them that in consequence of a dream it had been dug into previously by some gold-seekers.

Inniskeen tower, county Monaghan, was opened on the 16th November 1852. Beneath the usual floor of *lime concrete* was found the principal portions of a human skeleton *in situ*. It was particularly remarked that the mortar forming the floor was exactly of the same composition as that in the body of the building.

Tory Island tower, county of Down, was examined on 7th and 8th August 1845. Under the *lime concrete* floor was found another of large blocks of stone, laid without order. Between the two floors was found a fragment of a sepulchral vase. The stone flooring or pavement was removed, beneath which was found some pieces of querns, but no further indications of human remains.

Round Tower at Timahoe, Queen's County.—Sir William Betham, in his "*Etruria Celtica*," p. 200, gives an account of the finding of an urn, containing calcined human remains, within the base of that tower.

A Round tower anciently existed at Raphoe, county of Donegal, which has long since disappeared. Bishop Leslie excavated the foundations, and found the skeleton of a man of large stature under it.

I shall conclude these notices with a reference to the excavations made in the Round tower at Kilkenny, the particulars of which are given in "*The History and Antiquities of St Canice Cathedral*," by the Rev. James Graves, the talented and zealous secretary of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society, page 114. The usual *debris* having been cleared out, a *lime concrete floor* was exposed, under which was a pavement of stones. It is to be remarked that a *considerable breach was found in this floor*, as shown by the plan annexed to the account. Beneath this pavement was found a complete skeleton, in the very centre of the tower. At one side, and parallel to it, were the remains of two children enclosed in one oak coffin, put together *without nails or metal fastenings*. At the foot of this coffin was the skull and portions of the skeleton of an adult, the lower extremities of which were covered by the foundation of the structure. The oak composing the coffin was soft and pulpy, and had almost lost its character as wood.

Most of the above explorations have been made by individuals who seemed anxious to maintain Dr Petrie's theory on this question,

and I need not say that every particular calculated to support such views were carefully noted and recorded. Yet we have these irresistible facts placed before us, that in almost every tower examined human remains were found, in various stages of decay; in some of them evidences of urn-burial. Others had been previously opened, which will account for the non-appearance of human remains in a few, though it is highly probable that in some of them, from the peculiarities of the soil or other local accidents, the bodies have totally decomposed and dissolved into the soil, as at Devenish and some other places where the skeletons were incomplete.

It would extend this article beyond reasonable limits, were I to go into a critical analysis of the various circumstances attending these excavations, and which establish the sepulchral character of these structures, so as also to answer some objections that have been made to what is indeed the only reasonable theory sustained by positive facts that has yet been broached on the Round tower question; as well as to show, by the testimony of undeniable historical facts, that the custom of tower sepulture, and of erecting lofty monumental structures over the remains of the mighty or revered dead, is of remote antiquity and of general application, and by no means contrary to the genius and traditions of those Eastern tribes who colonised Scotia Major and Scotia Minor. I cannot, however, let this opportunity pass without noticing the manner in which Dr Petrie meets the array of facts laid bare by these various researches, and the mode in which he accounts for the presence of human remains within the towers. That learned gentleman was evidently startled at the unexpected evidence offered by the excavations undertaken in the south of Ireland, and attempts to get rid of them in a jocular manner. (See pp. 79, 82 of his "Inquiry," &c.) But a subsequent communication made by the late Mr Edmund Getty of Belfast respecting the opening of Drumbo tower, and the finding of human remains sepulchred therein, convinced the Doctor that such reiterated facts could not be treated with levity, and he accordingly attempted a solution of the difficulty. Referring to the discoveries in the tower of Drumbo, he says, "In the preceding account I see nothing to object to. But what is the conclusion to be fairly drawn from it?—not surely that it proves the tower to have been raised as a sepulchral monument in

pagan times, or even that the bones found within it were a deposit cotermporaneous with its erection. To me, it appears the only rational conclusion to be drawn from the discovery of these bones would be unfavourable even to the very early Christian antiquity of the tower; for—like the discovery of the imperfect skeleton at Ardmore—it indicates that the tower was erected on a spot which had been used as a Christian cemetery, as the position of the remains clearly shows. And this, too, would account for the imperfection of the skeleton; for though it is obvious that in digging the foundation of the circular wall of the tower it would have been necessary to penetrate to the virgin clay, and thus run the chance of removing a portion of a skeleton or skeletons, yet, from the respect always paid to the remains of the dead among Christians and Pagans, it would have been an object to leave the area enclosed within the circle undisturbed.” (Petrie’s “Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland,” page 91.) Now, I perfectly agree with the learned author that the finding of these human remains does not establish that the towers were raised for sepulchral purposes in pagan times, but I do contend that it establishes their sepulchral and monumental character. The pagan era of these structures will require a different mode of argument and illustration. I hope shortly to give some aid towards elucidating the probable age and builders of these edifices. Dr Petrie states that the discovery of an imperfect skeleton indicates that the tower was erected on a spot which had been previously used as a Christian cemetery, “as the position of the remains clearly show.” Now, this is a simple assumption without a shadow of evidence. How can the fact of finding an imperfect skeleton indicate that it was built in a cemetery at all; or, further, how does it indicate that the cemetery, if such existed, was either Pagan or Christian? Where are the evidences of Christian interment—the sarcophagus of stone; where Christian symbols, where a fragment of an inscription? We have inscribed monuments of various dates, some of them as old as the sixth century: has a fragment of any such been found in a Round tower interment? Again, if, for argument sake, the towers were erected in cemeteries, why may they not have been pagan cemeteries? are not such numerous in the country, such as were discovered at Ballymacus? See *Kilkenny Archæo-*

logical Society's Transactions, vol. 1852-53, page 230; Glenaish, *ibid.* page 213; Ballonhill, *ibid.* page 297. A class of these ancient burial grounds are called Cealuraghs, and are at present appropriated to the burial of unbaptised infants and suicides. But the Doctor's great argument is the position in which the remains were found; in two instances, Ardmore and Drumbo, the bodies lay E. and W. This is with the Doctor a triumphant argument in favour of the Christianity of these interments; but I would remind that gentleman that the customs of worshipping towards the east, and of burying east and west, are of Pagan origin—that human interments, both Pagan and Christian, have been found lying towards all points of the compass, and that neither Pagans nor Christians ever systematically observed any particular rule in the matter. I know well that in the Middle Ages laying a dead body east and west was the usual custom, but I know equally well that it was far from being the universal usage. So casual and trifling an occurrence cannot, therefore, be taken as an irrefragable proof either of the era or creed of the peoples who caused these interments to be made. But again, Dr Petrie lays a particular stress upon the fact of the skeletons being imperfect. It could not have been an interment coterminous with the tower unless it was perfect in every part—not a bone or a tooth wanting. Surely this is weak, admitting his own age for these structures. Could perfect skeletons be expected to exist in every case through a lapse of 1100 or 1200 years? Does not the preservation of human remains depend upon the physical constitution of the deceased, upon his age at death, and, above all, upon the circumstances attending the deposit, and the nature of the soil in which the body is placed? How many perfect skeletons will be found in any of our cemeteries after the lapse of even one century? There is no doubt that the skull, teeth, and portions of the large bones will be found, and have been found, comparatively firm and compact after the lapse of two thousand years and more; but I have never known or heard of perfect skeletons being found *in situ* of anything approaching that age.

Dr Petrie goes on to state, that in building the tower in a Christian cemetery, the body or bodies may have accidentally lain undisturbed in the central area within the tower; "may have," but very unlikely, and next to an impossibility, for, as before stated in the Drumbo excavation,

the skeleton, if entire, would have occupied the centre of the tower. Now, if the latter was founded upon the site of an ancient burial-ground, either Pagan or Christian, it was an extraordinary coincidence and feat of chance which, in the necessary excavation of the wall of the tower, left this relic exactly in the centre of a confined circle of 8 or 9 feet diameter. But I maintain that, in laying the foundations of a tower, such a circumstance could not occur; that the whole area must of necessity have been excavated down to the bottom of the first course of masonry. Every architect and builder knows, that in excavating foundations for walls the trenches are always opened considerably wider than the foundation walling, in order to give the workman an opportunity of setting out his work properly, also sufficient standing-room for himself and his building materials. Thus, in a foundation 4 feet below the surface, with a wall 4 feet thick, a trench of at least 3 feet at each side would be required. This, in most instances, would leave a ring of the native earth but of 2 or 3 feet diameter standing, a piece of folly that no skilful workman would perpetrate. He would rather excavate the whole site at once, being a saving of time and labour, and giving him more facilities for his work; at all events, a full-grown adult skeleton could not accidentally or by chance be left unheeded in this ring of 2 or 3 feet diameter.

And it is utterly absurd to suppose that the builders of these lofty, symmetrical, and age-enduring structures, should have pitched their foundations at random upon rotten skulls and bones, and the soft and yielding soil of a teeming burial-ground. Would such a folly be perpetrated by the most unskilful of the present day in the erection of a structure of far less pretensions and importance? Does an architect proceed to the erection of a tower or a factory chimney of 100 feet in height, how carefully will he select his site, how anxiously examine the ground, removing all loose earth and unsound strata, so that the foundations may sit firm and stable upon the hard soil. The builders of the Round towers were no tyros in their art. I know of no buildings of the class that approach the old pure examples in symmetry of form and soundness and stability of construction. The sections of some of these towers solve a practical problem in construction, of great utility to the builders of such edifices in the present day; and I am very certain that such

careful professors of their art as were the builders of our round towers were not likely to commit such palpable blunders as are implied in Dr Petrie's reasoning. Several of these structures are based upon the solid rock. What becomes of the cemetery theory at Cloynes, where the tower is so circumstanced, being based upon a rock above the soil, and a considerable distance from the burial-ground, the public street being between? There could have been no graves dug in the rock, or bodies interred there. Far from it; for we find, by the section of the base as given by the explorers, that the skeletons lay upon a bed of solid masonry, surrounded by a shallow layer of mother earth (a touching sentiment), over which again was a layer or flooring of rubble masonry.

Upon the fact of a sepulchral urn having been found in the base of the round tower of Timahoe, Dr Petrie adopts much the same style of reasoning; first attempting to impugn the fact as stated by Sir William Betham, in his '*Etruria Celtica*,' and then arguing that the tower may have been erected upon the site of a pagan burial-ground. (Dr Petrie's work, page 414.)

I must now bring this paper to a conclusion, hoping that I have thrown some few rays of light upon the uses of these curious structures. The facts that I have adduced are any way suggestive, and I have not the slightest doubt upon my mind but that further examination will entirely set the question of their original destination at rest. Their era and builders will require a different mode of treatment. The solution of these questions will not be so easily accomplished, yet I hope at some future time to lay the result of several years of labour and research upon all the questions involved in the Round Tower controversy before the public.

Mr JOHN STUART, in expressing the acknowledgments of the Society to Mr Brash for his laborious paper, stated that he was not disposed to accept his arguments or conclusions. He examined the question of the supposed insertion of the doorway, for which he could see no solid reason, and which was against all the analogies of a somewhat later architecture, where the doorways of old churches were frequently preserved when the rest of the building was renewed. He referred to the styles of masonry of British walls, as recently illustrated by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson,

to the walls of underground chambers and other early buildings in Scotland, and to those of Cashels, Duns, and Cloghauns in Ireland, where a recognised style appeared; but it appeared to him to be entirely different from the architecture of the round towers, nor did he believe that the early Irish were acquainted with the construction of the arch, and the use of mortar, both of which were found in the towers, until the knowledge of these had been brought from the great reservoir of knowledge at Rome by the Christian missionaries. He believed that the subsequent use of the towers must be allowed to determine their original design. Now, it abundantly appeared, from the Irish annals, that they had been used as belfries, and as places of abode or refuge for the ecclesiastics of the churches, in the vicinity of which (and sometimes incorporated with them) every tower in Ireland had been placed. The lofty position of the doorway, so like to the entrances of our ancient keeps, would alone suggest their use as places of refuge. The occurrence of sepulchral deposits in these towers was, in his view, only a development of the taste for burying in churches, their porches, and other buildings connected with them, which was so strong at an early period of our Christian history; but he could not see any reason for recognising a heathen connection in this. The modes of Pagan interment in Ireland were known from descriptions in early manuscripts, and from the many remains still to be found in the country, and bore no analogy to that of burial in the towers.

The same view as to the supposed insertion of the doorway was maintained by Dr HUIE and Mr JOSEPH ROBERTSON—the latter of whom adverted strongly to a school of antiquaries who seemed to overlook the accumulated evidence which had already been brought to bear on this subject by Dr Petrie, whose position had not yet been seriously impugned, and which, indeed, he believed to be unassailable. He also strongly condemned the views of those by whom the round towers were regarded as Priapeian monuments, and pointed out the many Romanesque features which were clearly to be discovered in them.

II.

NOTES ON SOME SCOTTISH MAGICAL CHARM-STONES, OR CURING-STONES. BY PROFESSOR J. Y. SIMPSON, M.D., VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

Throughout all past time, credulity and superstition have constantly and strongly competed with the art of medicine. There is no doubt, according to Pliny, that the magical art began in Persia, that it originated in medicine, and that it insinuated itself first amongst mankind under the plausible guise of promoting health.¹ In proof of the antiquity of the belief, this great Roman encyclopædist cites Eudoxus, Aristotle, and Hermippus, as averring that magical arts were used thousands of years before the time of the Trojan war.

Assuredly, in ancient times, faith in the effects of magical charms, amulets, talismans, &c., seems to have prevailed among all those ancient races of whom history has left any adequate account. In modern times a belief in their efficiency and power is still extensively entertained amongst most of the nations of Asia and Africa. In some European kingdoms, also, as in Turkey, Italy, and Spain, belief in them still exists to a marked extent. In our own country, the magical practices and superstitions of the older and darker ages persist only as forms and varieties, so to speak, of archæological relics,—for they remain at the present day in comparatively a very sparse and limited degree. They are now chiefly to be found among the uneducated, and in outlying districts of the kingdom. But still, some practices, which primarily sprung up in a belief in magic, are carried on, even by the middle and higher classes of society, as diligently as they were thousands of years ago, and without their magical origin being dreamed of by those who follow them. The coral is often yet suspended as an ornament around the neck of the Scottish child, without the potent and protective magical and medicinal qualities long ago attached to it by Dioscorides and Pliny being thought of by those who place it there. Is not the egg, after being emptied of its edible contents, still, in many hands, as assiduously pierced by the spoon of the eater as if he had weighing upon his mind the strong superstition of the ancient Roman, that—if he omitted to perforate the empty shell—he incurred the risk of becoming spell-bound, &c.? Marriages seem at the present day

¹ Natural History, Book xxx. chapters i., ii.

as much dreaded in the month of May as they were in the days of Ovid, when it was a proverbial saying at Rome that

"Mense malas *Maio* nubere vulgus ait."

And, in the marriage ceremony itself, the finger-ring still holds among us as prominent a place as it did among the superstitious marriage-rites of the ancient pagan world. Among the endless magical and medical properties that were formerly supposed to be possessed by human saliva, one is almost universally credited by the Scottish schoolboy up to the present hour; for few of them ever assume the temporary character of pugilists without duly spitting into their hands ere they close their fists; as if they retained a full reliance on the magical power of the saliva to increase the strength of the impending blow—if not to avert any feeling of malice produced by it—as was enunciated, eighteen centuries ago, by one of the most laborious and esteemed writers of that age,¹ in a division of his work which he gravely prefaces with the assertion that in this special division he has made it his "object (as he declares) to state no facts but such as are established by nearly uniform testimony."

In a separate chapter (chap. iv.) in his 30th Book, Pliny alludes to the prevalence of magical beliefs and superstitious practices in the ancient Celtic provinces of France and Britain. "The Gallic provinces," says he, "were pervaded by the magical art, and that even down to a period within memory; for it was the Emperor Tiberius who put down the Druids and all that tribe of wizards and physicians." We know, however, from the ancient history of France posterior to Pliny's time, that the Druids survived as a powerful class in that country for a long time afterwards. Writing towards the end of the first century, Pliny goes on to remark:—"At the present day, struck with fascination, Britannia still cultivates this art, and that with ceremonials so august, that she might almost seem to have been the first to communicate them to the people of

¹ "What we are going to say," observes Pliny, "is marvellous, but it may easily be tested by experiment. If a person repents of a blow given to another, either by hand or with a missile, he has nothing to do but to spit at once into the palm of the hand which has inflicted the blow, and all feeling of resentment will be instantly alleviated in the person struck. This, too, is often verified in the case of a beast of burden, when brought on its haunches with blows; for, upon this remedy being adopted, the animal will immediately step out and mend its pace. Some persons, also, before making an effort, spit into the hand in the manner above stated, in order to make the blow *more heavy*."—*Pliny's "Natural History,"* xxviii. § 7.

Persia." "To such a degree," adds this old Roman philosopher, "are nations throughout the whole world, totally different as they are, and quite unknown to one another, in accord upon *this* one point."¹

Some supposed vestiges of a most interesting kind, of very ancient Gallic or Celtic word-charms, have recently been brought before archæologists by the celebrated German philologist Grimm, and by Pictet of Geneva. Marcellus, the private physician of the Roman Emperor Theodosius, was a Gaul born in Aquitaine, and hence, it is believed, was intimately acquainted with the Gaulish or Celtic language of that province. He left a work on quack medicines (*De Medicamentis Empiricis*), written probably near the end of the fourth century. This work contains, amongst other things, a number of word-charms, or superstitious cure-formulas that were, till lately, regarded—like Cato's word-cure for fractures of the bones—as mere unmeaning gibberish. Joseph Grimm and M. Pictet, however, think that they have found in these word-charms of Marcellus, specimens of the Gaulish or Celtic language several centuries older than any that were previously known to exist—none of the earliest glosses used by Zeuss, in his famous "*Grammatica Celtica*," being probably earlier than the eighth or ninth centuries. If the labours of Grimm and Pictet prove successful in this curious field of labour, they will add another proof to the prevalence of magical charms among the Celtic nations of antiquity, and afford us additional confirmation of the ancient prevalence, as described by Pliny, of a belief in the magical art among the Gaelic inhabitants of France and Britain.¹

¹ Natural History, Book xxx. § 4. Archæologists are now fully aware of "the accord" of the ancient inhabitants of Britain with those of Persia and the other eastern branches of the Aryan race in many other particulars, as in their language, burial customs, &c. According to some Indian observers, stone erections, like our so-called Druidical circles, cromlechs, &c., are common in the east. Is it vain to hope that amid the great and yet unsearched remains of old Sanscrit literature, allusions may yet be found to such structures, that may throw more light upon their uses in connection with religious, sepulchral, or other services?

¹ Grimm thinks that the formulæ of Marcellus partake more of the Celtic dialect of the Irish, and consequently of the Scotch, than of the Welsh. As one of the shortest specimens of Marcellus' charm-cures, let me cite, from Pictet, the following, as given in the "*Ulster Journal of Archæology*," vol. iv. p. 266:—"Formula 12. He who shall labour under the disease of watery (or blood-shot) eyes, let him pluck the herb *Millefolium* up by the roots, and of it make a hoop, and look through it, say-

The long catalogue of the medical superstitions and magical practices originally pertaining to our Celtic forefathers, was no doubt from time to time increased and swelled out in Britain by the addition of the analogous medical superstitions and practices of the successive Roman¹ and ing three times, '*Excicmacriosos*;' and let him as often move the hoop to his mouth, and spit through the middle of it, and then plant the herb again." "I divide," observes Pictet, "the formula thus: *exci cuma criosos*, and translate it, 'See the form of the girdle.'" After a long and learned disquisition on the component words Pictet adds—"The process of cure recommended in this formula is of a character altogether symbolical. Girdles (*crie*), which we shall meet with again in formula No. 27, seem to have performed an important part in Celtic medicine. By making the eye look through the circle formed by the plant, a girdle, as it were, was put round it; and it is for this reason that the formula says, See the form (or model) of the girdle. The action of spitting afterwards through the little ring expressed symbolically the expulsion of the pain." The so-called Celtic word-charms in the formulæ of Marcellus are usually longer than the above; as, "*Tetuna resooco bregan gresao*;" "Heilen prossaggeri nome sipolla na builet ododieni iden olitan," &c. &c.

¹ On this subject I elsewhere published, two years ago, the following remarks:—"The medical science and medical lore of the past has become, after a succession of ages, the so-called folk-lore and superstitious usages of times nearer our own. Up to the end of the last century, patients attacked with insanity were occasionally dipped in lakes and wells, and left bound in the neighbouring church for a night. Loch Maree, in Ross-shire, and St Fillan's Pool, in Perthshire, were places in which such unfortunate patients were frequently dipped. Heron, in his "Journey through Scotland," in the last century, states that it was affirmed that two hundred invalids were carried annually to St Fillan's, for the cure of various diseases, but principally of insanity. The proceedings at this famous pool were in such cases an imitation of the old Greek and Roman worship of *Æsculapius*. Patients consulting the *Æsculapian* priest were purified first of all, by bathing in some sacred well; and then having been allowed to enter into and sleep in his temple, the god, or rather some priest of the god, came in the darkness of the night and told them what treatment they were to adopt. The poor lunatics brought to St Fillan's were, in the same way, first purified by being bathed in his pool, and then laid bound in the neighbouring church during the subsequent night. If they were found loose in the morning, a full recovery was confidently looked for, but the cure remained doubtful when they were found at morning dawn still bound. I was lately informed by the Rev. Mr Stewart, of Killin, that in one of the last cases so treated—and that only a few years ago—the patient was found sane in the morning and unbound; a dead relative, according to the patient's own account, having entered the church during the night, and loosened her both from the ropes that bound her body and the delusions that warped her mind. It was a system of

Teutonic¹ invaders and conquerors of our island. A careful analysis would yet perhaps enable the archæologist to separate some of these classes of magical beliefs from each other; but many of them had, perhaps, a common and long anterior origin. We know further, that in its earlier centuries among us, the teachers of Christianity added greatly to the number of existing medical superstitions, by maintaining the efficacy, for example, of a visit to the cross of King Edwin of Northumberland, for the cure of agues, &c.,—the marvellous alleged recoveries worked by visiting the grave of St Ninian at Whitehorn, or the cross of St Mungo in the Cathedral churchyard at Glasgow; the sovereign virtues of the waters of wells used by various anchorets, and dedicated to various saints throughout the country; the curative powers of holy robes, bells, bones, relics, &c.

Numerous forms of medical superstitions, charms, amulets, incantations, &c., derived from the preceding channels, and possibly also from other sources, seem to have been known and practised among our forefathers, and for the cure of almost all varieties of human maladies, whether of the mind or body. Our old Scottish hagiologies, witch trials, ecclesiastical records, &c., abound with notices of them. Nor have some of the oldest and most marked medical superstitions of ancient times been very long obliterated and forgotten. I know, for example, treatment by mystery and terrorism that might have made some sane persons insane; and hence, perhaps, conversely, some insane persons sane. Mr Pennant tells us that at Llandegla, in Wales, where similar rites were performed for the cure of insanity, viz., purification in the sacred well and forced detention of the patient for a night in the church, under the communion-table, the lunatics or their friends were obliged to leave a cock in the church if he were a male, and a hen if she were a female—an additional circumstance in proof of the *Æsculapian* type of the superstition. But perhaps, after all, the whole is a medical or mythological belief, older than Greece or Rome, and which was common to the whole Aryan or Indo-European race in Asia before they sent off, westward, over Europe, those successive waves of population that formed the nations of the Celt and Teuton, of the Goth, and Greek, and Latin. The cock is still occasionally sacrificed in the Highlands for the cure of epilepsy and convulsions. A patient of mine found one, a few years ago, deposited in a hole in the kitchen floor; the animal having been killed and laid down at the spot where a child had, two or three days previously, fallen down in a fit of convulsions."—See the "*Medical Times and Gazette*" of Dec. 8, 1860, p. 549.

¹ See, for example, Kemble's work on the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 528, for various Teutonic medical superstitions and cures.

of two localities in the Lowlands, one near Biggar in Lanarkshire, the other near Torphichen in West Lothian, where, within the memory of the present and past generation, living cows have been sacrificed for curative purposes, or under the hope of arresting the progress of the murrain in other members of the flock. In both these instances the cow was sacrificed by being buried alive. The sacrifice of other living animals,¹ as of the cat, cock, mole, &c., for the cure of disease, and especially of fits, epilepsy, and insanity, continues to be occasionally practised in some parts of the Highlands up to the present day. And in the city of Edinburgh itself, every physician knows the fact, that, in the chamber of death, usually the face of the mirror is most carefully covered over, and often a plate with salt in it is placed upon the chest of the corpse.

The Museum of the Society contains a few medicinal charms and amulets, principally in the form of amber beads, which were held potent in the cure of blindness, perforated stones, and old distaff whorls, whose original use seems to have been forgotten, and new and magical properties assigned to them. But the most important medicinal relic in the collection is the famous "Barbeck's bone," a slice or tablet of ivory, about seven inches long, four broad, and half an inch in thickness. It

¹ A very intelligent patient from the North Highlands, to whom I happened lately to speak on this subject, has written out the following instances that have occurred within her own knowledge:—"Twenty years or more ago, in the parish of Nigg, Ross-shire, there was a lad of fifteen ill with epilepsy. To cure him, his friends first tried the charm of mole's blood. A plate was laid on the lad's head; the living mole was held over it by the tail, the head cut off, and the blood allowed to drop into the plate. Three moles were sacrificed one after the other, but without effect. Next they tried the effect of a bit of the skull of a suicide, and sent for this treasure a distance of from sixty to one hundred miles. This bit of the skull was scraped to dust into a cup of water, which the lad had to swallow, not knowing the contents. This I heard from a sister of the lad's.—There was a 'strong-minded' old woman at Strathpeffer, Ross-shire, whose daughter told me that the neighbours had come to condole with the mother after she had fallen down in a fit of some kind. They strongly advised her to bury a living cock in the very place where she had fallen, to prevent a return of the ailment.—A woman in Sutherlandshire told me that she knew a young man, ill of consumption, who was made to drink his own blood after it had been drawn from his arm. This same woman was ill with a pain in her chest, which she could get nothing to relieve; so her father sent off for 'a knowing man,' who, when he saw the girl, repeated some words under his breath, then touched the floor and her shoulder three times alternately, and with alleged success."

was long in the possession of the ancient family of Barbeck in Argyle-shire, and over the Western Highlands had the reputation of curing all forms and degrees of insanity. It was formerly reckoned so valuable, that a bond of L.100 was required to be deposited for the loan of it.

But the main object of the present communication is, through the kind permission of Struan Robertson, Lady Lockhart of Lee, and others, to show to the Society two or three of the principal curing-stones of Scotland.

Several of these curing-stones long retained their notoriety, but they have now almost all fallen entirely into disuse, at least for the cure of human diseases. In some districts, however, they are still employed in the treatment of the diseases of domestic animals.

A very ancient example of the use of a "curing-stone" in this country is detailed in what may be regarded as the first or oldest historical work which has been left us in reference to Scotland, namely, in Adamnan's "Life of St Columba." This biography of the founder of Iona was probably written in the last years of the seventh century, Adamnan having died in A.D. 705. He was elected to the Abbacy of Iona A.D. 679, and had there the most favourable opportunities of becoming acquainted with all the existing traditions and records regarding St Columba. About the year 563 of the Christian era, Columba visited Brude, King of the Picts, in his royal fort on the Ness, and found the Pictish sovereign attended by a court or council, and with Brochan as his chief Druid or Magus. Brochan retained an Irish female, and consequently a countrywoman of Columba's, as a slave. The 33d chapter of the second book of Adamnan's work is entitled, "Concerning the Illness with which the Druid (*Magus*) Brochan was visited for refusing to liberate a Female Captive, and his Cure when he restored her to Liberty." The story told by Adamnan, under this head, is as follows:—

Curing-Stone of St Columba.

"About the same time the venerable man, from motives of humanity, besought Brochan the Druid to liberate a certain Irish female captive, a request which Brochan harshly and obstinately refused to grant. The Saint then spoke to him as follows:—'Know, O Brochan, know, that if you refuse to set this captive free, as I desire you, you shall die before I return from this province.' Having said this in presence of Brude the king, he departed from the royal palace and proceeded to the river Nesa,

from which he took a white pebble, and shewing it to his companions said to them :—‘ Behold this white pebble, by which God will effect the cure of many diseases.’ Having thus spoken, he added, ‘ Brochan is punished grievously at this moment, for an angel sent from heaven, striking him severely, has broken in pieces the glass cup which he held in his hands, and from which he was in the act of drinking, and he himself is left half dead. Let us await here, for a short time, two of the king’s messengers, who have been sent after us in haste, to request us to return quickly and relieve the dying Brochan, who, now that he is thus terribly punished, consents to set his captive free.’

“ While the saint was yet speaking, behold, there arrived, as he had predicted, two horsemen, who were sent by the king, and who related all that had occurred, according to the prediction of the saint—the breaking of the drinking goblet, the punishment of the Druid, and his willingness to set his captive at liberty. They then added :—‘ The king and his councillors have sent us to you to request that you would cure his foster father, Brochan, who lies in a dying state.’

“ Having heard these words of the messengers, Saint Columba sent two of his companions to the king, with the pebble which he had blessed, and said to them ; ‘ If Brochan shall first promise to free his captive, immerse this little stone in water and let him drink from it, but if he refuse to liberate her, he will that instant die.’

“ The two persons sent by the saint proceeded to the palace and announced the words of the holy man to the king and to Brochan, an announcement which filled them with such fear, that he immediately liberated the captive and delivered her to the saint’s messengers.”

The stone was then immersed in water, and in a wonderful manner, and contrary to the laws of nature, it floated on the water like a nut or an apple, nor could it be submerged. Brochan drank from the stone as it floated on the water, and instantly recovered his perfect health and soundness of body.

“ This little pebble (adds Adamnan) was afterwards preserved among the treasures of the king, retained its miraculous property of floating in water, and through the mercy of God effected the cure of sundry diseases, And what is very wonderful, when it was sought for by those sick persons whose term of life had arrived, it could not be found. An instance of this occurred the very day king Brude died, when the stone, though

sought for with great diligence, could not be found in the place where it had been previously left.”¹

In the Highlands of Scotland there have been transmitted down, for many generations, various curing or charm-stones, used in the same manner as that of Columba, and reckoned capable, like his, of imparting to the *water in which they were immersed*,² wondrous medicinal powers. One of the most celebrated of these curingstones belongs to Struan Robertson, the chief of the Clan Donnachie. I am indebted to the kindness of Mrs Robertson, for the following notes regarding the curing-stone of which her family are the hereditary proprietors. Its local name is

Clach-na-Bratach, or Stone of the Standard.

“This stone has been in possession of the Chiefs of Clan Donnachaidh since 1315.

“It is said to have been acquired in this wise.

“The (then) chief, journeying with his clan to join Bruce’s army before Bannockburn, observed, on his standard being lifted one morning, a glittering something in a clod of earth hanging to the flagstaff. It was this stone. He showed it to his followers, and told them he felt sure its brilliant lights were a good omen and foretold a victory—and victory was won on the hard fought field of Bannockburn.



Fig. 1. Clach-na-Bratach.

“From this time, whenever the clan was ‘out,’ the Clach-na-Bratach

¹ In the first chapter of Adamnan’s work, the miracle is again alluded to as follows:—“He took a white stone (*lapidem candidum*) from the river’s bed, and blessed it for the cure of certain diseases; and that stone, contrary to the law of nature, floats like an apple when placed in the water.”

² For other instances of waters rendered medicinal by being brought in contact with saint’s bones—such as St Marnan’s head, with St Conval’s chariot, &c. &c., see Dalrymple’s “Superstitions of Scotland,” p. 151, &c. Sibbald’s “Memoirs of the Edinburgh College of Physicians,” p. 89.

accompanied it, carried on the person of the chief, and its varying hues were consulted by him as to the fate of battle. On the eve of Sheriffmuir (13th November 1715), of sad memory, on Struan consulting the stone as to the fate of the morrow, the large internal flaw was first observed. The Stuarts were lost—and Clan Donnachaidh has been declining in influence ever since.

“The virtues of the Clach-na-Bratach are not altogether of a martial nature, for it cures all manner of diseases in cattle and horses, and formerly in human beings also, if they drink the water in which this charmed stone has been thrice dipped by the hands of Struan.”

The Clach-na-Bratach is a transparent, globular mass of rock crystal, of the size of a small apple. (See accompanying woodcut, fig. 1.) Its surface has been artificially polished. Several specimens of round rock-crystal, of the same description and size, and similarly polished, have been found deposited in ancient sepulchres, and were formerly used also in the decoration of shrines and sceptres.

Another well-known example of the Highland curing-stone is the

Clach Dearg, or Stone of Ardvoirloch.

This stone is a clear rock-crystal ball of a similar character, but somewhat smaller than the Clach-na-Bratach, and placed in a setting (see fig. 2) of four silver bands or slips. The following account of the Ardvoirloch curing-stone is from the pen of one of the present members of that ancient family:—

“It has been in the possession of our family from *time immemorial*, but there is no writing about it in any of the charters, nor even a tradition as to *when* and *how* it became possessed of it. It is supposed to have been brought from the *East*, which supposition is corroborated by the fact of the silver setting being recognised as of Eastern workmanship. Its healing powers have always been held in great repute in our own neighbourhood, particularly in diseases of cattle. I have even known persons come for the water into which it has been dipped from a distance of forty miles. It is also believed to have other properties which you know of.

“These superstitions would have existed up to the present day, had I not myself put a stop to them; but six years ago, I took an opportunity to do away with them, by depositing the stone with some of the

family plate in a chest which I sent to the bank. Thus, when applied to for it (which I have been since then), I had the excuse of not having it in my possession; and when the Laird returns from India, it is hoped the superstition may be forgotten, and "the stone" preserved only as a very precious *heirloom*.

"I may mention that there were various forms to be observed by those who wished to benefit by its healing powers. The person who came for it to Ardvairloch was obliged to draw the water himself, and bring it into the house in some vessel into which this stone was to be dipped. A bottle was filled and carried away; and in its conveyance home, if carried into any house by the way, the virtue was supposed to leave the water; it was therefore necessary, if a visit had to be paid, that the bottle should be left outside."



Fig. 2. Stone of Ardvairloch.

Other charm-stones enjoyed, up to the present century, no small medical reputation among the inhabitants of the Highlands. In some districts, every ancient family of note appears to have affected the possession of a curing-stone. The Campbells of Glenlyon have long been the hereditary proprietors of a charm-stone similar to those that I have already mentioned. It consists of a roundish or ovoidal ball, apparently of rock-crystal, about an inch and a-half in diameter, and protected by a silver mounting. To make the water in which it was dipped sufficiently medicinal and effective, the stone, during the process, required to be held in the hand of the Laird. The Bairs of Auchmeddan possessed another of these celebrated northern amulets. The Auchmeddan Stone is a ball of black-coloured flint, mounted with four strips of silver. A legend engraved on this silver setting—in letters probably of the last century—states that this "Amulet or charm belonged to the family of Baird of Auchmeddan from the year 1174." In the middle of the last century, this amulet passed as a family relic to the Frasers of Findrack, when an intermarriage with the Bairs occurred.

Curing-stones seem to have formerly been by no means rare in this country, to the south also of the Highland Borders. In a letter written by the distinguished Welsh archæologist Edward Llwyd, and dated Llanlithgow, December 17, 1699, he states that betwixt Wales and the Highlands he had seen at least fifty different forms of the party-coloured glass bead or amulet known under the name of Adder-beads or Snake-stones.¹ In Scotland he found various materials used as healing amulets, particularly some pebbles of remarkable shape and colour, and hollow balls and rings of coloured glass. "They have also," he says, "the *Ombrie pellucida*, which are crystal balls or hemispheres, or depressed ovals, in great esteem for curing of cattle; and some on May-day put them into a tub of water, and besprinkle all their cattle with that water, to prevent being elf-struck, bewitched, &c."

In the Lowlands, the curing-stone of greatest celebrity, and the one which has longest retained its repute, is

The Lee Penny.

In the present century, this ancient medical charm-stone has acquired a world-wide reputation as the original of the "Talisman" of Sir Walter Scott, though latterly its therapeutic reputation has greatly declined, and almost entirely ceased.² The enchanted stone has long been in the possession of the knightly family of the Lockharts of Lee, in Lanarkshire. According to a mythical tradition, it was, in the fourteenth century, brought by Sir Simon Lockhart from the Holy Land, where it had been used as a medical amulet, for the arrestment of hæmorrhage, fever, &c. It is a small, dark-red stone, of a somewhat triangular or heart-shape, as represented in the adjoining woodcut (fig. 3). It is set in the reverse of a groat of Edward IV., of the London Mint.³

When the Lee Penny was used for healing purposes, a vessel was

¹ See "Philosophical Transactions," for the year 1713, p. 98. For instances of curing-stones in the Hebrides, see "Martin's Western Isles," p. 184, 166, &c.

² I was lately told by the farmer at Nemphlar, in the neighbourhood of Lee, that in his younger days, no byre was considered safe which had not a bottle of water from the Lee Penny suspended from its rafters. Even this remnant of superstition seems to have died out during the present generation.

³ I state this on the high numismatic authority of my friend, Mr Sim. Sir Walter Scott describes the coin as a groat of Edward I.

filled with water, the stone was drawn once round the vessel, and then dipped three times in the water. In his "Account of the Penny in the Lee," written in 1702, Hunter states, that "it being taken and put into the end of a cloven stick, and washen in a tub full of water, and given to cattell to drink, infallibly cures almost all manner of deseases. The people," he adds, "come from all airts of the kingdom with deseased beasts."

The Lee Penny.

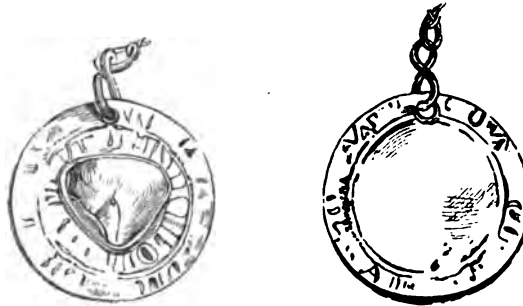


Fig. 8.

One or two points in its history prove the faith that was placed in the healing powers of the Lee Penny in human maladies of the most formidable type. About the beginning of last century, Lady Baird of Saughtonhall was attacked with the supposed symptoms of hydrophobia. But a drinking of, and bathing in, the water in which the Lee Penny had been dipped, the symptoms disappeared; and the Knight and Lady of Lee were for many days sumptuously entertained by the grateful patient. In one of the epidemics of plague which attacked Newcastle in the reign of Charles I., the inhabitants of that town obtained the loan of the Lee Penny by granting a bond of L.6000 for its safe return. Such, it is averred, was their belief in its virtues, and the good that it effected, that they offered to forfeit the money, and keep the charm-stone.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, the Reformed Protestant Church of Scotland zealously endeavoured, as the English Church under King Edgar had long before done, to "extinguish every heathenism, and forbid well-worshippings, and necromancies, and divinations, and enchantments, and man-worshippings, and the vain practices which are

carried on with various spells, and with elders, and also with other trees, and with stones, &c."¹ They left, however, other practices, equally superstitious, quite untouched. Thus, while they threatened "the seventh son of a woman" with the "paine of Kirk censure," for "cureing the cruelles (scrofulous tumours and ulcers),"² by touching them, they still allowed the reigning king this power (Charles II. alone "touched" 92,000 such patients);³ and the English Church sanctioned a liturgy to be used on these superstitious occasions. Again, the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Glasgow examined into the alleged curative gifts of the Lee Penny; but, finding that it was employed "wtout using onie words such as charmers and sorcerers use in their unlawfull practisess; and considering that in nature there are mony things seen to work strange effects, qrof no human witt can give a reason, it having pleasit God to give to stones and herbes special virtues for the healing of mony infirmities in man and beast, advises the brethern to surcease their process, as qrin they perceive no ground of offence: And admonishes the said Laird of Lee, in the using of the said stone to tak heed that it be used hereafter wt the least scandal that possiblie may be."

A few further remarks were made by Colonel ROBERTSON, Mr JOSEPH ROBERTSON, and Mr STUART, and the cordial thanks of the meeting were then voted to Lady Lauder, Lady Lockhart, Struan Robertson, and the other contributors of articles.

¹ Kemble's "Anglo-Saxons," vol. i. p. 527, &c.

² See a case of this prohibition in the "Ecclesiastical Records of the Presbytery of St Andrews," for September 1648. "It is manifest by experience," says Upton, "that the seventh male child by just order, never a girle or wench being borne betweene, doth heall only with touching, by a natural gift, the king's evil; which is a speciall gift of God, given to kings and queens, as daily experience doth witness." See Upton's *Notable Things* (1681), p. 28. Charles I. when he visited Scotland in 1683, on St John's day, in Holyrood Chapel, "heallit 100 persons of the cruelles, or kingis eivell, yong and olde."—*Dalyell's Superstitions*, p. 62.

³ See the "Charisma Basilicon" (1684) of John Browne, "Chirurgion to His Majesty," for a full and charming account of the whole process and ceremonies of the royal "touch," the prayers used on the occasion, and due proofs of the alleged wondrous effects of this "sanative gift, which hath (says Dr Browne) for above 640 years been confirmed and continued in our English Princely line, wherein is not so much of their Majesty shown as of their Divinity," and which is only doubted by "Ill affected men and Dissenters."

III.

NOTE RELATING TO A MONUMENTAL BRASS IN THE OLD CHURCH OF ORMISTON, EAST LOTHIAN. BY THE REV. JOHN STRUTHERS, F.S.A. SCOT., MINISTER OF PRESTONPANS. (Plate VII.)

The old Kirk of Ormiston has long been in ruins. The only portion of the ancient walls that remains is a few yards of what would be the chancel. These have been repaired and roofed over in a rude way during the present century, seemingly for the purpose, apparently, of preserving the monument to which these few remarks refer. There is no other sculpture nor ornament, nor even sepulchral headstone of any kind, in or around the building itself, which appears to have been originally of small architectural pretensions. A new burying-ground and church for the parish having been designed and built, about a quarter of a mile distant, shortly after the Reformation, the old place of worship, where Wishart and Knox had more than once officiated, became appropriated exclusively as a burial enclosure for the family of the ancient lords of the manor, close to whose mansion-house it is situated.

The monument referred to is in the form of a nearly square mural slab, with raised border, over a now empty Gothic arched recess, with plain hewn moulding, in the inside of the north wall, and having the Cockburn and Sandilands arms on either side of the prose part of the inscription. As the whole structure bears evidence of repeated rude repairs, it may possibly be questioned whether the monumental brass, which is fastened by nails at the edges to the front of the exterior depressed portion of the slab, be of contemporaneous date with the inscription; or whether the latter had originally been cut into the stone and only transferred to brass, upon the more perishable material becoming defaced by exposure to the weather. I am inclined to think, from the character of the lettering, and of the engraving of the armorial bearings, and from the fact of the mural slab, to which the brass is affixed, showing no marks of old lettering having been chiseled off, that the monument, so far as preserved, is now much as when it was originally erected, and of a date probably towards the end of the sixteenth century.

The metrical and more interesting portion of the inscription is from the elegant classic pen of George Buchanan, in whose published works it appears, as noticed by Mr Laing in the notes to his edition of Knox's History, and has been repeatedly, though not always accurately, copied. Alexander Cockburn, it is well known, was a pupil of John Knox, at the time (1547) he sought shelter in the Castle of St Andrews, when the house of Ormiston had not proved a sanctuary sufficient to protect the zealous Wishart from the vengeance of the ruling ecclesiastical authorities, during the troublous times preceding the Reformation. Dempster, in his History (as quoted also by Mr Laing), has given the titles of several works, three of which, he says, he had seen, that had been written and published by Cockburn during his distinguished though brief career. The armorial bearings of Dame Alison Sandilands, his mother, exhibit the ancient relationship between the "illustrious family of Calder" and the doughty and puissant house of Douglas.

The barony and parish of Ormiston continued to be the property of the Cockburns, from the middle of the fourteenth century, when John, second son of Sir Alexander Cockburn of that ilk, married the only daughter of Sir Alexander Lindsay, its former proprietor, till the year 1747, when it was purchased by the ancestor of its present owner, the Earl of Hope-ton, from Captain George Cockburn, one of the Commissioners of the Navy, and who, when he died at Brighton in 1770, was supposed to be the last of his house. Besides Sir John, the brother of the subject of Buchanan's elegiac stanzas, the house of Ormiston produced several distinguished lawyers, statesmen, and patriots, among whom may be mentioned Adam Cockburn, the Lord Justice-Clerk, who was one of the most active Scottish politicians under William III. and Queen Anne; and his son John, the celebrated agriculturist, who, representing his county in Parliament, was instrumental in promoting various important measures connected with trade, as well as with husbandry, towards advancing the general material wellbeing of the nation.

The following is the inscription on the brass :—

Omnia quæ longa indulget mortalibus ætas,
Hæc tibi, Alexander, prima juvena dedit.
Cum genere et forma generoso sanguine digna,
Ingenium velox, ingenuumque animum.



Drawn by

by W. A. H. Johnson, Esq.

Excoluit virtus animum ingeniumque Camenæ
 Successu, studio, consilioque pari.
 His ducibus primum peragrata Britannia, deinde
 Gallia ad armiferos qua patet Helvetios :
 Doctus ibi linguas, quas Roma, Sion, et Athenæ,
 Quas cum Germano Gallia docta sonat.
 Te licet in prima rapuerunt fata juvenia
 Non immaturo funere raptus obis.
 Omnibus officiis vitæ qui functus obivit,
 Non fas hunc vitæ est de brevitate queri.

Hic conditur Mr Alexander Cockburn
 primogenitus Joannis Domini Ormiston
 et Alisonæ Sandilands ex preclara
 familia Calder, qui natus 13 Januarii 1535.
 Post insignem linguarum professionem
 Obiit, anno ætatis suæ 28, Calen. Septe.

[The monumental brass described by Mr Struthers is of peculiar interest; and as few specimens of the kind exist in Scotland, it was thought desirable to give a reduced fac-simile of the "rubbing," presented by Mr Struthers (see Plate VII.) There can, I think, be no doubt that this brass was contemporaneous (about the year 1564), or at least of the same period and style with that of the Regent Earl of Murray (1570), inserted in the Proceedings, vol. i. page 196, and it may have been executed by the same hand. It is also somewhat remarkable, that the inscriptions on both plates were written by the illustrious Buchanan. In the editions of his poems, line 3 reads, "*stemmate digna*;" line 7, "*peragrata Britannia*;" and the last line, "*Non fas est vitæ*." Alexander Cockburn, according to this inscription, was born in January 1535-6, and died in the calends of September (*i.e.*, in August) 1564. Buchanan, in the concluding couplet of some other verses, thus alludes to Cockburn's early death:—

Si numeres annos, cecidit florente juvenia:
 Si studia et mores et benefacta, senex.—D. L.]

MONDAY, 13th May 1861.

PROFESSOR J. Y. SIMPSON, M.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following Gentleman was balloted for and elected a Corresponding Member of the Society :—

M. LE MEN, Archiviste du Département Quimper, Finistère, France.

The Chairman called attention to the recent loss sustained by the Society through the death of Mr JAMES JOHNSTONE, F.S.A. Scot., one of the Curators, whose services on behalf of the Museum had been of great value.

Mr Joseph Robertson reported that the Committee on the Restoration of the Cross, appointed by the Society on the 11th of March, had met with a committee appointed by the Royal Scottish Academy, and that this joint committee, after several meetings, had, on the 9th instant, unanimously agreed upon a Report, which he now submitted to the meeting. The Report stated that the committee, having satisfied themselves that an exact restoration of the Cross of 1617 was quite practicable, had communicated their views to Mr Bryce, architect, who kindly agreed to prepare a plan in accordance with them. This plan had been carefully considered by the committee, and they unanimously recommended its adoption. It is not only an unquestionable restoration of the Cross which was taken down in 1756, but it proves that building to have been a very fine example of the national architecture of Scotland before the Union.

The Donations laid on the table were as follows, and thanks were voted to the donors :—

Two Plaster Casts of an Axe Head, or Celt, of brown-coloured sandstone, 6 inches long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across face. Found near Crozon, France.

Two Plaster Casts of a Black Flint Celt, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch across face. Found, with eight others, at Lossère, Finistère, France.

Six Bronze chisel-shaped, looped and socketed Celts, 5 inches long, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch across face. Found near Quimper, France.

Two Plaster Casts of a Bronze looped, socketed Celt, ornamented on

each side with three longitudinal projecting lines terminating in small circles; 5 inches long, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch across face;

Two Plaster Casts of Bronze looped, socketed Celts, each 6 inches long, and 2 inches across face, with ornamented moulding round the top, and four projecting lines on each side. Found near Rennes, France.

Portion of rude Urn of reddish clay, which contained two of the Bronze Celts found near Quimper, France.

By M. LE MEN, Archiviste du Département Quimper, France, Corr.
Mem. S.A. Scot.

Sculptured Stone, 4 feet long by 2 feet 3 inches broad, and 8 inches thick, on which is incised, a crescent-shaped ornament, and a line describing three-quarters of a circle. From West Princes Street Gardens, Edinburgh. By the PROPRIETORS OF THE GARDENS.

Iron Grated Door, measuring 5 feet 4 inches in height, and 3 feet in breadth, formed of interlaced bars; with a chain attached, 26 inches long; and an Iron Grating for Window, 4 feet, by 2 feet 4 inches. From the room in Old St Giles' Church, called "Haddo's Hole." By SIR WILLIAM GIBSON CRAIG of Riccarton, Bart., Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Portions of a large Cinerary Urn of reddish clay, showing a black fracture, and rudely ornamented with crossed lines on the upper part. It contained portions of burnt bones, and was found in trenching a field at Tranent. By JOHN CADELL of Tranent, Esq.

Iron Three-sided Pike-head, found during excavations at Edinburgh Castle in 1858. By Mr THOMAS MOWBRAY, through the Rev. JOHN SIME, F.S.A. Scot.

Badges of Dalkeith Rifle Volunteers. Circular badge surmounted by crown, with thistle in centre—MIDLOTHIAN 2D REGIMENT, 1798. Circular badge, DALKEITH RIFLE VOLUNTEERS, 1860; displaying in centre, armorial bearings with supporters, and motto, "OLIM CUSTODES SEMPER DEFENSORES." By Mr JOHN M'GOWAN, Sergeant, D.R.V.

Iron-headed Spear, or "Assagais," with wooden shaft;

Bamboo Staff, called a "Pilgrim's Staff;"

Wooden Root-grubber—all from the Cape of Good Hope;

By WILLIAM A. BELL, Esq., Cape of Good Hope.

Circular Brass Tinder Box, with ornamented perforated handle and cover, also a flint and steel. By Mr JAMES J. HUNTER.

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Characteristics of Old Church Architecture, &c., in the Mainland and Western Islands of Scotland. By Thomas S. Muir. 4to. Edinburgh, 1861. By Messrs EDMONSTONE and DOUGLAS, Publishers, Edinburgh.

Flint Implements in the Drift; being an Account of their Discovery on the Continent and in England, 4to (pp. 28.) Lond., 1860. By JOHN EVANS, Esq. (the Author).

Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Part 2. 8vo. Dublin, 1861. By the Right Hon. LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art. Vol. V., 8vo. Toronto. 1860. By the COUNCIL OF THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE, Toronto.

Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club. Vol. IV. No. 4. (pp. 60.) 8vo. 1861. By GEORGE TATE, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Series of Works printed for the Members of the Irish Archæological Society and Celtic Society of Ireland; 17 vols. 4to., and 6 vols. 8vo. By the COUNCIL OF THE JOINT SOCIETIES.

These works are as follows:—

I. *Publications of the Irish Archæological Society.*

1841.—1. Tracts relating to Ireland. Vol. I.

2. The Annals of Ireland. By JAMES GRACE of Kilkenny.

1842.—1. The Battle of Magh Rath (Moirá), in the original Irish. With translation and notes.

2. Tracts relating to Ireland. Vol. II.

1843.—1. An Account of the Tribes and Customs of the District of Hy-Many.

2. The Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Dublin.

1844.—1. An Account of the Tribes and Customs of the District of Hy-Fiachrach.

1845.—1. A Description of West, or H-Iar Connaught; with notes and an appendix.

- 1846.—The Miscellany of the Irish Archæological Society. Vol. I.
 1847.—The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius, or, as it is called in Irish MSS. *Leabhar Breatnach*, The British Book.
 1848.—The Latin Annalists of Ireland; with Introductory Remarks and Notes.
 1849–50.—*Macariæ Excidium*, the Destruction of Cyprus; being a secret History of the Civil War in Ireland, under James II. By Colonel Charles O'Kelly.
 1851.—Acts of Archbishop Colton in his Visitation of the Diocese of Derry, A.D. 1397.
 1852.—Sir William Petty's Narrative of his Proceedings in the Survey of Ireland.

II. *Publications of the Celtic Society.*

- 1847.—*Leabhar na y-Ceart*, or, The Book of Rights; a Treatise on the Rights and Privileges of the Ancient Kings of Ireland.
 1848–52.—*Cambrensis Eversus*; or, Refutation of the Authority of Giraldus Cambrensis on the History of Ireland. By Dr John Lynch. (1662.) With Translation and copious Notes. Three vols.
 1849.—Miscellany of the Celtic Society.
 1853.—*Cath Muighe Lena*. The Battle of Magh Lena; an ancient historic Tale.

III. *Publications of the United Irish Archæological and Celtic Society.*

- 1854.—*Liber Hymnorum*: The Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland.
 1855–1856.—The Life of St Columba, by Adamnan, Ninth Abbot of Hy (or Iona). The Latin text, accompanied by various readings.
 1857.—A Mediæval Tract on Latin Declension, with examples, explained in Irish.

The following communications were read:—

I.

A DECLARATION AGAINST THE NATIONAL COVENANTS OF SCOTLAND, 1685. COMMUNICATED BY DAVID LAING, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

(THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT WAS EXHIBITED BY JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D.,
SEC. S.A., SCOT.)

There prevails a very general misconception regarding the National Covenants and Confessions of Faith, received at various times by the people of Scotland. The three most memorable are,—

I. The NATIONAL COVENANT, or the KING'S CONFESSIOⁿ, signed by James VI. and his household in 1580.

II. The same NATIONAL COVENANT or CONFESSIOⁿ, renewed, with additions, when Presbytery was triumphant in Scotland, in 1638.

III. THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT for England as well as Scotland, in 1643.

I shall not enlarge on these public deeds, having, several years ago, read a paper to the Society on the subject, when exhibiting various copies of them with original signatures. I allude to the subject at this time, in immediate connexion with a Declaration of an opposite character, signed by the Lord Chancellor, the Judges of the Court of Session, and other officials, the original of which will now be exhibited to the meeting by my friend Dr John Alex. Smith.

Before reading this document, which has no date, but which unquestionably was written and signed in the year 1685, a few stray notices of the reaction that took place subsequent to the Restoration, regarding these Religious Covenants, may be adduced, by way of supplement, to my former communication.

It is well known that Charles II., after some negotiations, in 1650, was invited to Scotland by the Covenanters, and that he solemnly swore to observe and uphold the NATIONAL COVENANT, and SOLEMN LEAGUE and COVENANT, at the time of his coronation at Scone, on the 1st day of January 1651. His sincerity in taking this oath has never been maintained : it was a mere political artifice, which signally failed to serve his purpose. After his Restoration, therefore, in 1660, neither he nor the adherents of Episcopacy were likely to regard such Covenants with any, the least favour.

One of the earliest demonstrations that occurred was the burning of the Covenant, by the hands of the common hangman, at London, 22d May 1661. This proceeding was imitated with similar profanity at Linlithgow, on the king's birthday, 29th May 1662. Both events were commemorated in the form of what Wodrow calls "senseless roundells and ballads," which were printed at the time, or circulated in manuscript.

Twenty years later, when religious persecution was at its height, some of the Covenanters issued violent Declarations at Rutherglen, Sanquhar, Lanark, and other places, against the tyrannical proceedings of the Government. Thus, on the 12th of January 1682, thirty to forty of the Cameronian party came to the town of Lanark, and at the market-cross publicly burned the Act of Parliament concerning the Test, issuing at the same time a proclamation of their own, denouncing the King as a tyrant. For this outrage the Privy Council lost no time in imposing a fine of 6000 merks on the town of Lanark; and still further to manifest their displeasure, on the 18th of that month they caused the Solemn League and Covenant, with the Lanark Declaration, and what was called Cargill's Covenant, to be burnt by the hangman at the Cross of Edinburgh, the magistrates being present in their scarlet robes. Fountain-hall, in noticing this proceeding, says, "Some thought it but a sorry politique to burn the Solemn League, to revive the memory of what was so long ago buried in oblivion;"¹ and, in another place, he adds, "This set people more a work to buy it and read it."²

In the Oath "to be taken by all persons in publick trust," known as the Test, imposed the last of August 1681, there is this declaration

"That there lies no obligation on me from the NATIONAL COVENANT, or the SOLEMN LEAGUE and COVENANT (so commonlie called), or any other manner of way whatsoever, to endeavour any Change or alteration in the Government, either in Church or State, as it is now established by the Laws of this Kingdom."

The original document in MS., now exhibited, formed a sequence to the Test Act, and is a DECLARATION by the LORDS AND SENATORS OF THE COLLEGE OF JUSTICE against the lawfulness of the NATIONAL COVENANT

¹ "Historical Observes," p. 58.

² "Historical Notices," vol. ii. p. 346.

and SOLEMN LEAGUE. It is indorsed, "THE DECLARATION," and is in the following terms:—

"I Doe sincerely affirme and declaire, That I judge it unlawfull to subjects upon pretence of reformation, or other pretence whatsoever, To enter into Leagues and Covenants, or to take up armes against the King or these commissioned by him, And that all these gatherings, convocations, petitions, protestations, and erecting and keeping of Councill tables that were vsed in the beginnings and for carrieing on of the late troubles, were unlawfull and seditious; And particularly that these oathes whereof the on[e] was comonlie called THE NATIONALL COVENANT (as it was sworne and explained in the year on[e] thousand sex hundreth and threttie eight and thereafter); and the other, entituled, A SOLEMNE LEAGUE AND COVENANT, were and are in themselves unlawfull oathes, and were taken by and imposed upon the subjects of this Kingdome against the fundamental Lawes and Liberties of the same, and that there lyeth noe obligation upon me, or any of the subjects from the saids oathes or either of them, To endeavour any change or alteration of the Government either in Church or State as it is now Established by the lawes of the Kingdome.

QUEENSBERRIE *Thes.*
ATHOLL

AL. GIBSONE
RO. M'KENZIE
JA. DALRYMPLE
MR W. MORE

J. WEDDERBURN
JO. FOULIS
GEO. ROBERTSON
D. GREME.

PERTH, *Cancell.*
DA. FALCONAR
GEO: M'KENZIE
JA: FOULIS
J. LOCKHART
DAVID BALFOUR
JAMES FOULIS
A. SETON
ROGER HOG
A. BERNIE
PATRICK OGILVIE
J. MURRAY
GEO: NICOLSON
J. WAUCHOPH
T. STEUART
P. LYON."

On examining the Privy Council Records and Acts of Sederunt to ascertain its date, I find no notice of this DECLARATION ; but it may safely be assigned to the month of April or May 1685, or soon after the accession of King James II. King Charles II. died on the 6th of February 1685. In the Proclamation by his successor it is intimated,—“ That it hath pleased God this day to call out of this life from the possession of an earthly diadem, *to the fruition of an eternal crown of glory*, His late Majesty our Royal and most dearly beloved Brother Charles the Second,” &c. The Declaration is nearly in the same words as an Act of Parliament passed on the 6th of May 1685. We also know that James Earl of Perth was appointed Lord Chancellor 21st June 1684, and that Sir David Falconar of Newton died on the 15th December 1685. Of the Clerks who sign, Alexander Gibsone of Pentland, was Clerk of the Privy Council. Roderick Mackenzie (brother of Lord Tarbat), and Sir James Dalrymple of Killoch, were Principal Clerks of Session. The last name is “D. Graeme.” Charles II., on the 19th June 1684, directed a letter in favour of Mr David Graham, tutor of Gorthie, to be conjoint Clerk of the Bills with Mr John Wedderburn of Blackness, Advocate. But this letter was not produced, nor ordered to be recorded, until the 4th of February 1685, or two days before the King’s death.¹

At the meeting of Privy Council, on the 20th of April 1685 :—

“ The Lord Newton, president, produced a New Commission, granted by the King’s Majestie in favours of the whole Lords Ordinarie and Extraordinarie,” whereof the tenor is inserted in that day’s minute, and the names of the judges are thus specified :—

SIR DAVID FALCONAR of Newton, President,
 SIR GEORGE M’KENZIE of Tarbat, Clerk-Register,
 SIR JAMES FOULIS of Colinton, Justice-Clerk,
 SIR JOHN LOCKHART of Castlehill,
 SIR DAVID BALFOUR of Forrett,
 SIR JAMES FOULIS Junior, of Redfuid,
 SIR ALEXANDER SEATON of Pitmedden,
 SIR ROGER HOG of Harcarse,
 SIR ANDREW BIRNIE of Saline,

¹ Acts of Sederunt, 1790, p. 164.

SIR PATRICK OGILVIE of Boyne,
 SIR JOHN MURRAY of Drumcarnie,
 SIR GEORGE NICOLSON of Kemnay,
 JOHN WAUCHOPE of Edmonston,
 SIR THOMAS STEWART of Blair, and
 SIR PATRICK LYON of Carse,

Ordinary Lords and Senators of our College of Justice. Also,
 WILLIAM DUKE of QUEENSBERRIE, our Principal Treasurer of
 our said Kingdom of Scotland,
 JOHN MARQUESS of ATHOLL, Keeper of our Privy Seal,
 ALEXANDER EARL of MORAY, Secretary for our Ancient King-
 dom of Scotland, and
 CHARLES EARL of MIDDLETON,

Extraordinary Lords; and the said SIR DAVID FALCONER to be Presi-
 dent in the absence of our Chancellor (dated 3d March 1685).

“After reading of which Commission (it is added), the Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor; the Lord Newton, President; Tarbett, Clerk Register; Collington, Justice-Clerk; Castlehill, Forrett, Redfuid, Pitmeddie, Harcars, Saline, Boyne, Drumcarnie, and Balcaskie, Ordinar Lords of Session, nominated by the foresaid Commission; and the Marques of Atholl, Lord Privy Seall, one of the Extraordinarie Lords of Session, being present, did all take the Oath of Alledgiance and the Test upon their knees, and did subscribe the Test and Declaration. And the Lord Chancellor did administer the Oath *De Fidei Administratione* to the Lord President, and the rest of the Lords who were present.”

Other two of the Judges took the oaths on the 2d of May.

Wodrow, in his great zeal, notices that three “most iniquitous Acts were made” by the Scottish Parliament, on the 6th of May 1685; “the first, whereof, my written account says, was passed *nemine contradicente*; and all of them, with the former two, were that same day touched with the sceptre, to the lasting reproach of this Parliament, and as evidences what men, Protestants, and Presbyterians in particular, may expect under a Popish Prince. They demand (he adds) our particular consideration.”

The first of these three Acts is that against the Covenants, and is the only one which it is necessary to quote:—

"OUR SOVEREIGN LORD and Estates of Parliament, do hereby declare, that the giving or taking the Nationall Covenant, as explained in the year 1638, or of the League and Covenant (so commonly called) or writing in defence thereof, or owning them as lawfull or obligatory on themselves or others, shall infer the crime and pains of Treason."¹

Wodrow adds, "No doubt, by this Act the Prelates and enemies of Presbyterians reckoned they had gotten the *Grave-stone* put upon the Covenanted Work of Reformation; but a very great body of people still owned it, and that notwithstanding this Iniquity established by a Law; and this work, which was THE GLORY OF THESE KINGDOMS, had and hath its witnesses, and even a resurrection at the Happy Revolution, when our Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, were legally settled."²

I shall not occupy any time in quoting Wodrow's farther reflections as to "how much iniquity and wickedness is wrapped up in this short Act;" but only add, that it was, as he justly remarks, a necessary prelude to the intended introduction of Popery into Scotland.

Dr JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH stated, he accidentally met with this very interesting original document in a collection of miscellaneous papers, where it had been apparently overlooked, in the possession of his friend, R. E. SCOTT, Esq., C.A.³ He alluded to the fact, as shown by the document itself, of the complete agreement between the arbitrary will of King James VII., immediately upon his Accession, and the whole staff of Officials of the COLLEGE OF JUSTICE in Scotland.

Dr Smith added, that as Mr Laing's former communication on the NATIONAL COVENANTS had been read during the interval between the printing of the *ARCHÆOLOGIA SCOTICA* and the commencement of the New Series of the Society's Proceedings, he begged to propose that it should now be placed on record by being printed in the PROCEEDINGS of the Society.

This suggestion was unanimously approved of by the Meeting. The communication is accordingly here annexed.

¹ Acts, Parl. Scot., vol. viii. p. 460.

² Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 519.

³ At a subsequent meeting, Dr Smith, through the kind permission of Mr Scott, deposited this original document for preservation among the collections of the Society.

THE NAMES OF SOME OF THE PERSONS WHO HAVE ORIGINAL COPIES
OF OUR COVENANTS, NATIONAL AND SOLEMN LEAGUE, (ABOUT
THE YEAR 1720.)

*From a MS. Paper in the possession of Mr LAING, Treasurer S.A. Scot.; with
Additional Notices, and Remarks on the National Covenants of Scotland.*

[*Read to the Society 24th May 1847.*]

[Along with several copies of these Covenants, with original signatures, there was exhibited to the meeting a large Historical painting by Mr ALEXANDER CRISHOLM of London, representing the signing of the National Covenant in the Greyfriars' Church Yard, Edinburgh, in the year 1688, in which portraits of the chief personages are introduced.]

The adoption of Solemn Bands or Covenants, and of Confessions of Faith, has always, in Protestant countries, had a powerful influence in furthering religious movements. I have been led to notice this class of documents, from having lately met with a descriptive account of a considerable number of written copies of our Scottish Confessions, with the names of the respective proprietors, in the early part of the last century. It seems to me curious, and worthy of preservation. To add some interest to this dry list, I have collected for exhibition to the meeting several of these Confessions, with original signatures; and I propose to give a succinct notice of the chief documents of this class received by the people of Scotland during the last half of the sixteenth and first part of the following Century.

The paper to which I allude has no name or date, and I can only conjecture it may have been prepared for the work known as "Dunlop's Collection of Confessions," Edinburgh, 1719 and 1722, 2 vols. small 8vo, of which a third volume was promised, but which unfortunately never appeared. It is as follows.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE NAMES OF SOME OF THE PERSONS WHO HAVE ORIGINAL
COPIES OF OUR COVENANTS, NATIONAL AND SOLEMN LEAGUE.

First.—Of the NATIONAL COVENANT of the Church of Scotland.

1. The parchment copy subscribed by King James the 6th and his Household, the 28th January 1580, is lying in the Advocates Library, in the Laigh Parliament House, Edinburgh.

2. The parchment copy subscribed anno 1688, by the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commons, is in the hands of Mr William Hogg, merchant in Edinburgh.

3. There is another parchment copy of the said Covenant, finely wrote and illustrate with gold letters, in the foressaid Library, subscribed by the Nobility, the same year.

4. My Lord Colvin has an original copy on parchment, finly illustrate with gold letters, subscribed by the Nobility and many others, the same year.

5. Sir John Clark of Pennicook has two original copies of the said Covenant on parchment, subscribed by the Nobility and others, the same year.

6. Sir John Maxwell of Pollock has a subscribed parchment copy of the said National Covenant.

7. Sir Thomas Dalmahoy of that ilk has a parchment copy, finely illuminate with gold letters, subscribed by the Nobility and others, the same year.

8. Colonel Erskine at Courose (Culross) has two parchment copies, subscribed by the Nobility and others, the foressaid year.

9. James Whyte, merchant in Edinburgh, in the Fishmarket, has a parchment copy, subscribed by the Nobility and others, the same year.

10. William Wardrop, chyrurgeon in the Grass Mercat, Edinburgh, has a parchment copy, subscribed by the Nobility and many others, of the same year.

11. James Wilson, smith in Edinburgh, near the foot of Libberton's Wynd, has a parchment copy, subscribed by the Nobility and others, of the same year.

12. Nicol Nisbet, writer and messenger in Edinburgh, at the foot of Conn's Closs, has a parchment copy, subscribed by the Nobility and others, the same year.

13. There is a copy of the said National Covenant recorded in the Kirk Session Book of Linlithgow, subscribed by the Magistrates, Ministers, and others.

14. Thomas Ronald, Provost of Linlithgow, has an original copy of the said Covenant, on parchment, with many principal subscriptions of the Nobility and others, of the said year.

15. Mr James Hart, minister of the Gospel at Edinburgh, has an original copy of the said Covenant, on parchment, with many principal subscriptions of the Nobility and others, of the same year.

16. Mr Woodrow, minister of the Gospel at Eastwood, has an original copy of the said Covenant, on parchment, subscribed by the Nobility and a great many others, of the said year.

17. Mr ———, curate in Doune, has an original copy, on parchment, illustrat with gold letters, subscribed by the Nobility and many others, about the same year.

18. Joseph Francis his landalord, in Irvin, has an original copy of the said Covenant, on parchment, with the principal subscriptions of the Nobility, 1640 and 1641.

19. Marion Warrie, spouse to ——— Donaldson, in Farme, has an original copy,

on parchment, finely printed in two columns, subscribed by the Nobility and many others, about the said time.

20. Ann Goodale, in Leith, relict to Mr Lyon, has a parchment copy of the said Covenant, subscribed by the Nobility and others.

21. George Paton, bookseller in Linlithgow, has a parchment copy, finely printed on parchment, in two columns, but the subscriptions are much worn out.

22. — Dundass of that ilk, has a parchment copy of the said Covenant, subscribed by the Nobility, lying in his Charter Chest.

Secondly.—Of the SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT of Scotland, England, and Ireland.

1. Mr John M'Millan, minister of the Gospel at Balmagie, living at the Forth, has a copie finely printed on paper, in 4to, and with several sheets of clean paper, subscribed by the Minister and Parish of —, 1648; all their own subscriptions.

2. Alexander Young, writer in Edinburgh, in the Cowgate, has another of the said printed copies, with the names of the minister and parishioners of the parish of Temple.

3. Mr James Kid, minister at the Queensferry, has a printed copy, with 228 of the names of the Members of the House of Commons of the Parliament of England, who had taken it 1648.

4. Mr Ralph Erskin, minister at Dumfermline, has another of the said copies subscribed by the Ministers and Parishioners of the said parish, both 1648 and 1648, all their own subscriptions.

5. Mr John Geddie, minister at Couras (Culross), has another printed copy, subscribed by the Ministers and Parishioners of Couras, both 1648 and 1648, all their own subscriptions that could write.

6. Mr James Anderson, Writer to the Signet at Edinburgh, has the Original parchment copy of both the National and Solemn League and Covenant, subscribed by King Charles the 2d, the Nobility, and others, at his Coronation at Scoon, January 1st, 1651.

Nota.

Several of the copies of the National Covenant bear both the writers names and designations.

The Solemn League in Culross, and several of the parchment copies of the National Covenant, are subscribed by a notar for those who could not write.

The running title above the names of that copy in the Session Book of Linlithgow is wrote thus :—THE SUBSCRIBERS OF THE COVENANT.

The running title above the names of all these four copies of the Solemn League and Covenant is in print thus :—THE SUBSCRIBERS OF THE LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

The copy of the Solemn League in Mr Erskin's hand, is finely bound in calf

leather, and hes upon each syd of the cover, in gold letters, thus :—FOR THE KIRK OF DUMFERMLING.

The copy of the same in Mr Geddie's hand is bound the same way, and hes upon each syd of the cover, in gold letters also, thus :—FOR THE KIRK OF CULROSS.

Most of the copies of the National Covenant subscribed anno 1688 are quoted on the back thus :—THE CONFESSION OF FAITH.

The copies of the Solemn League and Covenant in Mr Erskin's and Mr Geddes's hands have the Acts of the Commission of the Assembly, and Committees of Parliament approving and appointing the taking and renewing of the said Covenant, anno 1643 and 1648. Printed and bound immediately before the said Covenant. Which Acts are to be seen in the Confessions of Faith printed at Edinburgh 1725.

The copy of the Solemn League in Mr Kid's hand has the Ordinance of the Lords and Commons enjoining the taking of the Solemn League and Covenant throughout the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, 2 February 1643-4 ; and the Exhortation of the Assembly of Divines at the taking of the Solemn League and Covenant ; both printed and bound in the same paper, immediately preceding the Covenants, which are also printed in the above Collection of Confessions from 98 to 107 page.

The Solemn League and Covenant are always subscribed in two columns. And the copy for the parish of Dumfermling bears the day, month, and place where every person subscribed the same, which date is always set doune in the same column where the persons subscribe, immediately after the names of those who last subscribed before them ; for it seems they did not subscribe the said Covenant all at the same time.

The Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Burgeesses, Ministers and Commons of all sorts, were so clearly convinced of the duty and lawfulness of National Covenanting with God for the maintenance and defence of the true Reformed religion, that in the year 1688 every shyre in Scotland had an original copy of the said National Covenant written on parchment, whereupon the said Shyre subscribed ; and several of the Nobility likewise caused coppies to be fynly wrote on parchment, and subscribed the same ; and also caused others of the Nobility subscribe the same (besides the coppies for the shyre), which the said Nobility laid up in their charter-chests, and kept for themselves, where many of the same are yet lying ; which is the reason of so many original coppies ; and ordinarily the foresaid Nobility, &c., having at the meeting at Edinburgh first subscribed the coppies which were sent to the several shyres to be subscribed by themselves, which is the reason of the names of some of the said persons are set doune in so many of the old coppies : And also every parish in this Church had coppies of the said Covenant, which they subscribed.

And as to the Solemn League : Besides the main and principal parchment, which the King and whole representatives of the kingdom solemnly entered into and renewed, every parish within the Church of Scotland had likewise a principall

coppie printed and bound with several sheets of clean paper, as above said, upon which the whole parishioners subscribed by appointment of the General Assembly and Parliament.

It is somewhat remarkable that so many as 24 principal coppies of the National Covenant, and six of the Solemn League, should be yet preserved, besides many others which are lying in charter chests, publick records, and private hands, after so great a fire and fury of the Prelatick malignant faction, kindled at the Prelatick apostacy 1660, to burn and consume to ashes the said Covenants and all that owned them, especially considering that these Covenants and records were kept lying in the hands of these very men who did profess and subscribe the same, annis 1638, 1643, and 1648, long before they apostatized to Prelacy; after which they used their utmost dilligence entirely to destroy them.

James Wilson's copy, No. 11, is by him gifted to the Trades Chappell called Magdalen Chappell, belonging to the Hammerman of Edinburgh, and is there hung up.

Since there prevails a very general misconception respecting our National Covenants, under the general name of the Solemn League, I shall mention them somewhat in detail, while describing various copies preserved either in public collections, or exhibited to the present meeting. [In printing this paper, I make no apology for supplying within brackets some additional information obtained since the communication itself was laid before the Society, fourteen years ago.]

I. THE EARLIEST RELIGIOUS BANDS.

Four belonging to the years 1557, 1559, and 1560, are inserted by Knox¹ and Calderwood² in their Histories of the Reformation in Scotland. The first is the Common or Godly Band, by the Lords of the Congregation, dated at Edinburgh, 3d of December 1557. The second is the Band for Mutual Defence, at Perth, last of May 1559. The third at Stirling, 1st of August 1559. And the fourth, being a Band for expelling the French, at Edinburgh, 27th of April 1560. Another Band, subscribed by the barons and gentlemen of Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham, at Ayr, 4th September 1562, is also preserved by Knox.³ Another by the Citizens of Edinburgh, in 1572, is mentioned in Richard Banna-

¹ Knox's Works, vol. i. pp. 278, 344, 382; vol. ii. pp. 61-64.

² Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 326, 458, 489, and 584.

³ Knox, vol. ii. p. 348.

tyne's Memorials; but no original copies of any of these Bands, with signatures, have been discovered.

[At the Tercentenary of the Scottish Reformation, commemorated at Edinburgh in August 1860, an original copy of "THE COMMON, OR GODLIE BAND" of 1557 was exhibited by the Rev. James Young, who read at the same time an interesting "Comment on that Document." The original is on paper, with only five signatures, namely, of the Earls of Argyle, Glencarne, and Morton, Archibald Lord Lorn, and John Erskine of Dun. It had recently been discovered among the family papers of the Erskines of Little Sauchy. Mr Young's communication is included in the volume which was printed in commemoration of the proceedings of that great convention.]

II. THE CONFESSION OF FAITH, 1560.

This was prepared, at the request of the Scottish Parliament, chiefly by Knox, within the short space of four days, and contains a brief and lucid statement of the great doctrines of the Protestant faith. It was read and approved by the Estates of Parliament on the 17th of August that year; and having received the public sanction, both of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, it seems never to have received individual signatures. There were three editions of it printed in the year 1561, two at Edinburgh, and one at London. [It is reprinted from the first edition in Knox's Works, vol. ii. p. 93.]

When the Parliament assembled at Edinburgh, under the regency of James, Earl of Murray, in December 1567, all the Acts which had been passed in 1560, in favour of the Protestant religion and against Popery, were ratified; and likewise the Confession of Faith, which thus became part of the public statutes of the kingdom. It is included in all subsequent collections of Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.

III. THE KING'S CONFESSION, IN 1580.

This Confession was drawn up by Mr John Craig, minister of Holyrood House, and was called the King's, or the Negative Confession, to distinguish it from the Confession in 1560, which has an affirmative form, and was adopted as a mode of preventing defection, by a solemn renunciation of the errors of Popery. It was printed at the time in

various forms, and was translated into different languages. The original parchment deed, with signatures, now very much faded, is in the Advocates' Library. We can however trace the names of King James the Sixth, the Earls of Lennox, Morton, and Argyll, Lord Ruthven, the two ministers of the King's Household, John Craig and John Duncanson, and other thirty-one persons, chiefly connected with the royal household, at Edinburgh, 28th of January 1580-81. I gave a careful collation of this copy, with the names of subscribers, in the Wodrow Society edition of Row's History, pp. 74-77; Edinburgh, 1842, 8vo. [It has since been published in a lithograph fac-simile.]

In the Register-book of Laureations in the University of Edinburgh, a copy of this Confession is inserted, and signed, in 1585, by Mr John Craig, Mr James Hamilton, Mr Robert Rollok, designed Primarius, Mr Duncan Narne, Regens, and Mr Charles Lumisden, Regens. The first class of students who graduated in 1587 under Rollok, to the number of forty-seven, and those of each succeeding year, on taking the degree of of A.M., signing their names in the Register, were considered as subscribing the said Covenant. [See this copy printed in the "Catalogue of Graduates of the University of Edinburgh;" Edinburgh, 1858, 8vo.]

Another copy of this Confession, signed by King James the Sixth, the Earls of Lennox and Huntley, the Lord Chancellor, and about ninety-five other persons, "At Halyrudhous, the 25th of February 1587 (1587-8), and of His Majesty's reigne the 21," is in the possession of Sir John Maxwell of Pollok.

At this time the country was much alarmed by the threatened Spanish Armada, as well as by the increase of Popery. "A General Band, made for the maintenance of the Trew and Christian Religion, and the King's Majesties person and estate" was added to this Confession. The original Band, signed by the King and diverse of the Estates in 1588, is deposited in the University Library, Glasgow. On the 13th March 1589-90, the Lords of Secret Council authorized Robert Waldegrave to print an edition of the Confession, the Band of Maintenance, and Act of Secret Council against the adversaries of true religion, served Jesuites and seminarie priests, for the purpose of receiving "*De Novo* the Subscriptions of all Nobillmen, Barons, Gentlemen, and others, his Hieness' lieges, of quhatsoever degree." To what extent such subscrip-

tions may have been made is uncertain; and of the few printed copies still existing, the pages appropriated for receiving the names of subscribers are usually wanting. In the copy I have, which is now exhibited, the leaves are blank. But we know, that on the 30th of March 1596, the Confession was again received and subscribed by the greater part of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and the example was followed in other parts of the country.

According to an old Ecclesiastical Historian, "this Confession was the touchstone to try and discern Papists from Protestants," and "for the exactness and worthiness thereof is much esteemed in all other Christian Kirks professing sinceritie." (Row, p. 78.) The King, at this time, 2d March 1580-81, gave charge to all commissioners and ministers within this realme to crave the same Confession of their parishioners, and to proceed against the refusers, &c. In the following month (April 1581), it was formally approved of by the General Assembly.

IV. THE NATIONAL COVENANT, 1638.

At the period of what has been called The Second Reformation, in 1638, it was resolved to renew the National Covenant, with such additions, "as the change of tyme and the present occasion requyred." The Earl of Rothes, in his "Relation," states that the task was committed to Alexander Henderson, then minister of Leuchars, and Archibald Johnston of Warriston. The additions consisted chiefly in a formal abjuration of Episcopal Church Government, as the Confession itself was of Popery. Having satisfied the scruples of some brethren on a few points, and discourses suited for the occasion having been delivered by many of the leading ministers, the Confession, as thus enlarged, was publicly read, signed with the greatest unanimity and enthusiasm on the last of February and the first of March 1638, by the greater number of the nobility and barons, and three hundred of the clergy, besides burgesses and others from all parts of the kingdom. The scene was the Churchyard of the Gray Friars, Edinburgh, and forms the subject of the interesting historical painting, which the artist Mr ALEXANDER CHISHOLM (a native of Scotland, but settled in London), most obligingly acceding to a request I made, has allowed to be exhibited at this meeting of the Society.

On the following day, the 2d of March, it was concluded that copies

of this NATIONAL COVENANT should be provided for every shire, baillery, stewardry, or district judicatory; also copies for every parish throughout the kingdom, to contain the signatures of all persons who were communicants. Three days later, on the 5th of March, it was further resolved, to ensure accuracy, That the only copies to which the noblemen shall subscribe, be written by the three Notaries-Public, James Cheyne, John Nicoll, and William Henderson, the writers of the Protestation which was made at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 22d of February that year. The Protestation alluded to, with other official papers of the time by the Covenanters, will be found in Lord Rothes's Relation, printed for the Bannatyne Club in 1830; and the original deed, preserved in the Society's Museum, is herewith exhibited.

To account for the number of copies of this CONFESSION having the same signatures, it may be explained, that for the effectual prosecution of the great cause which the Covenanters had solemnly sworn to promote, four Committees were appointed, consisting of the leading noblemen, barons, burgesses, and ministers, and known by the name of "THE TABLES," who attached their names to the several copies sent, in accordance with the above resolution, to all parts of the kingdom. Copies have occasionally been sold in London for a high price, being described as the original of an important historical document. The noblemen whose names are usually attached to these copies may be mentioned: the Earls of BALCARRES, CASSILLIS, DALHOUSIE, EGLINTOUN, HOME, LINDESAY, LOTHIAN, LOUDOUN, MONTROSE, ROTHES, WEMYSS; the Lords BALMERINO, BOYD, BURGHELY, COUPER, CRANSTOUN, DALZELL, DRUMLANGRIG, ELCHO, FLEMING, FORRESTER, FRASER, JOHNSTOUN, MELVILLE, MONTGOMERY, SINCLAIR, YESTER.

I shall not attempt to enumerate all the copies I have examined of the National Covenant thus renewed and subscribed in the years 1638 and 1639, but will confine myself chiefly to copies either in public libraries, or exhibited at the present meeting.

1-4. In the Advocates' Library there are four copies. One of them is marked on the back, "Confession of Faith for Fyfe." It is signed by all the leading nobility, barons, and ministers, and a great many names, on both sides of the parchment. Another, dated in January 1639, is written in double columns, with some of the letters in gold, but having only the names of the leading members of the tables

written round the margin within circles. [Of this a fac-simile lithograph has been published.] The other two are not of much importance, nor well preserved.

5. In the University Library, Edinburgh, is a copy, well preserved, subscribed in the usual form.

6-9. In the possession of the Society of Antiquaries there are four copies. One is marked "For the Burghe and Parochin of Dumbartane." Another belongs to Ayrshire; it contains the parishioners of Maybole, the names of a great number who could not write being attested on different occasions by a notary-public. Of the nobility, it is only subscribed by Montrose, Lothian, Loudoun, Balmerinoch, and Cassillis; but, what is peculiar, in the upper line it is signed by two of the Covenanting ladies of that district, namely, "Jeane Hamilton," evidently the Lady Cassillis, fourth daughter of Thomas Hamilton, Earl of Haddington, and "Margaret Kennedy," probably the daughter of Lord Cassillis, who afterwards married Bishop Burnet. Lower down are the following names:—Margaret Stewart, Joanna Stewart, Grissle Blair, Issobell Gemill, Helene Kennedy, Elizabeth Hewatt, Jeane Stewart, Margaret Stewart, Anna Stewart, Elizabeth Stewart, Dame Helene Bennett, Janet Fergusson. Among the ministers we find,—Mr Ja. Row, Muithill; Mr Jo. Adamsone, Edinburgh; Mr Harie Rollok, Edinburgh; Mr A. Ramsay, Edinburgh; Mr P. Hewat; and J. Bonar, minister. The latter, Mr James Bonar, was minister of the church of Maybole.

10. A copy belonging to the burgh of Peblis is marked, "For the Burgh of Peblis." It has been engraved in facsimile, but it is in no respect remarkable.

11. Another copy in the General Register House presents no remarkable peculiarities.

12-14. Three copies in the British Museum, marked MS. Addit. 4851, Add. Chart. 1280, and 5961, are signed as usual by Rothes, Montrose, and many others.

15. Of original copies in the possession of private individuals, one of the best belongs to Sir James (now to Sir William) Gibson Craig of Riccarton. It is written in a large hand, with the title and some words in gold letters. Having been somewhat injured, it has been repaired. Among the signatures, it contains Argyll, Mar, Rothes, Montrose, Lindesay, Loudoun, &c.; also, Napier, Sir Jo. Maitland (afterwards Earl

and Duke of Lauderdale); M. A. Gibson, Durie; Sir Thomas Hope; and in the centre of the page, A. Jhonston, Cls. Eccl.

16, 17. One, in my own possession, now exhibited, has the usual signatures. I also exhibit another, and more interesting one, endorsed, "The Confession of Faith, for the Laird of Dun and his Parishioners." It has the names of about twenty-two of the nobility, including, as usual, Rothes, Eglintoun, Cassillis, Home, Lothian, Montrose, and Loudon, with a great many barons and commissioners of burghs; and among the clergy, James Sharpe of Govan, William Levingston, and Andrew Ramsay.

[18, 19. In reference to No. 5 of the List, at p. 239, the Right Hon. Sir George Clerk, Bart. of Penicuik, showed me these two copies of the National Covenant. The one, neatly written, and well preserved, is dated 1639, and has the names of A. Leslie (Earl of Leven), Argyll, Mar, Montrose, and nineteen or twenty of the nobility, besides several barons, burgesses, and ministers. The second copy has a reference to the determination of the General Assembly concerning the Articles of Perth, in July 1641. It is written in double columns, and has this peculiarity, that the forty-two circles, forming a kind of border to the deed, have the arms of the nobility, &c., neatly drawn; but the signatures, for the most part, are now quite illegible.

20, 21. There are two copies of the Covenant on parchment, in the possession of James Dundas of Dundas Castle, Esq. One is marked, "For the Parochine of Dalmenie;" the other, "For Linlithgow Sherrifdome: Ordeinit to be delyverit to the Laird of Dundas to be keipitt."

22, 23. Two exhibited at the Tercentenary Reformation Meeting in 1860: one by the Corporation of Skinners, being that marked in No. 11 of the MS. list, but in good state; the other, with ornamented letters and border, but the writing also much faded, in the possession of the Rev. Dr T. Guthrie.

24. A similar copy in Trinity College Library, Cambridge.

25. The only other one I shall mention has the date 1639, and belongs to Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, Esq., and professes to have been written by "William Ayton, maison." The title is in gold letters, and the names within circles round the margin, including Mar, Glencairn, Montrose, Argyll, G. Gordon, J. Southerland, Eglintoun, &c. From its state of preservation, the style of penmanship, and the select signatures, it is about the choicest copy I have seen of this National Covenant.]

V. THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, 1643.

This, although the most noted of all our National Covenants, will not require any lengthened notice. At the General Assembly held at Edinburgh in August 1643, four Commissioners from the English Parliament and two from the Assembly of Divines at Westminster were present. The chief object of their mission was to propose a treaty for a Civil league between the two Kingdoms for their mutual support against the Royalists as their common enemy. In Scotland, however, a Religious Bond was mainly desired; and it was suggested by the Moderator, Alexander Henderson, to have both objects conjoined. Having prepared a draft of such a mutual engagement, and this being approved of, as well by the Convention of Estates as by the General Assembly, was immediately transmitted to the Parliament of England for final approval. This SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, as it was called, passed the Houses of Parliament with singular unanimity, and was subscribed by the members in St Margaret's Church, Westminster, on the 25th of September. Having thus been received and adopted in England, it was returned to Edinburgh, when two ordinances were passed, on the 11th and 12th of October, by the Commissioners of the Assembly and of the Convention of Estates, enjoining the same to be, with all religious solemnities, sworn and subscribed by all His Majesty's good subjects, under Civil penalties as well as Church censures.

I am not aware of any written copies of the Solemn League and Covenant with signatures, being preserved. Instead of, like the former Covenant, being written on large sheets of parchment, it was printed under the following title:—"A Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland. Edinburgh: Printed by Evan Tyler, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majestie. 1643." 4to. Blank leaves were added to these copies, with the head title on each page:—"The Subscribers of the League and Covenant." Many copies might be specified, in particular one now in the University Library of St Andrews, containing nearly 1600 signatures of persons at St Andrews, in December 1643. Another I met with in the Kirkwall library, with many signatures of residents in the Isle of Rousay, within the sheriffdom of Orkney. But the

most interesting copy is that in the Society's Museum, signed at Newbattle in October 1643, by the Earl of Lothian, Robert Leighton, minister, afterwards Bishop of Dunblane, and the parishioners.

The state of the country, after an interval of five years, led the Commission of the General Assembly and the Committee of Estates, on the 6th and 14th of October 1648, to pass Acts ordaining the Solemn League and Covenant, after a solemn public humiliation and fast, to be renewed and subscribed by all the congregations in the kingdom. For this purpose, copies were reprinted, with blank leaves for the names of subscribers. I have a copy of this edition, signed by "Mr James Hamiltoun, Moderator," and about ninety others, ministers and elders, apparently at a meeting of the Commission of the General Assembly, held for some special object, on the 11th of April 1649.

The Covenant and Solemn League was signed by King Charles 'the Second, and his courtiers and others, at his coronation at Scone, on the 1st of January 1651. As this "principal" copy was in the possession of James Anderson, author of the "*Diplomata Scotiæ*," (see No. 6 of the MS. list, *supra* p. 240), it is probably still in existence.

After the Restoration of Charles in 1660, it is well known the National Covenants and Solemn League were denounced as unlawful oaths, and the copies were ordered to be brought to the Cross of Edinburgh, and burned by the hand of the common hangman, the term of Covenanter becoming a reproach. But I shall not enlarge on this, the reverse of the picture.

VI. THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION OF FAITH, 1646.

I may conclude this notice with the simple title of this well-known Confession. It was prepared, with other directories for Church Government, &c., by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster (with the assistance of Commissioners from the Church of Scotland), and printed at London, by order of the House of Commons, in December 1646. It was also approved of by the General Assembly in 1647, and is usually printed along with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. After the Revolution, this Confession was again ratified and established by Act of Parliament, 1690, as the public Confession of the Church of Scotland, and it is still adhered to by all classes of Presbyterians in this country, notwithstanding the objections which some of our dissenting brethren entertain in regard to the terms employed in chapter xxiii., "Of the Civil Magistrate."

II.

ON VARIOUS SUPERSTITIONS IN THE NORTH-WEST HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND, ESPECIALLY IN RELATION TO LUNACY. BY ARTHUR MITCHELL, A.M. AND M.D., DEPUTY COMMISSIONER IN LUNACY FOR SCOTLAND, CORR. MEMBER SOC. ANT. SCOT., &c.

Innis Mårëe.

In the autumn of last year, while in the neighbourhood of Loch Maree, which has been truly described, "in its barrenness and loneliness, as the most utterly savage and terrific of any part of this land of mountain and flood,"¹ I heard much of the marvellous virtues of a well on one of the smallest of the many richly-wooded islands which rise in clusters out of its waters, and which so soften the grandeur and wildness of the scene, as to make the eye, resting on that part of the Loch, see nothing in it but an exquisite picture of calm beauty. So much was told to me of the power "unspeakable in cases of lunacy"² possessed by these waters, that I resolved to satisfy curiosity by a visit. This was accomplished on the 14th of August,³ when I had the advantage of being accompanied by Professor Brown of St Andrews, the Minister of the parish, and a boat's crew of old residents. I shall briefly narrate what I saw and heard.

Eilean Maree or Innis Maree,⁴ is a small low island, with clean, gravelly shores, half way down the Loch, not more than a quarter of a mile in its greatest diameter.

On its highest part there is an enclosure, whose outline is an irregular oval (90 × 120 feet). The wall, which is not more than 2 feet high, is now covered with earth and moss. Pennant, however, describes it as a "stone dyke, with a regular narrow entrance."⁵ In the centre of this enclosure there are the remains of a small chapel; but so complete is the ruin that it is not possible to determine the style of architecture. Round about the chapel are fifty or sixty graves, generally covered by a flat undressed stone, with rude blocks at the head and feet. Many of

¹ Anderson's Highlands, 1834, p. 567.

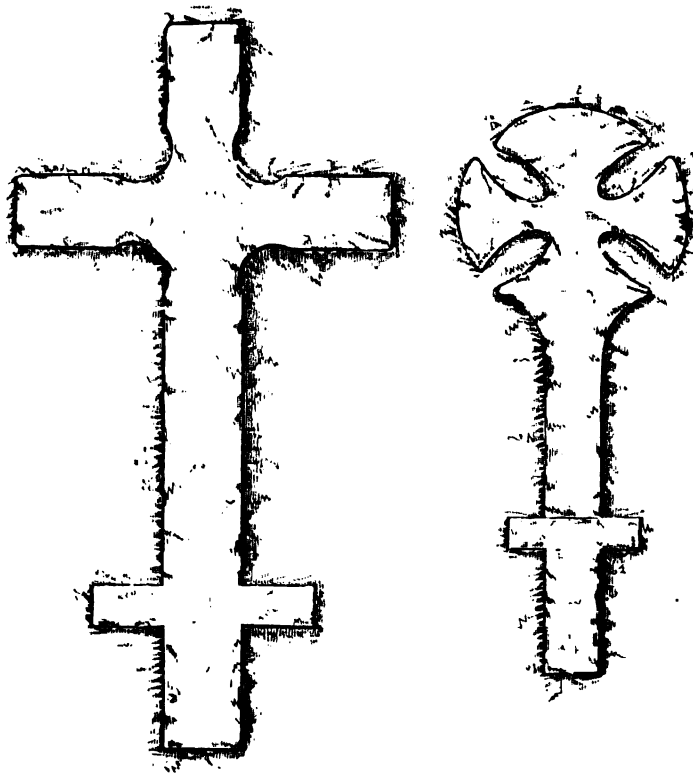
² Pennant's Tour in Scotland, 1774, p. 330.

⁴ Properly Innis or Eilean Mhaolrùibh.

³ 1859.

⁵ Pennant, *op. cit.*, 308.

these graves are recent. One, indeed, is quite fresh—the burial having taken place but a week before my visit. Several of the older ones are said to contain the bodies of the *Sassunnach* artizans who, in the seventeenth century, worked at the iron furnaces of Poolewe.¹ With two exceptions, there are no cuttings, carvings, or inscriptions on any of the



tombstones. These two have distinct and well-formed incised crosses on them, drawings of which are here given. The stones on which these

¹ A bar of pig-iron, found during some diggings on the site of these furnaces has been placed in the Museum of Scottish Antiquities by the author.

occur have never been dressed or even squared. They are flat, and lie beside each other, nearly end to end, and about east and west.

The celebrated well, whose waters are of such magic power, is near the shore. We found it dry, and full of last year's leaves. It is a built well, and the flat stone which serves for a cover we found lying on the bank.

Near it stands an oak tree, which is studded with nails. To each of these was originally attached a piece of the clothing of some patient who had visited the spot. There are hundreds of nails, and one has still fastened to it a faded ribbon. Two bone buttons and two buckles we also found nailed to the tree. Countless pennies and halfpennies are driven edge-ways into the wood,—over many the bark is closing, over many it has already closed. All the trees about the well are covered with initials. A rude *M*, with an anchor below it, tells of the seaman's noted credulity and superstitious character. Two sets of initials, with a date between, and below a heart pierced by an arrow, probably record the visit of a love-sick couple, seeking here a cure of their folly. The solitary interview would probably counteract the working of the waters.

The sacred holly grows everywhere on the island. We found it loaded with fruit. The oak, the larch, the alder, the beech, the mountain-ash, the sycamore, the willow, the prickly holly, the dog-rose, the juniper, the honeysuckle, and the heather all abound, and form a most charming grove.

Various traditions exist regarding this little island. Several were told to me. A love story is the foundation of all. I shall narrate the one which connects the spot directly with lunacy.

A Norwegian princess awaited the arrival of her lover on Inch Maree, where they were to be married by the hermit. The bridegroom was to land at Poolewe, and on his safe arrival it was agreed that a white flag should be shown. He came, sound in heart and limb, but, out of frolic, or to test his sweetheart's love, he caused a black flag to be hoisted. She saw it, went mad, and after a few years died, and was buried on the island. He outlived her but a short time, and found his grave by her side. The two stones, of which I have spoken, are said to mark their resting place. Since the same tale is told with many variations, it is probable that something of this kind did really happen; but that the

virtues of the well have any connection with the story is improbable, as I shall shortly show.

Anderson, Fullarton, the New and Old Statistical Accounts, as well as the people of the place, derive the name from a dedication to St Mary. This remarkable error is first clearly pointed out in the "*Origines Parochiales*," though Pennant evidently had the right view when he speaks of it as the favoured isle of the saint (St Mareë), the patron of all the coast from Applecross to Lochbroom, and tells us that *he*, the saint, is held in high esteem, and that the oath of the country is by his name.¹

It appears that Maelrubha came from Ireland to Scotland, and founded the Church of Aporcrossan in 673.² After his death he became the patron saint of the district. His name is variously known as Malrubius, Malrube, Mulray, Murie, Mourie, and as the last corruption, Maree.³ That the island and loch bear the name of this saint there can be no doubt. Even the mode of pronouncing the word by the Gaelic-speaking population shows that it is not derived from *Mary*,⁴ while Pennant's remark

¹ Pennant, *op. cit.*, 380.

² *Origines Paroch.*, ii. 402; and *Irish Eccles. Journal*, 1849—Rev. Dr Reeves.

³ When writing this paper in December 1860 my information regarding Maelrubha was derived from the "*Origines Parochiales*," and from a communication to the "*Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*," by Dr Reeves in 1849. Since that time I have had the advantage of seeing a very elaborate and learned paper on the History and Churches of St Maelrubha by Dr Reeves, which appears in a recent volume of these Proceedings, and which removes all possible doubt as to the origin of Inis Mareë. As I do not go minutely into this subject, I have scarcely altered what I read to the Society.

The extracts from the Presbytery Records, which are afterwards given, are of interest, as showing that about the middle of the seventeenth century the Saint's day was, in the district where his Saintship was earned, popularly fixed as the 25th of August, and not the 21st of April or 27th of August. They are further of interest as showing that about the same period St Ruffus and St Maelrubha appear to have been regarded as identical, and that not only was Cronlinbeg formerly called "St Ruphus's Island," but Inis Maree itself is, in 1678, spoken of as the "Island of St Ruffus."

An old man in the district told me that the name was originally Eilean-Mo-Righ (the Island of my King), or Eilean-a-Mhor-Righ (the Island of the Great King), and that this king was long ago worshipped as a god in the district.

⁴ This struck me forcibly. Dr Reeves attaches considerable importance to it.

proves that the mistake is not yet a century old. Names are monuments—pages of history—inscribed stones—yet thus do we find them broken, blotted, and defaced. Mourie died at Applecross on the 21st April 722.¹ There is some doubt as to where he was buried, and I have nothing to make it probable that it was in Inch Maree. It is certain, or all but certain, however, that this *Vir Dei* led a hermit's life, and wrought miracles there; and that, like St Goderick, St Fillan, and a host of others, he continued to do so after his death.

Whether the Saint, on his arrival in Scotland, found a pagan temple on this little island, or whether he himself first consecrated the spot, is a question of interest. Pennant says, "I suspect the Dike to have been originally Druidical, and that the ancient superstition of paganism was taken up by the Saint as the readiest method of making a conquest over the minds of the inhabitants." This opinion I am inclined to adopt. The people of the place speak often of the *God Mourie*, instead of *St Mourie*, which may have resulted from his having supplanted the old god. Tradition also points to it as a place of worship before the Christian epoch, and the curious record I have obtained of the sacrifice of bulls there, strongly confirms this belief, and furnishes fresh proof of the liberal engrafting upon Christianity of all forms of paganism in the early history of the Church. The man, who accompanied me as driver in the district, happened to be a person of intelligence, and it was he who first informed me, that in the Presbytery Records some allusion was made to the superstitions of Loch Maree. On reaching Dingwall, I applied to the Rev. Mr Kennedy, who most kindly gave me further information and copies of some quotations which he had himself made. I am indebted, however, to the Rev. Dr Maclean, of Kiltarn, for full extracts, which by a curious accident he made on the Saint's day. As these have never yet been laid before the public I shall give them in full :—

" *At Appilcross 5 Septemb: 1656.*

" Convened M^r Joⁿ M^ccra, Moderator, M^r Joⁿ Monro, M^r Thomas Hogg,
M^r Joⁿ M^cKillican, M^r Donald Fraser, M^r Donald M^ccra, M^r Rorie
M^cKenzie, M^r Alex^r M^cKenzie, and M^r Donald Ross,

" The name of God Incalled. *Inter alia*, The Minister being in-

¹ Orig. Paroch., ii. 402.

quired be his brethren of the maine enormities of the parochin of Lochcarrone and Appilcross, declaires some of his parochiners to be superstitious, especiallie in sacrificeing at certaine tymes at the Loch of Mourie, especiallie the men of Auchnaseallach; quho hes beine summoned, cited, bot not compeiring, execution is lawfullie given be the . . . ¹ kirk officer of Lochcarron, quhose names ar as followes: Donald M^cconill chile—Murdo M^cFerq^m vic conill eire—W^m M^cconil eire, Gillipadrick M^crorie—Duncan M^cconill uayne vic conill biy—Alex^r M^cfinlay v^e conill diy—Donald M^ceaine roy vic choinnich—Johne M^cconill reach—Murdo M^ceaine roy—Murdo M^ceaine voire v^e eaine ghlaiss—Finlay M^cGilliphadricke.—Ordaines the kirk officer to chaarge these againe to compeire at Dingwall the third Wednesday of October nixt—recommend that thaire Minister compeire the said day at Dingwall, and that he preach at the vacand kirk of Urquhart, the ensuing Lord's day he is in the country.

“The said day the presbytrie of Dingwall, according to the appoyntment of Synode for searcheing and censuring such principalls, and superstitious practices as sould be discovered thaire—haveing mett at Appilcross, and findeing amongst uther abhominable and heathenishe practices *that the people in that place were accustomed to sacrifice bulls at a certaine tyme uppon the 25 of August, which day is dedicate, as they conceive, to S^r Mourie as they call him; and that there were frequent approaches to some ruinous chappels and circulateing of them; and that future events in reference especiallie to lyfe and death, in takeing of Journeyis was expect to be manifested by a holl of a round stone quherein they tried the entering of their heade, which (if they) could doe, to witt be able to put in thair heade, they expect thair returning to that place, and failing the considered it ominous; and withall their adoring of wells, and uther superstitious monuments and stones, tedious to rehearse*, Have appoynted as followes—That quho-soever sall be found to commit such abhominations, especiallie Sacrifices of any kynd, or at any tyme, sall publickly appear and be rebuked . . . ¹ six several Lord's dayis in six several churches, viz.: Lochcarron, Appilcross, Contane, Fottertie, Dingwall, and last in Garloch paroch church: and that they may, uppon the delatatione

¹ Word not legible.

of the Sessione and minister of the parochie, he sall cause summoned the guiltie persone to compeire before the pbrie, to be convinced, rebuked, and there to be enjoyned his censure, And withall that the session should be charged to doe thair dewties in suppressing of the foresaid wickedness, and the foresaid censure in reference to thair sacrificing to be made use of in case of convict, and appeiring, and evidences of remorse be found, and failing, that they be censured with excommunicatione.—Ordaines the minister to exercise himself with his people in such manner as at his coming to Appilcross, once in the five or sax weekes at each Lord's day of his coming, he stay thrie dayes amongst his people in catechising a pairt of them each day, and that he labour to convince the people of their former error, by evidenceing the hand of God against such abhominations as hes beene practised formerlie.—Appoynts M^r Alex^r M^cKenzie to informe the presbiterie of any strangers that resorts to thease feilds as formerlie they have to thair former heathenishe practices, that a course may be taken for their restraint.

"KENLOCHWE, 9 Sept^r 1656. *Inter alia*., Ordaines M^r Alex^r M^cKenzie, minister at Lochcarron, to cause summond Murdo M^cconill varchue vic conill vic Allister in Torriton, and Donald Smyth in Appilcross, for sacrificing at Appilcross—to compeire at Dingwall the third Wednesday of October, with the men of Auchnaseallach.

"The brethren taking to their consideratione the abhominations within the parochin of Garloch *in sacrificing of beasts upon the 25 August, as also in pouring of milk upon hills as oblationes* quhose names ar not particularly signified as yit—referres to the diligence of the minister to mak search of thease persones and summond them as said is in the former ordinance and act at Appilcross 5 Sept: 1656, and withall that by his private diligence he have searchers and tryers in everie corner of the countrey, especiallie about the Lochmourie, of the most faithful honest men he can find; and that such as ar his elders be particularly poseit, concerning former practices in quhat they knowe of these poore ones *quho ar called Mourie his devilans and owne thease tittles, quho receaves the sacrifices and offerings upon the accompt of Mourie his poore ones*; and that at laist some of thease be summoned to compeire before the pbrie the forsaid day, until the rest be discovered; and such as heve boats about the loch to transport themselves or uthers to the Ile of

Mourie, quherein ar monuments of Idolatrie, without warrand from the superiour and minister towards lawful ends; and if the minister knowes already any guiltie, that they be cited to the nixt pbrie day, and all contraveners thereafter, as occasione offers in all tyme comeing.—The Brethren heiring be report that *Miurie hes his monuments and remembrances* in severall paroches within the province, bot more particularly in the paroches of Lochcarron, Lochalse, Kintaile, Contan, and Fottertie, and Lochbroome, It is appoynted that the brethren of the congregations heve a Correspondence, in trying and curbing all such, within their severall congregations. And for thease that comes *from forren countreys*, that the ministers of Garloch and Lochcarron informe themselves of the names of thease, and the places of their residence, and informe the pbrie thereof, that notice may be given to those concerned.

“DINGWALL, 6 August 1678. *Inter alia*, That day Mr Roderick Mackenzie minister at Gerloch, by his letter to the prebrie, declared that he had summoned by his officer to this prebrie day Hector Mackenzie in Mellan in the parish of Gerloch, as also Johnne Murdoch, and Duncan Mackenzies, sons to the said Hector—as also Kenneth M^cKenzie his grandson, for sacrificing a bull in ane heathenish manner, *in the iland of S^t Ruffus, commonly called Ellan Moury in Lochew*, for the recovering of the health of Cirstane Mackenzie, spouse to the said Hector Mackenzie, who was formerlie sicke and valetudinarie:—Who being all cited, and not compearing, are to be all summoned againe pro 2^o.”

KILTEARN, 27th August 1860.—Extracted from the Old Records of the Presbytery of Dingwall by

ALEX^r. MACLEAN, D.D., *Phy-Clk*.

Fuller wittily observes, that as careful mothers and nurses, on condition they can get their children to part with knives, are contented to let them play with rattles, so the early Christian teachers permitted ignorant people to retain some of their former foolish customs, that they might remove from them the most dangerous.¹ Fuller is here writing of protesting times; but if we go back to the first introduction of Christianity into our country, we shall find that many pagan cere-

¹ Fuller's Ch. Hist. p. 375; and Brand, "Pop. Antiq." lxi.

monies were connived at, and engrafted on the new religion, which we, now-a-days, should feel inclined rather to class with edged tools than rattles. Instead of *breaking* the monuments of idolatry, our early teachers gave them a Christian baptism, by cutting on them the symbols of their own religion, and with the *rites* and *ceremonies* of paganism they dealt in like manner.

The places of Druidical worship, which Maelrubha found on his arrival in Applecross, in all probability became afterwards places of Christian worship;¹ and such of them as were believed to possess *special* virtues, continued to enjoy their special reputation, with this difference, however, that what the God, or Demon, or *Genius loci* did before, the Saint took upon himself, tolerating as much of the old *ceremony* as the elastic conscience of the age permitted. "Une religion chargée de beaucoup de pratiques," says Montesquieu, "attache plus à elle qu'une autre, qui l'est moins,"² and this principle was freely acted on—the more freely, perhaps, that the early Christian teachers came among a people peculiarly given to ceremony, if we may trust the remark of Pliny, "The Britons are so stupendly superstitious in their ceremonies that they go even beyond the Persians."³ I am inclined to think, with Pennant and the writer in the Old Statistical Account, that Inch Maree was such a locality. The sacrifice of the Bull, and the speaking of the Saint as "the God," make this probable, while the belief expressed by some old writers that such was the fact, and existing oral traditions, render it still more so.

I have no earlier allusion to the well on this island than 1656. It was then the resort of the lunatic, and, as I have said, it may possibly have been so from the date of Mourie's arrival, or even before that time. One shrine in Belgium is known to have had a special reputation of this kind for more than 1200 years. I refer to that of St Dymphna in Gheel. Our own St Fillans, too, has been resorted to for the "blessed purpose of conferring health on the distressed" since the year 700.⁴ Further back still, Orpheus, who is said to have written the hymn to Mercury,

¹ Many of the mosques of Algeria are now the Christian churches of the French occupants of the country.

² "De l'Esprit des Loix," l. xxv. ch. ii.

³ Burton's *Anat. of Melancholy*, ed. 1859, p. 667, quoted from Pliny, lib. iii.

⁴ John Laurie Buchanan's "Def. of Highlanders," pp. 168–224.

speaks of Mercury's *Grot*, where remedy was to be had for lunatics and lepers.¹

The most interesting feature of these extracts, however, is the finding so complete and formal a sacrificial ceremony *commonly* practised in our country at so late a period as within 200 years of our own day. The people point to Inverasdale as the last place where the sacrifice was offered. For the cure of the murrain in cattle, one of the herd is still sacrificed for the good of the whole. This is done by burying it alive. I am assured, that within the last ten years such a barbarism occurred in the county of Moray.² It is, however, happily, and beyond all doubt, very rare. The sacrifice of a cock, however, in the same fashion, for the cure of epilepsy, as I shall presently show, is still not unfrequently practised; but in neither of these cases is the sacrifice offered on the shrine of a saint, or to a named god, though, of course, in both there is the silent acknowledgment of some power thus to be propitiated.

I only know one other recorded instance of the formal sacrifice of a bull in Scotland to a saint on his feast-day.

"A writer of the twelfth century, Reginald of Durham, sometimes also called Reginald of Coldingham, takes occasion, in his lively 'Book of the Miracles of St Cuthbert,' to relate certain incidents which befel the famous St Aelred of Rievaulx in the year 1164, during a journey into Pictland,—that is Galloway it would seem, or perhaps, more generally, the provinces of Scotland, lying to the south of the Forth and Clyde. The Saintlie Abbot happened to be at 'Cuthbrichtis Kirche,' or Kircudbright, as it is now called, on the feast-day of its great patron. A bull the marvel of the parish for its strength and ferocity, was dragged to the church, bound with cords, to be offered as an alms and oblation to St Cuthbert."³

It is curious to find, in the inaccessible districts both of the north and

¹ Le Clerc, "Hist. of Med." 19.

² The "Elgin and Morayshire Courier" of 24th May 1861, in noticing the reading of this paper, has the following editorial remark—"The case referred to by Dr Mitchell took place not twenty miles from Elgin."

³ Joseph Robertson, Esq., on "Scholastic Offices in the Scottish Church in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries."—*Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, v. 56, 57. It is interesting to find that the clerks of the Church—the Scoliothes—who must have

south of Scotland, traces of a similar Christianised paganism.¹ Whether these ceremonies are remains of the vague Druidical, or of the Helio-arkite, or of the Mithraic worship, I am not able to say. As regards the last, which was set up in opposition to Christianity, and which used many of its ceremonies, it is known that the sacrifice of a bull was one of its rites.² The study of this form of worship has not yet received from Scottish antiquaries the attention which it probably deserves.

It would seem that to some saints the sacrifice of a bull was not confined to the day of honour, but was a thing of frequent occurrence. This appears from a letter³ on the superstitions of Caernarvonshire of the six-

been the best informed and most learned, opposed the ceremony, and attempted to throw it into ridicule, by proposing to bait the bull, probably an indication that opinion was then beginning to change.

¹ During the course of the paper allusion will be made to some Welsh superstitions of the same character.

² *Vide* paper by Meyrick, in the "Archæologia Cambrensis," vol. iii., and Well-beloved's "York."

In order to destroy the influence of the priests, the Romans at first endeavoured to suppress Druidism, and as they could not leave the people without a religion, they probably compelled them to adopt the rites and ceremonies of Romish paganism. When the power of the priests was effectually crippled, and no longer dreaded, the worship of the native divinities was tolerated, but not resumed in its purity. The altars of the second and third centuries prove a mixing of the two paganisms; and there is reason to believe that this modified worship was adopted both by the natives and their invaders.

After the battle of Anglesey, many of the Druids fled to Scotland, and had seminaries somewhere to the north of the Strath Clwyd Britons, which were finally suppressed at the close of the sixth century by Rhydderch, "the imbibor of learning," that is, of Christianity. This may be regarded as the final extinction of Druidism. But it would appear probable that, as Romish paganism, after a time, began to acknowledge and worship, covertly and openly, the divinities of the Druids, so Christianity did not escape a similar pollution, but after a time tolerated and even adopted not a few of the ceremonies and sacrifices of that modified Druidism with which it had to deal. And since Druidism existed in force to a later period in the North of Scotland than elsewhere, it may be reasonably expected that we shall there find the strongest and most enduring evidence of the infusion of paganism into Christianity.

³ A manuscript formerly in the library of John Anstie, Esq., Garter King of Arms, and printed in the *Collectanea* of Leland, and also in a paper on Welsh

teenth century, in which the writer tells us that he visited the locality where bullocks were said to be offered to St Beyno, and that he witnessed such an offering in 1589. This Beyno is described as "the saint of the parish of Clynnog, and the chiefest of all saints;" but we are told that the people did not dare to cut down the trees that grew on the saint's grounds, "lest Beyno should kill them, or do them some one harm or another." Though so saintly, therefore, as to be deemed the chiefest of all saints, he was evidently not worshipped solely as a beneficent being, and sacrifices were offered to avert his anger, as well as to secure his favour; thus bringing out his successorship as saint of the place to the demon loci of pure paganism. "They called Barnabas, Jupiter; and Paul, Mercurius;"¹ and *vice versâ*.

In our own day, belief in the healing virtues of the well on Inch Maree is general over all Ross-shire, but more especially over the western district. The lunatic is taken there without consideration of consent. As he nears the island, he is suddenly jerked out of the boat into the loch; a rope having been made fast to him, by this he is drawn into the boat again, to be a second, third, or fourth time unexpectedly thrown overboard during the boat's course round the island. He is then landed, made to drink of the waters, and an offering is attached to the tree. Sometimes a second and third circumnavigation of the island is thought necessary, with a repetition of the immersions, and of the visit to the well.

The writer of the "New Statistical Account" in 1845 says, that the poor victim of this superstitious cruelty was towed round the island after the boat by his tender-hearted friends. Macculloch, writing in 1824, says, "Here also there was a sacred well in which, as in St Fillans, lunatics were dipped, with the usual offerings of money; but the well remains and the practice has passed away." He makes two mistakes here. Lunatics are not and cannot be dipped into the well, which is not larger than a bucket, and both practice and well still exist. Pennant describes the ceremony in 1774, as having a greater show of religion in the rites, and less barbarity in the form of immersion. Ac-

Superstitions, by E. L. B. in the "Archæologia Cambrensis," vol. i. 3d series, pp. 285, 286.

¹ Acts xiv. 12.

ording to him, the patient was taken to the "Sacred Island, made to kneel before the altar, where his attendants left an offering in money—he was then brought to the well, sipped some of the holy water, and a second offering was made; that done, he was thrice dipped in the lake, and the same operation was repeated every day for some weeks."¹

I could not learn that any form of words is at present in use, nor do any of the writers referred to make mention of such a thing. Nor does it appear that the feast-day of the saint is now regarded as more favourable than any other.

There is an unwillingness to tell a stranger of the particular cases in which this superstitious practice had been tried, but several came to my knowledge. About seven years ago, a furious madman was brought to the island from a neighbouring parish. A rope was passed round his waist; and with a couple of men at one end in advance, and a couple at the other behind, like a furious bull to the slaughter-house, he was marched to the loch side, and placed in a boat, which was pulled once round the island, the patient being jerked into the water at intervals. He was then landed, drank of the water, attached his offering to the tree, and, as I was told, in a state of happy tranquillity went home. "In matters of superstition among the ignorant, one shadow of success prevails against a hundred manifest contradictions."²

The last case of which I heard came from a parish in the east of Ross, and was less happy in its issue. It was that of a young woman, who is now in one of our asylums. This happened about three years ago.

Another case was reported in the "Inverness Courier" of 4th November 1852, and is quoted at length by Dr Reeves in his paper on Saint Maelrubha, already referred to. (See Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., vol. iii. p. 288.)³

"Every superstition," says Archbishop Whately, "in order to be rightly understood, should be read backward."⁴ In this manner I have

¹ Pennant, *op. cit.* 830.

² Le Clerc, *op. cit.* 43.

³ In reference to this notice I may mention that some fifteen or twenty years back, a farmer from Letter Ewe is said to have brought a mad dog to the well on the island. It drank of the waters and was cured; but the desecrating act is said to have driven virtue for a time from the well.

⁴ Whately's Annotations on Bacon's Essays, p. 163.

endeavoured to treat that which is attached to the little known Inch Maree. We have seen it as it exists to-day,—with its ceremonies of cruelty, barbarism, and ignorance; we have seen it, differing little from its present form, a century ago; we have seen it in 1656 and 1678 associated with an abominable and heathenish sacrifice; we have connected it with the saintly founder of the monastery of Applecross; and we have adduced some reasons for believing that its real paternity goes back to strictly pagan times.

It is difficult to uproot superstitions of this nature. They may have to accommodate themselves to changes, but they will still live, though they may have lost limbs, or put on masks, or changed their name, or even been deserted by their priestly patrons. Their death is always slow. Rather than be *put out*, they consent to many contortions and losses. To Romanism they only yield that which is imperatively demanded, and here they generally make a fair bargain. To a sterner and less formal Protestantism they make larger concessions, but always yielding bit by bit resistingly. Macadam and Watt are deadly foes. Turnpikes and railways they shun. The schoolmaster is a sure destroyer; and against his blows they have no shield to raise. "The master of superstition," says Bacon, "is the people;"¹ and we add, the master of the people is ignorance.

In such old superstitions we often find monuments more enduring than stone. A *Goth* of a *Celt*, as lately happened, breaks up an ancient cross for the lintel of a manse, or for some other equally profane purpose; and what time had spared for so many centuries we have the end of in a moment—a complete destruction, from which there is no return. No such complete and sudden death can befall old customs and superstitions. They are tenacious of life, and, in *their* bills of mortality there is no such heading as *violent deaths*. One religion condemns them, yet with some change of garment deems it prudent to adopt them; another wages open war against them, and appoints an army of faithful searchers and tryers to hunt them to death; but they retire into corners, where their own army of faithful adherents secretly cherishes and keeps them in life. In the obscurity of such retreats we still occasionally fall

¹ Essay on Superstition. Bacon.

upon these monumental customs, but with those markings which would reveal their origin, effaced or fragmentary, and not easily deciphered or understood. Yet there are traces of the markings still there, and the reading of them becomes a problem of much interest, but one which demands a learning and research possessed only by the few, and the want of which I plead as an apology for the small success of the effort in this case. "We were *hinted* by the occasion, not *sought* the opportunity, to write of old things, or intrude upon the antiquary."¹ Old customs, as well as old urns, are to be found lying in silence, or buried among us, or in short accounts passed over; and it appears to be the duty of one whose *social excavations* occasionally bring them to light, not to reponc them in their obscurity.

Marx, in his quaint letter to the defunct Albert Thaer, predicts that "a time will come when the amateurs in nosology, like the friends of humanity for the primitive races of mankind, will unite in an aborigines protection society for the conservation of the remnant of human diseases."² Superstition may be regarded as a disease; but the only conservation which we desire for it is one in its history on paper. If, however, as is said, it be so firmly imbedded in human nature, that a phrenologist might discover an organ for it,—a spot in the brain which can discern no truth, as the yellow speck in the eye receives no image,³—we shall have to wait long before any union is needed, even to keep the *remnant* alive.

Melista.

There is a little island called Melista, separated by a narrow sea-way from the coast of Uig, without any permanent population, but to which, in former times, people resorted for the two or three summer months, to look after the cows, which they transported to it for the sake of pasturage. Tradition says of this island, that no one was ever born on it who was not from birth insane, or who did not become so before death. In the last generation, three persons had the misfortune, for the first time, to see the light of day on this unlucky spot, and all three were

¹ Sir Thomas Browne, iii. 4. Bohn's ed.

² Moral Asp. of Med. Life, by Mackness, p. 115.

³ Marx's Letter to Petrus de Apono.

mad.¹ Of one of them, who is remembered by the name of "Wild Murdoch," many strange stories are told. It is said that his friends used to tie a rope round his body, make it fast to the stern of the boat, and then pull out to sea, taking the wretched man in tow. The story goes, that he was so bouyant that he could not sink; that they "tried to press him down into the water;" that he could swim with a stone fastened to him; that when carried to the rocky holms of Melista or Greinan, round which the open Atlantic surges, and left there alone, he took to the water, and swam ashore; and that, when bound hand and foot, and left in a kiln, by a miracle of strength he broke his bonds and escaped. It was thus they are said to have treated him during his fits of maniacal excitement; and there are many still alive who saw it all, and gave a helping hand. Not single was this poor man's misfortune. To his insanity was added the calamity of living among an unenlightened people, a thousand years removed from the kindly doctrines of the good Pinel. The further story of wild Murdoch will astonish no one. He murdered his sister, was taken south, and died in an asylum; or, as the people say and believe, in the cell of a gloomy prison, under which the sea-wave came and went for ever.

I am not here detailing what happened in the middle ages. It is of the nineteenth century—of what living men saw—that I write.

The towing behind the boat² establishes a relation between the superstitions of Melista and Inch Maree. The additional belief, in the case of Melista, that an insane man cannot be made to sink, I find is common over the North-west Highlands. A gentleman in Dingwall first told me that it was a general opinion that idiots and insane persons do not sink in water. It is popularly accounted for, he stated, by the rupture of the gall-bladder, which is regarded as the condition of that organ in all such people. When I heard this, I remembered with interest that the learned author of the "*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*" tells

¹ This was asserted to me over and over again, but I think it improbable that this small island was the birthplace of all the three.

² A Lewis gentleman, who read this paper in manuscript, here inserts the following marginal note:—"The reason for *towing* wild Murdoch was, because it would not have been safe to have had him in the boat. This was told to me by one of his relatives."

us, that the popular explanation in his day of the floating of dead bodies was the bursting of the gall-bladder, which, as he says, being "the fiery humour, will readiest surmount the water."¹ The practice of immersion, and even submersion in the sea, or in other waters, for the cure of lunacy, is also of great antiquity, and has received the sanction of no less distinguished a physician than Boerhaave, one of whose celebrated aphorisms is to this effect: "Præcipitatio in mare, submersio in eo continuata quam-diu ferre potest, princeps remedium est."² Borlase, in his "Natural History of Cornwall," quoting from Carew, says that, in the parish of Altarnum, madness was cured by placing the patient on the brink of a pool filled with the water from St Nun's Well, and then, without telling him of the intention, tumbling him into the pool, "where he was tossed up and down by some persons of superior strength, till, being quite debilitated, his fury forsook him. He was then carried to church, and masses were sung over him."³ To preclude the demon from lurking in the hair, a special water was sometimes used; the patient was plunged over head and ears in a bath of Gregorian water, and detained there *just up to the drowning point*. Many writers refer to this. We thus see that the custom is both old and wide-spread. It is not probable, however, that all its ramifications have had the same origin.

The belief that all born on Melista are or will be insane, has probably originated in two or three successive births on the island being thus unfortunate. I know a small parish in Scotland in which three idiots were born on the same night, and insanity appeared in the families of the last three consecutive occupants of a house which I know well—the families not being related to each other.

*Temple of St Molonah.*⁴

Near the Butt of the Lewis there is a small unpretending ruin, whose architecture shows it to be of considerable antiquity. It is called by the people the Teampull-mor, and also the Temple of St Molonah or

¹ Sir Thomas Browne, *op. cit.*, i. 404. Bohn's ed.

² Pettigrew's *Med. Superstitions*, p. 68.

³ Dalryell, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 608, from "Discours admirable d'une religieuse possession," p. 88.

⁴ In Gaelic, *Maolonfhadh*.

St Mulvay.¹ Lunatics are brought from many parts of the north-west of Scotland to this ruin.² By this, however, I do not mean that it is a yearly occurrence, or that it is a frequency in any way to be compared with that which once held good at St Fillan's, when, as has been affirmed, two hundred insane persons were carried thither annually.³ The patient walks seven times round the temple, is sprinkled with water from St Ronan's Well, which is close at hand, is then bound and deposited for the night on the site of the altar. If he sleeps, it is believed that a cure will follow, if not, the powers are unpropitious, and his friends take him home, believing it to be the will of Heaven that he shall remain as he is. The water was formerly brought from the well in an old stone cup, which was left in the keeping of a family, regarded as the descendants of the *clerk of the temple*.

One man who had been taken there, and whom I saw, had the good fortune to sleep, and was cured. He afterwards married, and had a family. Seven years ago he again became insane, and I found him labouring under dementia. I heard of several others in our own day, who had been sent to St Molonah—some from the mainland of Scotland,—but no happy issue was reported.

This superstition closely resembles that which is attached to the Chapel of St Fillan. As it is my object, however, in this paper to confine myself as much as possible to the superstitions of the North-west Highlands of Scotland, I shall do nothing more than allude to the miracle-working pool, to which the pen of Sir Walter Scott has given a world-wide fame. Would that his words embodied a truth, and not an idle superstition!

. " Saint Fillan's blessed Well,
Whose springs can frenzied dreams dispel,
And the crazed brain restore."⁴

¹ St Molochus.

² A Lewis gentleman, reading this paper in manuscript, writes on the margin, "I know two persons who were brought to the temple. The result was favourable, but one has had a return of the malady. It is said that a visit to the church has no efficacy for a *return* of the disease."

³ Heron's Journey, i. p. 282.

⁴ Marmion. Edition 1852, p. 124, and note 18. It is not in reality a *well*, but a deep rock *pool* in the river, which is close to the ruin.

Alexander Dewar, the present custodier of the Quigrich or Crozier of St Fillan, thus describes the ceremony :—"There is likewise in Strathfillan still standing the walls of an old chapel, where people used to go with those who were out of their mind; and after dipping them two or three times in a deep pool of water, they would leave them tied for the night in the old chapel, and such as got loose through the night they believed would get better, but those that remained bound were concluded incurable."¹ The two great days for visiting this spot were the 1st of May and 1st of August,² though the saint's feast-day is the 9th of January.³ The first of these is the favourite day for a vast number of the virtue wells of Scotland, and beyond doubt is connected with the pagan Beltane. Sometimes the *first day* has been changed to the *first Sunday*. Convenience may probably explain this change.

May Wells.

Of the many May wells which I know in Scotland, none appears to be in such repute as that of Craiguck, in the parish of Avoch, Ross-shire. Votive offerings are generally left at these wells, often simply consisting of bits of the patient's clothing, attached to a bush near the spring. It was not without astonishment that in so protestant a part of protestant Scotland as the parish of Avoch I found the bush above Craiguck Well, when I visited it last summer, literally covered with such offerings. Legion was their name. I might almost say with an old writer, quoted by Grose, that I saw on it such numbers of rags "as might have made a fayre rheme in a paper myll."⁴ These offerings, I doubt not, were at one time of a nature more valuable than the rag which is now deemed sufficient. They were left to propitiate or obtain the favour of the saint, and, before the epoch of saints, perhaps to appease a malevolent deity. In our day, I believe there is no definite recognition of the object; but, at the same time, I am satisfied that there is always a vague feeling that some supernatural power will thereby be made friendly, and give aid or intercession. No one will of course

¹ The Quigrich or Crozier of St Fillan. By Daniel Wilson, LL.D. 1869. p. 8.

² Dalryell, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

³ Sir Walter Scott. Note 8 to Glenfinlas.

⁴ Pettigrew, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

acknowledge this. Few, indeed, will admit that they are among the frequenters. Such wells are chiefly in renown for the restoration of "backgane bairns;" and it not unfrequently happens that children, regarded simply as backward in infancy, in later childhood, or in adult life, are acknowledged imbeciles or idiots, and thus come under my notice, and I have often found that the efficacy of these springs had in early life been tested, in the cases of such unfortunates, by a May-day visit, and an additional streamer to the bush.

In old times it was the custom, if a cure did not follow a visit to one well, for the patient to go on to another,—from Struthill say to St Fillan, and thence to Loch Maree or St Ronah; and if all the wells in Scotland failed, those in England were then resorted to. Such a case is given in the life of St Godric. A woman in Musselburgh became insane after childbirth, and murdered her child. After a time the mania became remitting, and "tunc cepit loca sancta per Scotiam circuire, cupiens plenam recipere sospitatem. Tandem venit ad sanctum Godricum," where her piety and importunity were rewarded by a miraculous cure.¹

In the first volume of the "Archæologia Cambrensis," there is a paper on "Holy Wells," by "Ab Ithel," who is of opinion that they were at one time objects of pagan worship; and in support of this he gives two important quotations, which I subjoin.²

It appears that St Patrick found such a worship among the Irish. His motive for visiting Slane is said to have been to see a fountain there, of which he had heard, and which the magi honoured, and made offerings to, as to a god.³

But not only do we find that in very remote and pagan as in later times, belief in the supernatural powers of such wells, or worship of them, was common, we also find that the ceremonies or rites still or lately attending

¹ De Vita Sancti Godrici, p. 891. Surtees Society's publications. Professor Simpson mentions this case in a late number of the "Med. Times and Gazette."

² "Neque nominatim inclamitans montes ipsos, aut fontes vel colles, aut fluvios olim exitiabiles, nunc vero humanis usibus utiles, quibus divinus honor a cæco tunc populo cumulabatur."—*Hist. Gild*, § 4.

³ "Prohibemus etiam serio—quod quis adoret Ignem, vel Fluvium Torrens, vel Saxa, vel alicujus generis arborum ligna."—*Wilkins, Leg. Ang. Sax.* p. 184.

³ Sir W. Betham's *Irish Antiquarian Researches*. Ap. 29.

a visit to them are substantially the same as those anciently observed. It was the general custom in Scotland, not long ago, to drop into the waters a pin, or small coin, or pebble with the name of the patient on it, as well as to attach a bit of the clothing to a bush. The same, and other similar offerings (even to the pin), are or were lately dropt into or left at the holy fountains of Wales. And I find that to the springs of the Nile similar gifts were made. Seneca, in *Quæst. Nat.*, when speaking of them, says: "In hac ora stipes sacerdotes, et aurea dona præfecti cum solemnè venit sacrum jaciunt."—"Here, on solemn festivals, the priests throw in their brass money, and the great men their gold offerings." And Pliny (lib. viii. ep. 8), speaking of the sacred spring of the Clitumnus, has an allusion to the same custom, "Fons purus et vitreus ut numerare jactas stipes et relucentes calculos possis."—"A spring so pure and clear, that you may count the pieces of money that have been thrown into it, and the shining pebbles at the bottom."¹

That the superstitious belief in the virtues of these holy wells is a prolongation of pagan worship, we have a further proof in the choice of the day for visiting them. To this I have already alluded. There are, moreover, cases in which the well is associated with a sort of sacrificial ceremony. Such is St Tegla's Well, in the parish of Llandegla, which was considered efficacious in cases of epilepsy. The patient repaired to it after sunset, washed in it, made an offering *into* it of fourpence, walked round it three times repeating the Lord's Prayer; then offered a cock or hen, carrying it round the well and church; after which he went into the church, crept under the altar, and passed the night with the Bible as a pillow, and the communion-cloth as a coverlet—departing at break of day, after a further offering of money, and leaving the cock or hen.²

This superstition can be regarded as nothing but an amalgam of Christianity and paganism. I agree with Ab Ithel in thinking it probable that the early missionaries to Britain appropriated for the church these wells, by selecting them as the "Lavers of regeneration," or baptismal fonts. In the very parish of which Ab Ithel is incumbent, there is such

¹ I am indebted for these two last quotations to a paper by "W." on the Holy Wells in Monmouthshire, printed in the "*Archæologia Cambrensis*," vol. ii. p. 87.

² *Arch. Camb.* vol. i. p. 50.

a well, from which, though a mile or more from the church, several of his parishioners, living in 1846, remembered the baptismal water invariably to have been brought.¹

Nay, I have proof, that the enlightened, 250 years ago, regarded the resorting to these wells as a sort of devil worship in disguise. In a little quarto tract by Dr Anderson (the inventor of the pills which still go by his name), entitled "The Colde Springe of Kinghorne Craig. His admirable and New Tryed Properties, so far foorth as yet are found by Experience. Written by Patrick Anderson, D. of Physicke, Edinburgh. 1618.," he assures his readers that the waters of his Kinghorne well "are not lyk the superstitious or mud-earth wells of Menteith, or Lady Well of Strath-Erne, and our Lady Well of Ruthven, with a number of others in this countrie, all tapestried about with old rags, as certaine signes and sacraments wherewith they arle the divell with ane arls-pennie of their health; so suttile is that false knave, making them believe that it is only the virtue of the water, and no thing els. Such people cannot say with David, *The Lord is my helper*, but the Devill."²

Pennant, in his Tour (ii. 336) gives an account of the well of St George, in the parish of Cegidoz. near Abergelen.³ He says, "S^t George had in the parish his Holy well, at which the British Mars had his offering of horses." Now the British Mars was the god Beli, who was worshipped as "the leader in battle."

Superstitions relating to Epilepsy.

Some disgusting superstitions, associated with epilepsy, still exist in Scotland:—

In the parish of Barvas, an epileptic maniac was put into bed with his dead mother, and left there for the night. A cure did not follow, and he ultimately died in a fit. I met many persons who had known this unfortunate lad.

In the parish of Kintail, where the people are very backward and

¹ Arch. Camb. vol. i. p. 54.

² I am indebted for this quotation to Mr Joseph Robertson. The early notice of the bits of clothing as an offering is of interest.

³ Arch. Camb. i. 184.

credulous, I encountered the same superstition in a still more offensive form. I saw a poor epileptic idiot there who had been made to drink the water in which his dead sister had been washed. The fits are said to have been less severe and less frequent ever since. I was also told of another epileptic in one of the western islands, who had been bathed in the water in which his dead wife had been washed.

In the west of Ross and in the Hebrides, I have seen several epileptic idiots who had been made to drink a small quantity of their own blood for the cure of the disease.

In Caithness, the skull of a suicide was used as a drinking cup in order to cure epilepsy. Mr B., a schoolmaster in Orkney, states that he knew the remedy to have been tried in the case of J. R., an epileptic, now dead. The body of C. B. was disinterred in order to obtain her skull for this purpose. She committed suicide by leaping from Duncansbay Head, and, falling on the rock below, her body was recovered and buried.

The fresh blood of a criminal was long a much esteemed remedy. Barrington, in his "Observations on the More Ancient Statutes," quotes the following:—"A notion still (1769) prevails in Austria, that when a criminal is beheaded, the blood drank immediately that it springs from the neck is a certain cure for the falling sickness."¹ It is singular, indeed, how mystic has ever been the value attached to the blood and corpses of criminals. We encounter it in many superstitions. Crollius, in his receipt for the weapon-salve, makes choice of moss that grows on the skull of a man that hath died a violent death; but his commentator, Hartman, expressly "preferres one that hath been hanged."² In an old Dispensatory published in 1670, I find the following:—"Some say human blood drunk hot cures epilepsy, if violent exercise be used after it; but it is very dangerous, for oftentimes it causes epilepsy, and brings great tremblings on those that take it."³

For the cure of the same disease, there is still practised in the North of Scotland a formal sacrifice—not an oblique, but a literal and downright sacrifice to a nameless but secretly acknowledged power, whose propitiation is desired.

¹ Timbs' Pop. Errors, p. 189.

² Wittie's Translation of Primrose, p. 402.

³ Salmon's Dispensatory, II., i. 16.

On the spot where the epileptic first falls a black cock is buried alive, along with a lock of the patient's hair and some parings of his nails. I have seen at least three epileptic idiots for whom this is said to have been done. A woman who assisted at such a sacrifice minutely described to me the order of procedure. In this instance, in addition to what I have named, three coins were also buried, and a "*corn*" of red onions, pounded small, were applied to the patient's navel.

Dr G—, of N—, informs me that some time ago he was called on to visit a poor man belonging to the fishing population, who had suddenly died, and who had been subject to epileptic seizures. His friends told the doctor that at least they had the comfort of knowing that everything had been done for him which could have been done. On asking what remedies they had tried, he was told that among other things a cock had been buried alive below his bed, and the spot was pointed out. But few years have elapsed since this sacrifice was openly offered to the unknown demon of epilepsy in an improving town, to which the railway now conveys the traveller, and which has six churches and ten schools for a population of about 4000. Its occurrence so recently in a community so advanced and so privileged, is certainly a marvel deserving of record. An old fisherman was asked by the Doctor if he knew of other cases in which this heathen ceremony had been performed, and he at once pointed out two spots on the public road or street where epileptics had fallen, and where living cocks had been cruelly buried, to appease the power which had struck them down.

I have always found that the people who had performed this ceremony hesitated to speak of it with freedom. There is evidently a secret, slavish dread of a power which they deem it prudent not to offend, by speaking contemptuously of it; yet when charged with acknowledging it, a denial is always given—not full and broad, but cautiously and evasively worded. The same thing may be said in reference to all superstitions among the Highlanders.

This sacrifice of a cock for epilepsy and insanity is of great antiquity.

In 1597, at the trial of Christian Lewingstoun, the "earding of a quik cok in the grund," is spoken of as a remedy for insanity.¹ The Moors

¹ Dalryell, *op. cit.* p. 190.

and negroes of Algeria drown a living cock in a sacred well for the cure of epilepsy and madness; and another Arab cure for epilepsy, with loss of memory, is the drinking of the bile of a cock every morning.¹ Hens were offered to St Vitus for the cure of chorea, or the dance of St Vitus, a disease related to epilepsy.

"The next is Vitus sodde in Oyle, before whose ymage faire,
Both men and women bringing hennes for offering do repaire,
The cause whereof I do not know, I think for some disease,
Which he is thought to drive away from such as do him please."²

The cock was consecrated to Apollo, the god of medicine, and in Egypt a cock was sacrificed to Osiris, whom some identify with the Apollo of the Greeks.³ During the prevalence of infectious diseases in the East, the cock forms an oblation to a sanguinary divinity; it is sacrificed at the entrance of the temples dedicated to one corresponding to the Hecate of the Greeks; or it is killed over the bed of the invalid.⁴ The women of Malabar offer the same oblation for the cure of disease.⁵ Sick persons in Ceylon frequently dedicate a red cock to a malignant divinity; and if they recover, it is sacrificed.⁶ The Collyrium which restored sight to Valerius Aper, was the blood of a white cock mixed with honey, and Esculapius himself prescribed it.⁷ Cocks and hens were offered in Wales to St Tegla for the cure of epilepsy.⁸

It is interesting to find what we must regard as modifications of the same superstition, so widely spread. The inference is that they have probably had a common origin, and one of great antiquity. The cock appears to have been sacred to pagan divinities of all ages; and early Christians, preaching a religion the spiritual nature of which made it unpalatable and incomprehensible to a rude and ignorant people, seem to

¹ Bertherand, *Med. des Arabes*, p. 465.

² Googe's *Trans. of Naogeorgus*. Brand., *op. cit.* vi. p. 298.

³ Dalyell, *op. cit.* p. 191.

⁴ Barthelemy's *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, vol. i. pp. 418-20; and Dalyell, *op. cit.* p. 419.

⁵ Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, pp. 149, 150, from Dalyell, p. 419.

⁶ Knox's *Relation of Ceylon*, p. 78, from Dalyell, p. 420.

⁷ Le Clerc's *Hist. of Physick*, 1699, p. 85.

⁸ *Arch. Camb.*, vol. i. p. 50.

have tolerated some of the superstitions or ceremonies of the religion which they struggled to supplant, and more especially those which had to do with the bodily rather than with the spiritual part of man.

It is more true of epilepsy and epileptic mania, than of any other form of nervous or mental disease, that in old times it was regarded as a demoniacal possession. In the miracles of St Godric,¹ there are fifteen or sixteen referring to the insane. All of these, and more particularly the epileptics, are described as possessed of devils. One under the heading "De Dæmoniaca ibi liberata," refers to a woman who is said to have been "Sedecim annis a dæmonibus, quos *Eumenides*² vocant ita seducta et pergravata," &c. Another is, "De Dæmoniosa;" and another, "De insana et dæmoniosa." While the cure of a furious maniac is thus announced, "A vesania simul et dæmonio liberatus, sanus surrexit." Those who have witnessed a severe epileptic seizure, with its appalling convulsive strugglings, will have little difficulty in understanding how a primitive and ignorant people should regard it as having a supernatural cause.

When, or why it came to be the *morbis sacer* of the Greeks and Romans, I am unable to say. Hippocrates ridicules the idea of there being anything divine about it,³ and there are many reasons for believing that it was treated as sacred, only in the sense of being a peculiar or special infliction from the gods. I am equally unable to say how it came to be designated the *morbis santicus*, an epithet in which the idea of guilt appears to be involved. It has also been called the Herculean distemper, "not," says Le Clerc, "that he was ever troubled with it, or knew how to cure it, but because a power equal to that of Hercules is required to subdue so difficult a malady."⁴ We are told, however, that Hercules was twice insane, and it is possible that he may have laboured under convulsive seizures. He was, moreover, the patron god of epileptics.

Whatever was the understanding of the Greeks and Romans, it is certain that by the Jews epilepsy was looked on as diabolical.⁵ This indeed was the case with Orientals generally. Among the Arabs, to this

¹ De Vita Sancti Godrici.

² The use of this word is interesting.

³ Works of Hippocrates, trans. by Adams.

⁴ Le Clerc, *op. cit.* p. 38.

⁵ Dalyell, *op. cit.* 615.

day, epilepsy, and all convulsive affections, are regarded as a horrible sexual union of the *djenounes* (or bad spirits) with the patients¹ In our own country it is well known that, till a period not very remote, the notion of an epileptic being possessed of a devil was not uncommon. "The sorcerie, incantations, and devillische charmeing," by which they were cured in the seventeenth century, clearly point to such a belief. Every year, however, it is losing its hold, and it is only to be traced now in remote and little frequented regions.

Many of the *signs* of possession point particularly to the epileptic. Thus, the entrance of a demon was sometimes denoted by a sensation of cold water running down the back;² farther, the demons were felt "creeping like ants between the flesh and the skin, or as the pricking of needles."³ These are neither more nor less than the *aura* and *formication*, the well-known premonitories of an epileptic fit. Again, personal suffering, distortion of the visage, and barbarous screams, were signs, if not essentials of possession, as they are also of epilepsy.

In the details of the sacrifice which has led to these comments there are several indications that it was devised for the expulsion of a *dæmon*. The mind at first refuses to leave the major fact,— the actual sacrifice of an animal by the Protestants of Scotland in the nineteenth century. The secondaries, however, are of interest. The hair and nails, which were buried with the cock, are often oddly introduced into the history of possession. It was always recognised that these evil spirits "can lurk among the hair, or conceal themselves under a nail."⁴ The exorcist, when he failed in complete dispossession, sometimes actually caused the *dæmon* to recede from the head and heart, and fixed him in the toes,⁵ and there was a desperate but special remedy,—viz., the Gregorian bath, to which allusion has been made, for expelling the *dæmon* from his final retreat in the hair.

While St Ruffin and St Romanus were invoked against madness, St John and St Valentine succeeded Hercules in being the special patrons

¹ Bertherand, *Med. des Arabes*, pp. 54, 57.

² Dalzell, *op. cit.* p. 604.

³ Dalzell, *op. cit.* p. 604.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.* p. 604.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.* p. 609.

of epileptics;¹ and these saints not only removed, but sent the diseases with which they were associated.

“ Saint Valentine beside to such as doe his power despise,
The falling sickness sendes, and helps the man that to him cries ;
The raging mind of furious folkes doth Vitus pacifie,
And doth restore them to their witta, being called on speedilie.”²

In Britain, St John appears to have been generally recognised as the patron of epileptics, and accordingly we find numerous superstitions in which he is involved.

“ Three nails made in the vigil of the nativity of St John Baptist, called Midsummer Eve, and driven in so deep that they cannot be seen, in the place where the party doth fall that hath the falling sickness, and naming the said party's name while it is doing, doth drive away the disease quite.”³ “ Some, by a superstition of the Gentiles, fall down before his image (St John Baptist's), and hope thus to be freed from the epileps; and they are farther persuaded, that if they can but gently go into the saint's shrine, and not cry out disorderly, or hollow like madmen, when they go there, they shall be a whole year free from this disease; but if they attempt to bite with their teeth the saint's head they go to kisse, and to revile him, then they shall be troubled with this disease every month, which commonly comes with the course of the moon; yet extreme juggling and frauds are wont to be concealed under this matter.”⁴

Cures for epilepsy, of a still more meaningless character, were common, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

¹ Brand, *op. cit.* i. p. 357. “ Ruffinus et Romanus phrenesi præsunt. Morbo sontico, olim Hercules, nunc Joannes et Valentinus præsunt.”—(Moresini Papatus, p. 16; from Brand, *op. cit.*) The different forms of madness, indeed, had each its saintly physician. “ St Maturin was physitian for fools, having relation to the word Matto. St Acaire cureth the acariastres, i.e., frantic or furious bedlams. St Avertin cureth the avertineux, i.e., fantastical lunatic persons, and all the diseases of the head.”—(World of Wonders, p. 308; from Brand, *op. cit.* i. p. 362.)

² Googe's translation of Naageorgus, pp. 98, 99; Brand, *op. cit.* i. 363.

³ Lupton's Book of Notable Things, ed. 1660, p. 40; Brand, *op. cit.* i. p. 336.

⁴ Levinus Lemnius, 1658, Eng. trans., p. 28; Brand, *op. cit.* i. 305-6.

Paracelsus recommended an amulet of coral against epilepsy, and it was thus used in England. It was also given internally, when it was thought advantageous to take it in May-dew, and the great exponent of vulgar errors does not altogether deny its efficacy.¹

The root of the peony was often suspended round the necks of children as a charm against epilepsy. It was called Baaras;² and Solomon himself is said to have pointed out its value, which rested on its being a noted expulsor.³

The foot of the elk is a widely known remedy. It was considered infallible, and was believed in by the Indians, and by the Norwegians and other northern nations;⁴ while in Britain; it was at one time regarded as a "specific against epilepsy."⁵

Rings of various kinds were believed in and worn. Those, for instance, made of a piece of silver, collected at the communion, cured fits of all kinds;⁶ and there was a gain of power if the silver were collected on Easter Sunday.

Almost all the precious stones, worn as amulets, were in repute as "noble antepilepticks," as was also the loadstone, fed with filings of steel, and wrapped up in a purple cloth, and hung about the neck.

A drop or two of the blood of the navel string, being first given to a new-born child in a little breast-milk, was believed to prevent the falling sickness; and Lupton says that a piece of a child's navel string borne in a ring is good against it.

The "aqua et oleum sterco humani" are called "very effectual," and there were other remedies even more filthy than this. Brendelius says of the "essentia cranii humani," that it "is prevalent against epilepsy beyond all other things whatsoever."

The urine of the bear drunk in mulled vinegar, the blood of a boar cat taken with wine, the testicles of the otter,⁷ powdered hare's heart in

¹ Sir Thomas Browne, *op. cit.* i. p. 190.

² Le Clerc, *op. cit.* p. 45.

³ Tuke and Bucknill, *Psych. Med.* p. 12. Quotation from Josephus.

⁴ Pettigrew, *op. cit.* p. 66.

⁵ New Lond. Disp., 1676-7. From this work much of the following information is derived.

⁶ Pettigrew, *op. cit.* p. 61.

⁷ I recently saw an epileptic, residing in Upper Strathdon, to whom the liver of the otter had been given.

Rhenish wine, and the gall of the sheep with honey, were some of the disgusting remedies for this disease common two hundred years ago.

Ivory was in high repute, and hence perhaps the virtues of Barbeck's bone, which is now in the museum of the Scottish Antiquaries. Its history is thus given :—

“ A curious relic, consisting of a tablet of ivory, was long preserved in this family (Campbell of Barbeck). It was called Barbeck's bone, and was esteemed a sovereign cure for madness. When borrowed, a deposit of L.100 was exacted in order to ensure its safe return.”¹

We cannot read of such gross superstition and ignorance without thankfulness that they belong to past times. It must be remembered, however, that in out-of-the-way corners of our land there still exists a faith in practices and remedies as barbarous and coarse as the worst of the obsolete superstitions to which I have alluded. I have found nothing more heathenish than the sacrifice of the cock, and nothing coarser than the drinking of the water in which a dead sister has been washed, or the using of the suicide's skull as a drinking cup. Fortunately such things are nowhere common, but everywhere the reverse, and in nine-tenths of the country they are probably wholly unknown.

The superstitions of an excessive credulity appear to have been characteristic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. If we go back to more remote periods, we find a deliberate cruelty in the treatment of the poor epileptic which appals our age, marked as it is by a tender regard for all who are crippled in purse, body, or mind. One reads the following quotation from Boece's chapter on the manners of the ancient Scots with a doubting inquiry as to its truth :—

“ He that was trublit with the falling evil, or fallin daft or wod, or havand sic infirmite as succedis be heritage fra the fader to the son, was geldit, that his infectit blude suld spread na firthir. The women that was fallin lipper, or had any other infection of blude, was banist fra the company of men, and, gif she consavit barne under sic infirmite, baith she and her barne war buryit quik.”²

¹ Stat. Account, Craignish parish.

² Boece, Translation by Bellenden, ed. 1821, p. 58.

"And this was done for the common good, lest the whole nation should be injured or corrupted. A severe doom, you will say, and not to be used among Christians, yet more to be looked into than it is." Such is Burton's comment on this passage from Boece.¹

The notion that *Idiots* are favourites of God, persons whom the Almighty has taken under his peculiar protection, is said to exist still among some Eastern nations. Of its existence in this country, in our own or in other times, I have found little or no evidence. There has, however, long been, and in some parts of Scotland there still is, a feeling that these unfortunates illustrate a *special providence*—an extraordinary act of divine power—but in the sense of a special affliction, perhaps even of an abandonment to malignant spirits. The tender regard with which many helpless idiots are cared for by their mothers, is simply the fruit of *maternal affection*, which sees in the idiot, though an adult, the dependence of the infant, and gives the same care and nursing in answer. Neglect, however, is too frequently encountered. The worst and coldest bed in the house is too often that in which the idiot sleeps. But it is pleasant to know that a kindness founded on a knowledge of the real nature of the calamity is becoming more general, and sentiments like the following less rare:—

"An' is there ane amang ye, but your best wi' him wad share?
Ye mauna scaith the feckless, they're God's peculiar care."

(BALLANTYNE.)

SUICIDES.

In Lewis, till recently, burial in a churchyard was refused to the suicide.² Not long ago a clergyman there destroyed himself in a fit of insanity, and it was with difficulty that his friends found a resting-place for his body in the graveyard of the church in which he had been accustomed to preach.

A grave in the Lewis usually lies east and west, with the head to the

Burton's *Anat. of Mel.*, p. 140.

² A Lewis gentleman, who read this paper in manuscript, inserts the following marginal note against this:—"Quite true, and the feeling *still* exists in the minds of most of the Lewis people."

west, and the body is carried to it feet first. The poor suicide, however, is carried head foremost, and his head lies to the east. A spot, too, is sometimes chosen for his grave on which the sun cannot shine.

The custom on the west and east coast of Ross-shire differed somewhat. There the body was usually buried at low-water mark. In 1822, a poor old woman near D——, in a fit of melancholia, cut her throat. She was buried at low-water mark, but the sea disturbed her grave, and her body floated and was washed ashore. It was found there, and not being at first recognised, the people proceeded to carry it to a neighbouring house. When on their way, the gash in the throat was observed, the body recognised, and instantly dropped. For two days it lay at the roadside on the snow, till a person of influence in the neighbourhood had it buried a second time, and more securely, in the same fashion as at first. My informant was an eye-witness.

Not far from the same place, and about the same time, a gentleman committed suicide. His friends concealed the cause of his death, and he was buried in the churchyard. The truth came out, however, and the people took up his body by night, and buried it on the shore.

Within the memory of those living, a suicide was thus buried on the shores of Loch Dhuig. For two years after few herrings came to the loch. The people attributed this to the suicide's grave; and, accordingly, they raised the body and took it to the top of a mountain which separates Inverness-shire from Ross-shire. The story says that thereon the herrings returned.

This habit of burying suicides on the march between two counties was common in the south. On a hill between Lanark and Dumfries there are the graves of many suicides. The body was carried there in a cart, which was left on the spot, as an unholy thing to be eaten by the weather. The last burial is said to have occurred fifty or sixty years ago, and report says that a fearful scene of drunkenness took place on the occasion,—the coffin being torn open, and the body baptised in whisky. There are those living who remember to have seen fragments of the cart by this man's grave.

Not more than seven years ago, a poor man is said to have drowned himself in Lochcarron, and his body came ashore near Strome Ferry. The herrings deserted the loch about that time, and the people con-

nected this with the act of self-destruction in its waters. To overcome this injurious influence, about three years ago, I am told that they gathered on the spot where the body was found, and lighted a large (purifying) fire over it. Within the last thirty years a similar thing is said to have been done in Lochalsh. My informant remembers to have seen the poor suicide in life.

The grandfather of a lunatic, who was last year sent to an asylum, drowned himself off the sand of Laide. He was washed ashore at Coig-each, and his body found there; and I was informed that the people of the adjoining township took it to sea again and set it adrift. It was again carried ashore, but on this occasion at the place where he had committed the act. From this it was carried to the top of Aird Dhubbh, a hill not visible from the sea, where it was buried. The ropes by which the rude coffin was carried are said recently to have come to sight. My informant remembered the occurrence well.

SEVENTH SON.

That the touch of the seventh son can cure scrofula is still extensively believed in our north-west Highlands. I have seen more than one poor idiot, with strumous complications, for whom this magic touch had been sought.

The ceremony is simple. The hand of the mystic mortal is laid on the patient, "in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God, who only works cures."¹ These words are often, but not always, used; and I am told that this is justified on the ground, that the virtue being God's gift, is exercised in his name.

I have often been assured, that when seven sons are born in succession, the parents consider themselves bound, if possible, to make a doctor

¹ The Lewis gentleman, to whom I have referred in other notes, here writes on the margin of the manuscript:—"It is customary in Lewis for the seventh son to give the patient a sixpenny piece with a hole in it, through which a string is passed. This the patient wears constantly round his neck. In the event of its being removed or lost, the malady breaks out again. I am not aware that they invoke the holy Trinity—probably some of them do. I have known adults resorting to a seventh son of not more than two years of age. A person caught hold of the bairnie's wrist, and applied his little hand to the patient's sore."

of the seventh. We have here nothing but a modification of the superstition under the influence of civilisation.

Dalyell¹ says, that seven is one of the chief mystical numbers of Scotland, but I have not often encountered it in the superstitions of our country. Three and nine are infinitely more common. It is undoubtedly, however, the chief mystical number of the East; and the origin of this, I think, is to be found in its strangely frequent occurrence in holy writ. In the same way we might account for its acquiring a mystic value in our own country; but I am inclined to think that the particular superstition now under consideration does not depend on the general value attached to the number seven. I think it more probable that it has its origin in the story of the seven sons of Sceva the Jew.² It is true that in this case the power of casting out evil spirits, in the name of Jesus, was claimed by all seven; and possibly this claim may have rested in some measure on the fact that they were *seven*. But it does not appear to me difficult to understand how the gift which the seven claimed came eventually to be regarded as the possession of the seventh alone. The story of these seven sons is told to an ignorant people, who, thinking the power claimed depended on this number, accord that power to such *seven brothers* as are born among them. But the six are born, yet have not the gift till the seventh comes. It is with him, in fact, that the gift appears. He brings it. It seems to me, then, a likely thing, that such a people would soon begin to acknowledge it only in him—the seventh—with whom it arrives.

In the "Secret Commonwealth," written by the Rev. Robert Kirk, minister of Aberfoyle, in 1691, at page 38 there is a speculation as to whether the mystic power of the seventh son may not have its origin in this, that "the parents of the Seventh child put forth a more eminent virtue to his production than to all the Rest, as being the certain Meridian and Hight to which their Vigour ascends, and from that furth have a graduall declyning into a Feebleness of the Bodie and its Production."

"Political and religious prejudices," says Quetelet in his *Essay on Man*, "appear to have been at all times favourable to the multiplication of the species; and great productiveness was considered as an unequi-

¹ *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, 395.

² Acts xix. 13.

vocal proof of celestial benediction, and of a prosperous state ;" and in a foot-note, referring to this passage, he goes on to say, " When a seventh son was born, it was customary for the Prince to hold it at the baptismal font. This practice has not become obsolete in Belgium ; and we might quote several examples, in which the magistrate, or one of his officers, has been the representative of the monarch in such cases."

This superstition was common and old when Primrose wrote in 1639. He regarded it as an attempt of the devil to manifest, in his " cursed Emissaries," that wondrous power which " is, by the blessing of God, granted to the Kings of Great Brittain and France, and denied to other Christian Kings."¹ In this royal gift it is well known that Sir Thomas Browne, whose " *Vulgar Errors*" were published in 1646, had a practical belief ;² yet had its full brother—the birth-right of the seventh son—been discussed by this learned man, I doubt not he also would have attributed it to " Satan, the great promoter of false opinions."³

EVIL EYE.

No superstition is more common in the north-west of Scotland than belief in the influence of the evil eye.

I saw a girl in U——, in whose case idiocy was attributed to this cause. An evil eye had fallen on her in childhood, and this was the result. Time and place were named with precision. The *gold and silver water* was, in her case, tried as a cure. A shilling and a sovereign were put into water, which was then sprinkled over her, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.⁴ So said her mother, a seemingly pious old woman, who told me, in all seriousness, that though her child's mental health was still as bad as ever, her bodily health had been much improved.

In some districts of the north-west of Scotland, a very sudden or peculiar illness seldom occurs which is not submitted to this ceremony. I know persons who have frequently seen it practised.

¹ Primrose. *Popular Errors ; or, Errors of the People in matter of Physic.* Trans. by Wittie, 1651, p. 484.

² John Browne's *Adenochoiredologia*, part 3, pp. 187, 189.

³ Sir T. Browne. Bohn's edit., vol. i. p. 88.

⁴ In the parishes on the west of Ross-shire, in order to give greater efficacy, the water is taken from a rivulet through which a funeral procession has lately passed.

It is alleged, and I am inclined to think correctly, that in Lewis even some elders of the church have a firm belief in the evil eye and witchcraft.¹

CHARMS.

In the Lewis these are common, and are still much used, but more for the diseases of cattle than of men. I have presented to the Museum of Antiquities two which were recently in use. The sickness of cattle is sometimes ignorantly attributed to the bite of a serpent, and a Lewis correspondent informs me that the people make the diseased animals drink of water into which these charm stones are put, and that they swear to the cures thereby effected.

CHANGE OF NAME.

There is another curious superstition with reference to the prevention of insanity in a family where cases have already occurred, which I encountered in the Lewis. An effort is made to extirpate the tendency by the introduction of a new name into the family. I saw one case in which this had been tried without success.

CHANGELINGS. FAIRIES.

I saw at M——, in Uig, an emaciated, shrivelled, helpless idiot, a dwarf with that puzzling expression of face—a compound of senility and babyhood²—which is not rare. He is believed to be a changeling of the fairies, who are supposed to steal away the human child, and leave for it one of their own *young-old* children to be nursed. The only remedy for this of which I heard, is to place the changeling on the beach by the water side, when the tide is out, and pay no attention to its screams. The fairies, rather than suffer their own to be drowned by the rising waters, spirit it away, and restore the child they had stolen. The sign that this has been done is the cessation of the child's crying.

¹ The Lewis gentleman who annotated my manuscript here says:—"Most true. Dr Mitchell need not have a doubt on the point."

² I know two idiots in one of the Western Islands exactly of the same character, and also believed to be changelings of the fairies.

I shall here conclude this notice of some of the superstitions of the north-west Highlands and Islands of Scotland. They relate chiefly to lunacy, regarding the nature and management of which opinions still prevail which are far behind the kindly teachings of Pinel—far even behind the practice in the temples of Egyptian Saturn, if we may trust the following:—"A formula of worship was there proposed as a charm, and not as a moral medicine, and under this guise the crowds which frequented these shrines were engaged in a succession of healthful and amusing exercises; they were required to march in the beautiful gardens and to row on the majestic Nile; delightful excursions were planned for them, under the plea of pilgrimages. In short, a series of powerful and pleasing impressions was communicated at a time when the feelings were impressed with a most extravagant hope, and with perfect reliance upon the power whose pity every act was intended to propitiate. The priests triumphed, and the disease was subdued."¹ What else do our most advanced psychologists now recommend? Where is the new thing under the sun?²

But in no way wedded to wisdom, as in the foregoing, are the superstitions of the north-west Highlands of Scotland. On the contrary, they are intimately united to backwardness and ignorance. Had I not confined myself to the superstitions relating to lunacy, this would have been still more apparent. Erysipelas, for instance, to this day is cured by cutting off one-half of the ear of a cat, and letting the blood drop on the affected part. I have it on good authority, that within the last few years this was more than once tried in the parish of Lochcarron. The *abaidil*, a sort of colic to which cows on hill pasture are subject, is thus cured:—The first person who sees the suffering animal twists a rope against the sun, passes it round the cow's body, cuts it into three parts and burns it. An islander who in the morning encounters a snail on a bare rock with the tail to him, turns from it as from a prophet of evil, and goes home

¹ Quoted by O. W. Morris, from an author not named, in a paper in the 32d Report to the Legislature of New York on the New York Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, page 199.

² Even Esculapius is said to have relieved those "whose violent agitations of mind raised an intemperate heat in their bodies, with songs, farces, and musick."—*Le Clerc*, op. cit. 41.

again. I know a lady, who, when a child, labouring under hooping-cough, was passed three times under the belly of an ass, in the hope and belief that therefrom a cure would come. Warts are rubbed with a piece of beef, which is then buried with three barley-corns; when these rot the warts are expected to fall off. I know cases in which this has lately been done; and I could retail hundreds of similar childish superstitions presently practised.

Some of them we are sorry to find vanities. We mourn over their impotency. If the heart of a lapwing could really improve the intellect, warm the imagination, and sharpen the wit,¹ what a trade in lapwings would arise! What numbers of them we should all swallow! What wit and talent would fill the world! How glad the heart of the lapwing must be that it has no such mystic power, and that wisdom has detected the emptiness of the conceit.

If the chrysolite, bored through and filled up with the mane of an ass, could really "drive away all folly,"¹ who would want one about his person? The poor would be supplied with chrysolites either by the charitable or by the state. Wisdom would walk the streets, madness would be unknown, and the writer's occupation gone.

I trust that this communication may not lead to inferences more unfavourable to the people of the Highlands than the real state of the case warrants. As a rule, the superstitions in question are confined to the more ignorant; and perhaps, after all, it is not more difficult to understand an ignorant man's faith in the traditional value of "earding a quik cok in the grund" for the cure of epilepsy, than it is to understand the belief in spirit-rapping, which is not uncommon in our times, even among the more cultivated classes. The superstitious practices which I have described, necessarily illustrate the social condition of the people, but their chief interest lies in their being relics of antiquity; and as such they are here discussed. I have done what I could to secure accuracy, and I feel satisfied that all my statements will be found substantially correct. "*Si de veritate scandalum sumitur, utilius permittitur nasci scandalum, quam ut veritas relinquatur.*"²

¹ It is doubtful if these superstitions exist in Scotland.

² St Augustine.

III.

NOTE RELATING TO "HADDON'S HOLE," IN ST GILES'S CHURCH,
EDINBURGH. BY MR WILLIAM T. M'CULLOCH, KEEPER OF THE
MUSEUM.

Sir William Gibson Craig having lately presented to the Museum the Iron door, or "yett," which closed this "hole," or "hold," Mr M'Culloch took some pains to fix its precise locality, all traces of this having been lost when that portion of the church was removed in the course of the so-called "improvement" in 1829. From the plan which was exhibited to the meeting it appeared, that this "hole" was a small chamber over the porch on the north side of the church, and received its name from the well-known Royalist Sir John Gordon of Haddo, ancestor of the Earls of Aberdeen, having been there confined; or, as Spalding in his History of the Troubles says, "most shamefully wairdit and straitlie kepit, to his grayt greif and displeasour," from the 15th of May to the 19th of July 1644, on which day he was "headit at the Cross of Edinburgh" as a traitor, by the instrument called "the Maiden."

Subjoined is an extract from the "City Treasurer's Accounts" of the expenses attending the execution:—

"1644.

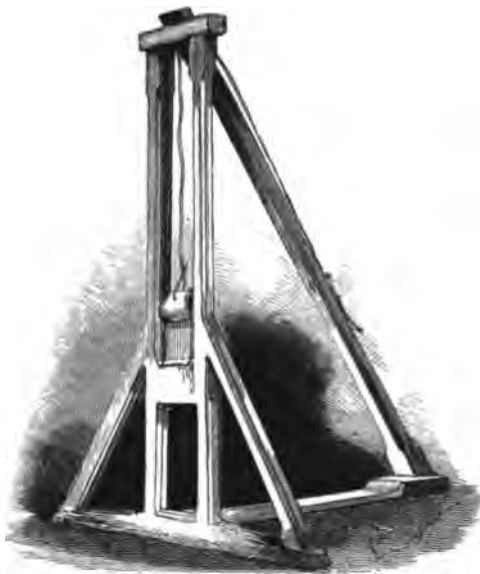
24 July.	Item, to the workmen for carieng out and in, the punchiones, dealls, and Maiden, for execution of Sir John Gordon of Haddo, and John Logie,	vj lib
—	Item, to David Sandis for upsetting and doun taking the Maiden and Scaffold for that executione,	vj lib
—	Item, for 4 load of sand for that executione,	xii
—	Item, for scharping the Maiden, and carieing thereof to the scharping-place for that executione,	i lib
—	Item, for two punchiones to enlarge the Scaffold,	ijlb xiiij, iiij

" 1644.

24 July.

—	Item, for two pund weight of lead for the Maiden,	vi ^s
—	Item, for 300 singill flooring naills for the scaffold, . . . . .	. 000 00 00
—	Item, $\frac{3}{4}$ hundir doubill flooring naills, and six double garrones for the scaffold, . . . . .	. 000 00 00"

It is scarcely necessary to add, that "THE MAIDEN" itself—with which so many historical associations are connected—forms a prominent object in the Museum of the Society, and is well represented by the subjoined woodcut, kindly lent by Mr Hugh Paton, F.S.A. Scot.



A model of St Giles's Church, the Krames, Tolbooth, Parliament Square, &c., made in the year 1805 by the Rev. John Sime, a Fellow of the Society, was exhibited.

MONDAY, 10th June 1861.

The Hon. LORD NEAVES in the Chair.

Lord BINNING was, in terms of the laws, admitted a Fellow of the Society without ballot.

ADOLPH ROBINOW, Esq., Merchant, and Hanseatic Vice-Consul, Leith, was balloted for, and elected a Fellow of the Society.

The following Donations were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors :—

Gold Lunula, Lunette, or Crescent-shaped Ornament, formed of a thin plate of pure gold, terminating in small flat oval discs, bent at right angles to the plane of the Lunette. Its breadth across the middle is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch; its greatest diameter measures seven inches, and it weighs 1 oz. 8 dwt. 13 gr. It is ornamented on one side by alternate rows of plain and punctured lines, as shown in the annexed woodcut. Presented by ADAM SIM of Coulter, Lanarkshire, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., who accompanied the donation with the following note :—

“This ‘Druidical’ Tiara of Gold was found in 1859, on the farm of Southside, the property of David Dickson, Esq. of Hartree, close to Coulter, in Lanarkshire, and only a few miles from Netherend, where the beautiful ‘sceptre head’ of gold, with various other articles now deposited in this Museum, were discovered. It was turned up in grubbing a field which had not been long in cultivation, and was supposed at first to be a piece of tin, and for a short time lay neglected at the farm-house.

“Bronze weapons, Palstaves, and Celts, have also been discovered from time to time in this locality. From the names of various places, it appears that the valley at a remote period had been covered with wood, and large trunks of trees are occasionally turned up.

“It may be noticed, that a similar Tiara is engraved in Meyrick and Smith’s ‘Costumes of the Original Inhabitants of the British Islands’ (plate vii.), which had been dug up in Ireland..”

Numbers of these Gold Lunettes have been found in Ireland. We are not aware of any, with the exception of the one here figured, having been previously found in Scotland.



Stone Ball of greenish coloured stone, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, covered with small rounded projections in low relief. Found about 2 feet below the surface, in trenching on the farm of Waterlais, on the east end of Garvock Hill, Kincardineshire.

By JOHN S. GIBB, Esq., Aldbar, Aberdeenshire.

Iron Girdle, with fetterlocks for the wrists attached to each side. From the Old Tolbooth, Edinburgh ;

Stone Ball, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. Found at Kirkwall, Orkney ; and

Iron Cannon Ball, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. Found at Preston, East Lothian ;

By WILLIAM B. JOHNSTONE, Esq. F.S.A. Scot.

A Sedan Chair, handsomely ornamented, and painted, with coat of arms on the back ; and pair of poles ; formerly the property of the late

Alexander Hamilton, M.D., Professor of Midwifery in the University of Edinburgh, and of James Hamilton, M.D., his son and successor, and used by them especially in their night practice; also,

Casts of two Monumental Stones at Kirkmadrine, parish of Stoneykirk, Wigtonshire, taken by Mr Henry Laing.

By Professor J. Y. SIMPSON, M.D., V.P.S.A. Scot.

On each stone there is a Latin inscription, in Roman letters (some of them being compound, or tied together), surmounted by a Maltese cross within a circle, the upper limb of the cross terminating in a Bishop's crozier. One is inscribed as follows :—

AE

(Cross.)

HIC IACENT
S̄CI ET PRAE
CIPVI SACER
DOTES ID ES(T)
VIVENTIVS
ET MAVORIVS

The other stone also displays a cross with crozier, enclosed in a circle. The inscription is in rude characters, and is imperfect :—

. . . S ET
FLOREN
TIVS

The slabs are of considerable interest, and no doubt will stimulate the inquiries which their occurrence in this locality suggests.

Bronze Circular Mirror, measuring 13 inches in length including handle, with embossed ornaments on each side, and handle ornamented with triple perforation (see fig. 1); a Crescent-shaped Plate of Bronze, ornamented with incised scroll patterns (fig. 2, which also shows an enlarged representation of the scrolls); its greatest diameter measures 13 inches, and across the plate 2 inches; also various portions of triangular-shaped Bronze Plates, with two ornamented studs or buttons, and Bronze Belts (figs. 3-6, which show them grouped together as ex-

hibited in the Museum), with pieces of coarse linen cloth, &c. Found in trenching a moss in the parish of Balmaclellan, New Galloway ; and

Celt of light-coloured Stone, 3 inches long, 2 inches across the face. Found in the parish of Girthon, Galloway ;

By the Rev. GEORGE MURRAY, minister of the parish of Balmaclellan, who gives the annexed account of the bronze relics :—



Fig. 1.

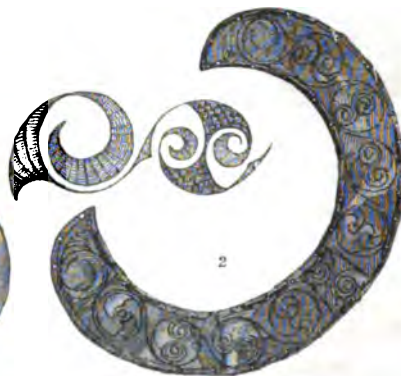


Fig. 2.

“The bronze articles, specimens of cloth, &c., now presented to the National Museum of Antiquities, were found at a place within half a mile of the manse of Balmaclellan. A bog was being drained for agricultural purposes, and the workman in cutting the drains, which are from 2½ to 3 feet deep, came upon a peculiar-shaped stone, which he threw aside and afterwards took home with him. He saw nothing else. The stone, which I procured, turns out to be the upper stone of a quern, with ornaments in relief, elaborately finished, and quite perfect. Some time after the drains were cut, the farmer himself was clearing them out with a hoe, preparatory to setting the stones, here largely used instead of tiles ; and, close by where the quern was found, he came upon the bronze circular-shaped mirror, with the crescent-shaped ornament or

collar, and other pieces of bronze, which were folded over so as to occupy little space, wrapped in cloth, in three parcels. I went shortly afterwards to see the place where the relics were found, and upon looking about amongst the earth thrown out of the drain, I fortunately came upon another parcel of bronze—like the others, wrapped in cloth. I will endeavour to obtain the permission of the farmer to have the drains re-opened, with the view of exploring the place with care. From the state in which the bronze articles were found rolled together, it would seem as

2 feet 2 inches in length.



Figs. 3-6.

if they had been concealed along with the quern (the other half of which I hope to find); for, in rude times, these articles would doubtless be of some value. Galloway is now being largely improved, and no doubt many very interesting relics of the olden time will be discovered worthy of the attention of the archæologist."

Iron Spindle, Cardinal Points, and Copper Weathercock of St Ninian's Church, North Leith, built by Robert Bellenden, Abbot of Holyrood, A.D. 1493, erected into a parish church, A.D. 1594; also an

Autograph Letter of John, eleventh Earl of Mar, who proclaimed the

Pretender in 1715. He was attainted by Act of Parliament, and died at Aix la Chapelle 1732;

By D. H. ROBERTSON, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

The letter is dated "Paris, Aprile 8th, 1729," and is as follows:—

"SIR,—I have no peace for this Marischall, who is the bearer of this, he being at me three or four times a week for the inclosed account that is owing him, before 14^r Mar went, of four hundred and fifty livers [livres], the man being realie in want of it, & a part of it at present will satisfie him; therefore I wish you could let him have fifty livers of it, and take his receipt, as I wrote, for what you was to give to the Epicier.—I am y^r., &c. "MAR."

Under which is the following receipt:—

"J'ay receu de Mon^r. Alexander la somme de cinquante Livres en vertu de la lettre cy dessus, et ce a compte d'un memoire de quatre cent cinquante livres quy m'est deu par Mad^e. La Duchesse de Mar.

"Fait a Paris le 11 Avril 1729.

SENT JEAN."

Impression in Lead of a Seal, 1½ inch diameter, taken from a Papal Bull. On one side is NICOLINO, P. P. IIII. (1288–92), and on the other SPA SPM, under which are the heads of St Paul and St Peter. It was found at the chapel of the Abbey of Lindores, Fifeshire;

Brass weight, the third of an Ounce. On one side in relief, is a bust and the letters I. R.; on the other side a lion rampant, and the date 1622. Found in the ruins of Balmerino Castle, Fifeshire;

By ALEXANDER LAING, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Leaden Plate or Ticket, richly gilt, displaying, in relief, two hands clasped, and 6495, the number of the policy; being the badge of fire insurance with the "Friendly Insurance Office." It was found under the plaster on the front of John Knox's house, Netherbow, in 1849, when various repairs were made on the edifice.

By JOHN ALEX. SMITH, M.D., Sec. S.A. Scot.

Tickets or badges of this kind, or made of tin-plate and painted, shewing the distinguishing devices of the different Insurance Offices, were, until very lately, placed on the fronts of all houses insured by them.

The Friendly Insurance Society, the first of the kind formed in Scot-

land, was instituted in Edinburgh in the year 1720, and insured proprietors of houses in Edinburgh, Canongate, and Leith against losses by fire. In the year 1727 it obtained a Seal of Cause from the Town Council of Edinburgh, erecting it into a body-corporate, and carried on business on the original plan till 1767, when the benefits of the Society were extended over the whole of Scotland. This Society is now united with the "Sun," an office which had established an agency in Scotland as early as 1733. The first official seal of the "Friendly" is preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities, and displays two hands clasped, with the motto *DEO JUVANTE*, and, below, *EDINBURGH*.

Wooden Idol, in shape of a human figure; 24 inches high.

Two Celts of green stone; a

Carpenter's Stone Adze, a stone "Celt" fastened in a wooden handle (see annexed woodcut); also a

Chief's Dress, consisting of a fringe of black flax three yards long, and 4 inches deep, worn round the waist; and

Knitted-cord Pouch and Belt, containing two Sling Stones. From New Caledonia, South Pacific Ocean;

By WILLIAM S. YOUNG, Esq.,
Fillyside House, Leith.

Four Canoe Paddles; Bailing Scoop; and Three War-Clubs, each covered with rich carving; Three Spears, and a Flute, or Musical Wind Instrument. From the South Sea Islands. By Lady DRYSDALE, through ROBERT M. SMITH, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Portion of Chain Armour, rusted into a solid mass. It was found on the banks of the Kinnel Water, 5 miles from Moffat, Dumfriesshire, under 4 feet of compact black peat, and resting on the surface of the clay; no other remains were found in the same place. By J. J. HOPE JOHNSTONE, Esq. of Annandale, M.P.

Half-Angel of Edward IV. (1461-1483), *EDWARD DEI GRA REX ANGL.*



Angel with left foot on a Dragon, and piercing its mouth with a spear, the upper end of which terminates in a cross crosslet. Rev., o. ORVX. AVX. SPES. VNICA; a ship with a mast, in the form of a cross, between the letter E on the right and a rose on the left; on the side of the ship are the arms of England and France quarterly. It was found at Whitehills, New Deer, Aberdeenshire. By J. HAY CHALMERS, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Eight-Day Clock and Case—"James Howden, Edinburgh," maker. By Mr ROBERT GELLATLY, watch and clock maker, Princes Street.

Sixpence of George II., 1746, "LIMA" under the bust; and Red Indian Chief's "Pipe of Peace" from North America;

By Mr HENRY M. BAIRD, artist.

Four Tetradrachms of Ptolemy I. (Soter), King of Egypt. By Captain PATRICK DEUCHAR, R.N.

Arrow, with Flint Head attached by tendon to a Reed Shaft. From South Sea Islands. By Mr PETER MUIR, bow-maker, Archers' Hall. This arrow displays a manner of fastening the stone head to the shaft; and shows how the flint arrow-heads found in Scotland may have been used. (See woodcut.)

Five Black Earthenware Bottles, of grotesque shapes, from Peru; and

Dagger with reaping-hook-shaped blade, the handle brass-mounted; and Horn Sheath, richly carved, with silver mountings, from Peru;

By Miss CAMERON, through Professor J. Y. SIMPSON, V.P. S.A., Scot.

Water-coloured Sketch of the "Clach Dearg," or red stone, at Ardvoirlich, formerly used as a charm (see notice of it in communication on "Scottish Curing-Stones," by Professor Simpson, p. 211). By JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A., Curator, F.S.A. Scot.

Artillery Leather Bucket, with the date 1725. From Edinburgh Castle. By Mr JAMES SHEARER.

Tally-stick, dated 1778-1793. By Mr PATRICK MALLOCH, map-mounter.

Iron Spur, with large rowel and ornamented buckles. Discovered



about sixty years ago on the farm of Croftside, the route by which the English army retreated from Bannockburn. By Mrs BROWN of Park, through the Rev. JAMES C. FOWLER, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

Small Bronze Figure of a Dog;

Small Bronze Figure of an Eagle; and

Three small Stone and Bronze Seals or Amulets, with devices, from Palestine;

By Captain EDWIN MAUDE, H.M. Indian army.

Two pieces of ancient mythological Marble Sculpture, from the ruins of the city of Chundrawutty, ten miles south-east of Aboo, which formed part of a Jain Temple, said to have been destroyed by an earthquake three or four hundred years ago. A date on the smaller piece makes it 543 years old. It is interesting to observe that these fabulous lions exactly resemble those that adorn the temples of Buddha, both in Burmah and in China. They were brought from India by Robert Mayne, Esq., and purchased at the sale of his collection. By JAMES T. GIBSON CRAIG, Esq., V.P.S.A. Scot.

The Holy Bible, 4to, in blue Morocco, printed by *John Baskett*, Edinburgh, 1726; with a MS. ornamental inscription on vellum, stating—"This book belongs to David Spence, Secretary to the Governour and Company of the Bank of Scotland;" drawn and written by Matthew Buckinger, born without hands or feet, June 3, 1674, in Germany; and attested by Archibald M'Aulay, Provost, several Bailies, and the Dean of Guild, 1st May 1728; and

Two Notes, framed and glazed, addressed to Mr Spence, one dated "Aire, Oct. 14, 1727;" the other, "Montrose, Sept. 2, 1728," also written by M. Buckinger;

By J. A. LAMBE, Esq.

Chronicon Gotwicense, Annales Liberi et Exempti Monasterii Gotwicensis, &c., 2 vols. folio; Berlin, 1732;

Modern Account of Scotland, written by an English Gentleman. Small 4to (pp. 18), 1676;

By JOHN A. CARLYLE, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

Account of the Isle of Man, by William Sacheverell; Manks Grammar, by John Kelly, LL.D.; Legislation of Man, by Sir John Stanley; Monumenta de Insula Manniae, by J. R. Oliver, M.D., 2 vols.; 5 vols.



8vo, being the publications of the Manx Society for Publication of National Documents. Douglas, 1860-61. By the COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY.

Memorials of Angus and the Mearns, 8vo, Edin. 1861; and

Glamis: its History and Antiquities, 4to (pp. 32), Edin. 1861;

By ANDREW JERVISE, Esq. (the Author), Corr. Mem. S.A., Scot.;

Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. xxiv. Pt. 1 (Science). 4to, Dublin 1860. By the COUNCIL OF THE ACADEMY.

Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich, 13 vols. 4to; Zürich, 1841-61; and

Indicateur d'Histoire et d'Antiquités Suisses. Premier volume, 8vo. Zürich, 1855.

By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF ZÜRICH.

Photograph of the Round Tower at Abernethy. By W. SCOTT ELLIOT of Arkleton, Esq., W.S.

The Archæological Journal, published under the direction of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. xvii. 8vo, Lond. 1860. By the COUNCIL OF THE INSTITUTE.

Archæologia Cambrensis, the Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association. Vols. vi. and vii., and Parts 1 and 2 of vol. i., Third series. 8vo, London, 1860-61. By the COUNCIL OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Mr STUART reported that the repairs on the ancient "Burg" of Mousa had now been completed; some discoveries had been made in the course of doing so, which would be communicated more specifically hereafter; and the fabric was now reported to be in such a state of repair as to give promise of its permanency as a complete specimen of this peculiar class of ancient remains. He also adverted to the propriety of obtaining a model of the "Burg" for the Museum.

The following communications were read:—

I.

NOTICE OF THE EARLY ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENTS AT ST ANDREWS. By WILLIAM F. SKENE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

THE traditionary accounts of the foundation of St Andrews as an ecclesiastical establishment, have not yet, so far as I know, been sub-

jected to historic criticism. Although occupying the most prominent position in our ancient church hierarchy, and with a diocese extending from the borders of England to the river Dee, we know little as yet of the early history of St Andrews, except that it was a foundation of unknown antiquity, with a legendary history which derives its origin from Greece; and its historians have hitherto been content to repeat these legends without attempting to reduce them to the sober realities of history. Keith in his Catalogue of Scottish Bishops merely gives the substance of these legends, with a few lists of its Bishops prior to the eleventh century, when he commences its history. His editor, Dr Russell, throws no additional light on its early history; and its latest historian, the Rev. C. F. Lyon, adds nothing to this.

Claiming to be the oldest church in Scotland, to have been at one time the sole episcopal, and in later ages unquestionably the metropolitan see, St Andrews demands that some attempt should be made to clear up its early history. I venture, therefore, to ask the indulgence of the Society while I lay before them some facts which may tend to throw new light upon it; premising, however, that what I have now to lay before you professes to be nothing more than an attempt, and that it is very possible these facts, when further sifted, may not warrant the conclusions I am inclined at present to draw from them.

The traditionary accounts of the earliest ecclesiastical settlements at St Andrews are to be found in the legends of three different saints in our calendar, viz.,—St Cainich or Kenneth, 11th October; St Regulus, 17th October; and St Adrian, 4th March. St Cainich or Kenneth, who is the same with the Irish St Kenneth of Achaboe, the patron saint of Kilkenny, was of the early Irish Church, and a contemporary or companion of St Columba, and is frequently mentioned in Adamnan's life of that Saint. Although Adamnan mentions Columba alone as having made the celebrated visit to Brude, king of the Northern Picts, at his palace near Inverness, which resulted in his conversion to Christianity, the old Life of St Comgall printed by Fleming in his "Collectanea" says that he was accompanied by St Kenneth and St Comgall, who took an equal share in the King's conversion. St Columba was of the Scottish race of the O'Neills, but both St Cainich and St Comgall were of the race

of the Irish Picts of Ulster; and it was probably their affinity of race to the Scottish Picts which led to their being associated with Columba in this undertaking.

The same affinity of race will account for St Cainich having penetrated so far into the Pictish province as St Andrews. There are many dedications to him in Scotland. He is commemorated in the "Festology" of Angus the Culdee, written in the ninth century, on the 11th of October; and in a gloss it is said, "Achaboe is his principal church, and he has a church at Kilrymont in Alba," that is, in Scotland. Kilrymont is, as we shall see, the Celtic name of St Andrews.

The gloss goes on to give the following account of why St Cainich went to so remote a place among the Picts:—"Once upon a time, when Cainich went to visit Finnia, he asked him for a place of residence; I see no place here now, said Finnia, for others have taken all the places up before thee. May there be a desert place there (that is, in Scotland), said Cainich."

It was one characteristic of the asceticism of the early Irish Church, that its clergy were in the habit of retiring to some desert place, to lead the lives of hermits, completely isolated from all intercourse with their fellow creatures for a certain number of years; and we find that almost all their leading saints, at least once in their lives, retired to some solitary spot, where they led the lives of hermits for some years.

From the desire expressed by Cainich to find a *desert* place, his church at Kilrymont seems to have been a hermit church of this description. It is, however, doubtful whether the situation of this hermitage of Cainich's was the same with that of St Andrew's, and whether the name Kilrymont is not used loosely, or in a wider sense, for the district about it, for in the Aberdeen Breviary St Cainich is thus referred to: "Sancti Caiynici abbatis qui in *Kennoguhy* in diocesi Sancti Andrei pro patrono habetur." Kennoguhy is a parish in the east of Fife, not far from St Andrews, and, as it seems to have taken its name from him, and is the church with which he is principally associated in the Scottish calendars, it may have been in reality the site of this foundation. Be this as it may, this was a Columban foundation anterior to the year 600, in which year Tighernac records the death of St Cainich.

For the next and the most important foundation at St Andrews, and

from which it took its name, we must go to the legend of St Regulus. There are several editions of this legend, but it is only necessary for our purpose to notice three. One, and apparently the oldest, is a short account of the legend of the foundation of St Andrews, preserved in the Colbertine MS. in the Imperial Library at Paris. The second, which is much larger and more detailed, is to be found in a MS. in the Harleian Library in the British Museum, written in the end of the seventeenth century, apparently a copy of an older MS., containing a list of the contents of the Register of the Priory of St Andrews, now lost, with copies of some of the pieces in it. This legend seems to have been put together in the early part of the fourteenth century; and the third is the legend in the Breviary of Aberdeen.

In comparing these three editions, it will be convenient to divide the narrative into three distinct statements.

The first is the removal of the relics of St Andrew from Patras to Constantinople. The Colbertine account states, that St Andrew, after preaching to the northern nations, the Scythians and Pictones, received in charge the district of Achaia with the city of Patras, and was there crucified. That his bones remained there till the time of Constantine the Great, and his sons Constantius and Constans, for 270 years, when they were removed to Constantinople, where they remained till the reign of the Emperor Theodosius.

The account in the MS. of the Priory of St Andrews states, that in the year 345 Constantius collected a great army to invade Patras, in order to revenge the martyrdom of St Andrew, and remove his relics. That an angel appeared to the custodiers of the relics, and ordered Regulus, the bishop, with his clergy, to proceed to the sarcophagus which contained his bones, and to take a part of them, consisting of three fingers of the right hand, a part of one of the arms, the pan of one of the knees, and one of his teeth, and conceal them, and that the following day Constantius entered the city, and carried off to Rome the shrine containing the rest of his bones. That he then laid waste the Insula Tyberis and Colossia, and took from thence the bones of St Luke and St Timothy, and carried them along with the relics of St Andrew to Constantinople.

The Aberdeen Breviary says, that in the year 360 Regulus flourished

at Patras in Achaia, and was custodier of the bones and relics of St Andrew; that Constantius invaded Patras in order to revenge the martyrdom of St Andrew; that an angel appeared to him, and desired him to conceal a part of the relics; and that after Constantius had removed the rest of the relics to Constantinople, this angel again appeared to him, and desired him to take the part of the relics he had concealed, and to transport them to the western regions of the world, where he should lay the foundation of a church in honour of the apostle.

Here the growth of the legend is very apparent. In the oldest edition, we are told of the removal of the relics to Constantinople, without a word of Regulus. In the second, we have the addition of Regulus concealing a part of the relics in obedience to a vision; and in the third, we have a second vision directing him to found a church in the west. This part of the legend, as we find it in the oldest edition, belongs, in fact, to the legend of St Andrew, where it is stated that, after preaching to the Scythians, he went to Argos, where he also preached, and finally suffered martyrdom at Patras; and that, in the year 337, his body was transferred from Patras to Constantinople with those of St Luke and St Timothy, and deposited in the church of the apostles, which had been built some time before by Constantine the Great.

When I visited Greece in the year 1844, I was desirous of ascertaining whether any traces of this legend still remained at Patras. In the town of Patras I could find no church dedicated to St Andrew, but I observed a small and very old-looking Greek monastery, about a mile to the west of it, on the shore of the Gulf of Patras, and proceeding there I found one of the Caloyeres, or Greek monks, who spoke Italian, and who informed me that the monastery was attached to the adjacent church of St Andrew built over the place where he had suffered martyrdom. He took me into the church, which was one of the small Byzantine buildings so common in Greece, and showed me the sarcophagus from whence, he said, the relics had been removed, and also, at the door of the church, the spot where his cross had been raised, and a well called St Andrew's Well. I could find, however, no trace of St Regulus.

The second part of the legend in the oldest edition represents a Pictish king termed Ungus, son of Uргуist, waging war in the Merse, and being surrounded by his enemies. As the king was walking with his seven

comites, a bright light shines upon them; they fall to the earth, and a voice from heaven says, "Ungus, Ungus, hear me an apostle of Christ called Andrew, who am sent to defend and guard you;" he directs him to attack his enemies, and desires him to offer the tenth part of his inheritance in honour of St Andrew. Ungus obeys, and is victorious.

In the St Andrews edition, Ungus's enemy is said to have been Athelstane, king of the Saxons, and his camp at the mouth of the river Tyne. St Andrew appears to Ungus in a dream, and promises him victory, and tells him that his relics will be brought to his kingdom, and the place where they are brought is to become honoured and celebrated. The people of the Picts swear to venerate St Andrew ever after, if they prove victorious. Athelstane is defeated, his head taken off, and carried to a place called Ardhinnichun, or Portus Reginæ.

The Breviary of Aberdeen does not contain this part of the legend.

The third part of the legend in the oldest narrative represents one of the custodiers of the body of St Andrew at Constantinople, directed by an angel in a vision to leave his home, and to go to a place where the angel will direct him. He proceeds prosperously to "*verticem montis regis id est rigmond.*" Then the King of the Picts comes with his army, and Regulus, a monk, a stranger, from the city of Constantinople, meets him with the relics of St Andrew at a harbour which is called "*Matha, id est mordurus,*" and King Ungus dedicates that place and city to God and St Andrew, "*ut sit caput, et mater omnium ecclesiarum quæ sunt in regno Pictorum.*" It must be remembered here, that this is the first appearance of the name of Regulus in the old legend, and that it is evidently the *same* King Ungus who is referred to in both parts of the story.

The St Andrews edition of the legend relates this part of the story much more circumstantially. According to it, Regulus was warned by the angel to sail with the relics towards the north, and wherever his vessel was wrecked, there to erect a church in honour of St Andrew. He voyages among the islands of the Greek Sea for a year and a half, and wherever he lands he erects an oratory in honour of St Andrew. At length he lands in "*terra Pictorum ad locum qui Muckros fuerat nuncupatus nunc autem Kilrymont dictus;*" and his vessel having been wrecked, he erects a cross he had brought from Patras. After remaining

there seventeen days and nights, Regulus goes with the relics to Forteviot, and finds there the three sons of King Hungus, viz., Owen, Nectan, and Finguene, who being anxious as to the life of their father, then on an expedition "in partibus Argatheliæ," give the tenth part of Forteviot to God and St Andrew. They then go to a place called "Moneclatu, qui nunc dicitur Monichi," and there Finchem, the queen of King Hungus, is delivered of a daughter called Mouren, who was afterwards buried at Kilrymont, and the queen gives the place to God and St Andrew. They then cross the mountain called Moneth, and reach a place called "Doldancha, nunc autem dictus Chondrochedalvan," where they meet King Hungus returning from his expedition, who prostrates himself before the relics, and this place is also given to God and St Andrew. They return across the Moneth to Monichi, where a church was built in honour of God and the apostle, and from thence to Forteviot, where a church is also built. King Hungus then goes with the clergy to Kilrymont, when a great part of that place is given to build churches and oratories, and a large territory is given as a parochia. The boundaries of this parochia can still be traced, and consisted of that part of Fife lying to the east of a line drawn from Largo to Naughten. Within this line was the district called the Boar's Chase, containing the modern parishes of St Andrews, Cameron, Dairsie, Kemback, Ceres, Denino, and Kingsmuir; and besides this district, the following parishes were included in the parochia, viz.:—Crail, Kingsbarns, Anstruther, Abercromby, St Monance, Kelly, Elie, Newburgh, Largo, Leuchars, Forgan, and Logie Murdoch.

It is impossible to doubt that there is a historic basis of some kind to this part of the legend. The circumstantial character of the narrative is of a kind not likely to be invented. The place beyond the Moneth or Grampians called Chondrochedalvan, is plainly the Church of Kindrochet in Braemar, which was dedicated to St Andrew. Monichi is probably not Monikie in Forfarshire, as that church was in the diocese of Brechin, but a church called Eglis Monichti, now in the parish of Monifieth, which was in the diocese of St Andrews, and Forteviot was also in the diocese of St Andrews.

According to the account in the Breviary, Regulus, after the relics had been removed to Constantinople, takes the portion he had concealed, and sails with them for two years till he arrives "ad terram Scottorum," where

he lands and enters the "nemus porcorum," and there builds a church, and preaches to the neighbouring people far and wide. Hungus, King of the Picts, sees a company of angels hover over the relics of the apostle, and comes with his army to Regulus, who baptises him, with all his servants, and receives a grant of the land, which is set apart to be the chief seat and mother church of Scotland.

Such being the leading features of these legends, the eastern part so closely associated with the general tradition regarding the translation of the relics of St Andrew in the fourth century, and the western or Scottish part so interwoven into the events of the reign of a certain Ungus, son of Urguist, King of the Picts, the first question is, When did this king reign?

In the oldest lists of the Pictish kings there appear two kings bearing the same name of Angus or Ungus, son of Urguist, and two only. The first reigned for thirty years, from the year 731 to 761, when his death recorded by Tighernac, and also in the short chronicle appended to Bede in the following terms:—

"761. Ængus mc Fergus rex Pictorum mortuus est.—*Tigh.*

"Anno Dcc. lxi., Oengus Pictorum rex obiit qui regni sui principium usque ad finem facinore cruentum tyrannus Carnifex perduxit. Chron. ap. Bedam."

The second reigned in the following century for twelve years, and his death is recorded only in the Annals of Ulster, under the year 834.

"834. Oengus mac Fergus rex Fortrenn moritur."

In the list of kings extracted from the Register of the Priory of St Andrews, the foundation of St Andrews is attributed to this second Angus, as after his name the chronicle adds "Hic œdificavit Kilrymont."

Fordun applies to this king that part of the legend which relates to the war against the Saxons and the victory under the auspices of St Andrew; but he applies the other part of the legend, narrating the arrival of St Regulus, and his reception by the Pictish king, to an early Ungus, son of Urguist, supposed to have reigned in the fourth century.

The old lists know of no such king, and this is a palpable attempt to reconcile history with the tradition of a St Regulus in the fourth century, which is quite inconsistent with the legends themselves, as it is plain from

all of them that they regarded the whole of the transactions as belonging to the same King Ungus—his victory against the Saxons under the auspices of St Andrew leading to the reception of St Regulus and the foundation of the church. There is one authority, however, for the foundation of St Andrews having been attributed to the first Angus; for Hearne, in his edition of Fordun, in that part where he narrates the war against the Saxons, and the vision of St Andrew, under the second King Ungus, adds in a note—"Hæc omnia tribuuntur ungo filio urgust qui multis annis prior est in fine cujusdum exemplaris Bedæ."

I have been unable to discover the MS. of Bede here referred to; but as there is appended to some MSS. a short Chronicle in which the death of the first and more celebrated Ungus in 761 alone is recorded, we may assume that this is the prior king here meant.

That he was the real King Ungus of the legends, is corroborated by other circumstances :—

1. Bede records, that the King of the Picts placed his kingdom under the patronage of St Peter in the year 710, and knows of no veneration of St Andrew among them, which he could hardly have omitted stating if it had existed at that time; it must therefore have been after the conclusion of his history, in 731, that it took place. St Andrews appears to have existed as a known ecclesiastical establishment in 747, for in that year Tighernac has the death of Tuathalan, Abbot of Kilrymont.¹ If founded between these two dates, it must have been in the reign of the first Ungus.

2. The longer legend points also strongly to this king; for in the part which seems based on history, there are three things told of him,—

- (1.) That he warred against the Saxons of Northumbria.
- (2.) That in the year in which St Andrews was founded, he was absent on a great expedition in Argyll.
- (3.) That he had three sons, who gave a tenth part of Forteviot to St Regulus, the eldest of whom was called Owen.

Now we trace none of these events during the reign of the second Ungus, but we find them all attributed to the first. In 740, during the reign of the first Ungus, Eadbert, King of Northumbria, is said to have

¹ 747. Mors Tuathalain Ab. Cindrigmonaidh.—*Tigh.*

been "occupatus cum suo exercitu contra Pictos," and Athelstane may have been his general.¹ In 736 Tighernac records a great expedition of this Ungus, the son of Urguist, into Argyll, when he says, "Angus mac Fergus rex Pictorum vastavit regiones Dailriada et obtinuit Dunad (the capital) et compussit creich et duos filios Selbaiche catenis aligavit id est Dougal et Feradach et paulo post Brudeus mac Angusa mac Fergus a obiit;" and in the same year 736, the "Annales Cambriæ" record the death of Owen, king of the Picts, showing that the Brudeus of Tighernac bore that name, and that he was son of Angus.

We may therefore hold, that the king who placed the kingdom under the patronage of St Andrew, and founded St Andrews, was Angus, son of Fergus, who reigned from 731 to 761, and that the year of the foundation was the year 736, when the expedition to Dalriada, afterwards called Argathelia, took place.

It is plain that, if this was the true date, the tradition which brings St Regulus direct from Patras or Constantinople to Scotland with the relics in the fourth century is a mere legend, connected more intimately with the relics than with the foundation of St Andrews, and that we must look to some nearer quarter as the immediate source from whence they were brought, and from whence the veneration of St Andrews was derived.

It will assist us in this inquiry, if we keep in mind the leading facts in the ecclesiastical history of Northumbria.

Northumbria derived her Christianity and her Church from two different sources, which were in spirit and character opposed to each other. These were the Irish Church, founded by Patrick, and extended over the Picts by St Columba, and the Anglo-Saxon Church, founded by Augustine. The one followed Eastern traditions; the other was closely connected with Rome.

The Northumbrians were converted in 617 by Paulinus of the Augustinian Church; and a bishopric was founded by him, the chief seat of which was York. This church remained till 633, when it was overturned by Cadwalla, king of the Britons.

¹ Anno 740. "Edilbaldus rex Merciorum per impiam fraudem vastabat partem Northanhymbrorum eratque rex eorum Eadbertus occupatus cum suo exercitu contra Pictos."—*Chron. ap Bedam.*

Oswald, who recovered the kingdom in 634, and had been educated in exile in Iona, introduced Columban clergy from Iona, and Lindisfarne became the chief seat of this Church. The Columban Church lasted for thirty years, till 664, when the great council of Whitby was held to determine the contest between the two Churches as to the two great subjects of dispute—the proper time for keeping Easter, and the tonsure. The head of the one party was Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and of the other, Wilfrid. The contest ended with the defeat of the Columban party, who were driven out, and Wilfrid was subsequently made bishop, the seat of the bishopric being restored to York. Bede tells us that Wilfrid administered the bishopric of York, and of all the Northumbrians, and *likewise of the Picts*, as far as the dominion of King Oswy extended. In a former part of his history he tells us that Oswy not only held nearly the same dominions as his brother Oswald, to whom he had succeeded, but also had, for the most part, subdued and made tributary the nations of the Picts. Wilfrid therefore included in his jurisdiction a part of the nation of the Picts. What part that was, we shall see immediately.

In the year 678 Wilfrid was expelled from the bishopric, and it was divided into two dioceses, corresponding to the two provinces of Bernicia and Deira, Bosa being made bishop of the one, and Eata of the other; and in 681, three years after, it was divided into four dioceses, two new districts being created; the one was Hexham, over which Trumberct was made bishop, and the other was the province of the Picts, at that time subject to the King of Northumbria, over which Trumwine was made bishop.

In the year 685, Ecfred, King of Northumbria, in attempting to penetrate through the range of the Sidlaw Hills, was slain in battle at Dun-nichen by the Picts.

Bede informs us that, as the result of this battle, the Picts recovered their land which had been held by the Angles, and adds these remarkable words: "Among the many English that then either fell by the sword, or were made slaves, or escaped by flight out of the country of the Picts, the most revered man of God, Trumwin, who had received the bishopric over them, withdrew with his people that were in the monastery of Abercorn, seated in the country of the Angles, but close by the arm of the sea which parts the lands of the Angles and of the Picts."

It is quite clear from this passage, that the part of the country of the Picts which had been subject to the Angles, which was included in Wilfrid's bishopric, and was afterwards made a separate bishopric under Trumwin, was the country on the north side of the Firth of Forth, viz. Fife and Kinross, and perhaps part of Forfar, as far as the Sidlaw Hills; but that for safety the seat of the bishopric was at Abercorn, on the south side.

The influence of the Anglic Church, which had thus held for twenty years the southern part of the Pictish province under its care, seems to have continued after the Church itself had left; for in 710 Bede informs us, that Nectan, King of the Picts, renounced the error by which he and his nation had till then been held, in relation to the observance of Easter, and submitted, together with his people, to celebrate the Catholic time of our Lord's resurrection. He sent messengers to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow, in Northumberland, requesting instruction, and likewise that he would send architects that he might build a church after the Roman manner, which he promised to dedicate in honour of the blessed Peter; and that he and all his people would always follow the custom of the holy Roman Apostolic Church.

Ceolfrid accordingly wrote a long letter in support of the Roman usages; and Bede goes on to say, that on this letter being read in the presence of the King and many others of his most learned men, and carefully interpreted into his own language by those who could understand it, he rejoiced, and declared that hereafter he would continually observe the Roman time of Easter, and that the tonsure should be received by his clergy. The cycles of nineteen years were sent throughout all the provinces of the Picts; and the nation, thus reformed, rejoiced as being newly placed under the direction of St Peter, and made secure under his protection.

In short, the whole Pictish people passed over from the Columban to the Anglic Church. The Columban clergy were expelled, as appears from a notice in Tighernac under the year 717,¹ and Anglic clergy introduced. The legend of Bonifacius, on 16th March, shows us the introduction of a new clergy and the foundation of new churches, which

¹ " 717. Expulsio familiæ Ie trans dorsum Britannię Nectano rege."—*Tigh.*

were dedicated to St Peter, and that apostle became for a time the patron saint of the kingdom.

In 674, thirty-six years before this event, Wilfrid had founded the church of Hexham. Bede tells us, that Wilfrid had been educated by the Scottish monks at Lindisfarne, but, having doubts of the correctness of their ways, went to Rome for instruction; and it is recorded of him by his biographer Eddi, that when he first conceived the purpose of endeavouring to turn the Northumbrians from Columba to Rome, he went to a church in Rome, dedicated to St Andrew, and there knelt before the altar, and prayed to God, through the merits of his holy martyr Andrew, that he would grant him the power of reading the Gospels aright, and of preaching the eloquence of the evangelists to the people. His prayer was answered by the gift of persuasive eloquence; and feeling himself peculiarly under the guidance of that apostle, he dedicated his church of Hexham to St Andrew. Bede tells us that on another occasion, when returning through France to Britain, he fell sick at Bordeaux, and, when nearly dead, he saw a vision, in which a person in white garments appeared to him, and told him he was Michael the archangel, and announced to him that he should recover through the intercession of the blessed Virgin Mary.

In consequence of this incident two chapels were erected at Hexham, one dedicated to St Michael, and the other to St Mary.

The Roman dedications in Northumbria had hitherto been usually to St Peter, and thus was introduced among them the veneration of St Andrew. The peculiar combination of the principal dedication to St Andrew, with chapels to St Michael and St Mary, arose out of the incidents in Wilfrid's life, as is very plainly stated by Richard of Hexham, and affords presumptive evidence, wherever they are found, of the church having been derived from some church founded by him.

Wilfrid died in 709, and was succeeded in the bishopric of Hexham by Acca, who was alive when Bede wrote his History. Of him Bede records, that being an active person, and great in the sight of God and man, he much adorned and added by his wonderful works to the structure of his church, *which is dedicated to the blessed apostle Andrew*; for he made it his business, and does so still, to procure *relics* of the blessed apostles and martyrs of Christ from all parts; besides which, he

very diligently gathered the history of their sufferings. The Northumbrian Church already possessed relics of St Peter and St Paul; for the Pope Vitalian, writing to King Oswy, after the Council of Whitby, says, "We have ordered the blessed gifts of the saints, viz., the relics of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of the holy martyrs Laurentius, John, and Paul, and Gregory, and Paucratius, to be delivered to the bearers of these our letters, to be by them delivered to your Excellency;" and it can hardly be doubted that Acca, in collecting relics of the other apostles, would not fail to obtain relics of the patron of his great predecessor Wilfrid, and the apostle to whom his church was dedicated; and this he appears to have done, for in the "*Liber de Sanctis Ecclesiæ Hagulstadensis et eorum Miraculis*" there is this statement,—“Moreover the church of Hexham was decorated with precious ornaments, and enriched with the *relics of St Andrew*, and other saints.”

The parallel between the history of the Northumbrians and the Picts in this respect can hardly fail to strike every one. The Northumbrians, expelling the Columban clergy, dedicating to St Peter, and then receiving at Hexham the dedication to St Andrew, and the Bishop of Hexham active in introducing relics; and, sixty years later, the Picts, expelling the Columbans, dedicating to St Peter, and receiving from some unknown quarter the dedication to St Andrew, accompanied by his relics. It raises a strong presumption, at least, that in searching for the source of the veneration of St Andrew among the Picts, we should turn our eyes first to Hexham.

When Bede closed his History, Acca was still alive, and Bishop of Hexham; and when this great light leaves us, we are in comparative darkness; but a few incidents are still recorded which may afford us some clue out of the mist.

In the year 732 Simeon of Durham has this notice: "Acca Episcopus eodem anno de sua Sede fugatus est." Richard of Hexham, who must have known the Hexham traditions regarding Acca, adds this remarkable passage:—"Qua autem urgente necessitate pulsus est vel quo diverterit scriptum non reperi (no written record of where he went to). Sunt tamen qui dicunt (here is the tradition) quod eo tempore episcopalem sedem in Candida incepit et praperaverit." It was believed he had founded an episcopal seat in Candida or Whitehern. That Acca founded no bishopric there is certain; for Bede, in closing his History in 731, says, that in the

province of the Northumbrians four bishops now preside—Wilfrid in York, Edilwald in Lindisfarne, Acca in Hexham, and Pecthelm in that which is called Candida, which, from the increased number of believers, has lately become an additional episcopal seat, and has him for its first prelate. Candida was therefore a bishopric before Acca left Hexham, and Pecthelm was the first bishop. But another passage in Richard of Hexham throws light upon his meaning. After the Pictish kingdom had disappeared in the ninth century, and the Picts of Galloway alone remained as a separate people, it was a common mistake among the Anglic writers to attribute to Galloway, and its episcopal seat Candida, what was true of the Pictish province north of the Forth. Thus Florence of Worcester places Trumwine as bishop of Candida, though we know from Bede the Picts he presided over were north of the Firth of Forth; and Richard of Hexham, in quoting the passage from Bede already referred to, when he says that Wilfrid's bishopric of York extends over the Picts subject to Oswy, and over whom Trumwine was afterwards placed, adds, after the words *super Pictos*, "*quia Candida casa nondum episcopum proprium habuerat*," showing that he applied what Bede tells of the Picts north of the Forth to Candida.

It is plain that when Acca was banished by the King of Northumbria, he could not have founded a bishopric anywhere within his territories; and I hold the Hexham tradition to have been that Acca had fled out of the country, and it was believed had founded a bishopric among the Picts, where Wilfrid and Trumwine had presided before him—that is, in Fife. Now, it is a remarkable coincidence that Acca, the venerator of St Andrew, the importer of relics, should have fled in 732, and that a report should have got up that he had founded a bishopric among the Picts, and that St Andrews should have been actually founded, as we have seen, by the King of the Picts, and part of the relics of St Andrew have been brought to it in 736, four years after his flight.

Let us see, then, if there are any resemblances between St Andrews and Hexham to corroborate this presumption; and the first we observe is a very striking one—Kilrymont, like Hexham, was dedicated to St Andrew; and in the St Andrew legend a list of its chapels are given, and two of them are as follows, one "*in honorem St Michaeli Archangeli*," and the next "*in honorem Stae Mariae Virginis*." There was

thus at St Andrews, as well as at Hexham, a principal dedication to St Andrew, with chapels to St Michael and St Mary, the group peculiar to churches deriving their foundation from St Wilfrid, or from churches founded by him, as Hexham was.

Another resemblance may possibly be a mere coincidence. Lindores, dedicated to St Andrew and St Mary, is in the midst of a wood termed of old Earnside Wood. It is within the parochia given to St Regulus. Sibbald is puzzled that it should bear the name of Earnside, seeing that the Earn does not flow there; but there was a place with nearly the same name near Hexham, where there was a chapel dedicated to St Michael. Richard of Hexham says,—“*Est enim oratorium quoddam in veneratione Sancti Michaeli Archangeli dedicatum ultra flumen Tinæ in Monte ripæ ejusdem amnis remanenti qui Anglice Erneshou latine mons aquilæ dicitur.*”

It seems to me that Acca's route can be traced by the dedications to St Andrew; for the usual route from Northumbria to the region north of the Forth at that time was by the ferry called Earlsferry, from Gulaneness to Newburn, and the church of Gulane on the south side was likewise dedicated to St Andrew.

According to this view, then, the historical basis of the legendary foundation of St Andrews by Regulus was its foundation in the year 736 by Acca and his refugee clergy, who brought the veneration of St Andrew and his relics from Hexham. The Picts were at the time at war with the Angles; and when expelled from Northumbria, his natural refuge was with the sister-church among the Picts, where the immediate successor of Wilfrid could not fail to have powerful influence; and this view is corroborated by the peculiar respect paid by the Scots to Hexham even as late as the reign of David I. Richard of Hexham informs us, that during the wars of Stephen, when the Scots so repeatedly ravished the south of England, and burnt churches and monasteries everywhere, Hexham was always respected. He says:—“In this raging and tempestuous period, that noble monastery of Hexham, though in the very midst of the collision, yet, on account of the merits of its tutelary saints, Andrew the apostle, and Wilfrid, bishop and martyr, and of its other patron saints, Acca, Alcmund, and Eata, bishops and confessors, offered the most tranquil security to its people, and those who took

refuge in it, and afforded them all a safe asylum from hostile assaults." David, King of Scotland, and Henry, his son, guaranteed to that monastery, its brethren, and all belonging to it, continued security from hostilities; and this they confirmed by their charters, which are still preserved.

A successor had been appointed to Acca in Hexham; but he appears to have returned and died there in the year 740, four years after the foundation of St Andrews.

The next legend which bears upon the history of St Andrews is that of Adrian, at 4th March.

The best edition of this legend is in the Aberdeen Breviary, and it is as follows:—"Adrian was a native of Hungary, and after preaching there for some time, was seized with a desire to preach to other people; and having gathered together a company, he set out "*ad orientales Scotiæ partes que tunc a Pictis occupabantur*," and landed there with 6606 confessors, clergy, and people, among whom were Glodianus, Gayus, Minanus, Scobrandus, and others, chief priests. These men, with their bishop, Adrian, the Pictish kingdom being destroyed, "*delato regno Pictorum*," did many signs, but afterwards desired to have a residence on the Isle of May. The Danes, who then devastated the whole of Britain, came to the island, and there slew them. Their martyrdom is said to have taken place in the year 875.

It will be observed that they are here said to have settled in the east part of Scotland, opposite the Isle of May, that is in Fife, while the Picts still occupied it; that the Pictish kingdom is then said to have been destroyed, and that their martyrdom took place in 875, thirty years after the Scottish conquest under Kenneth M'Alpin. Their arrival was therefore almost coincident with the Scottish conquest; and the large number said to have come, not the modest twenty-one who arrived with Regulus, but 6606 confessors, clergy, and people, shows that the traditional history was really one of an invasion, and leads to the suspicion at once that it was in reality a part of the Scottish occupation of the Pictish kingdom. This suspicion is much strengthened by two corroborative circumstances: 1st, The year 875, when they are said to have been slain by the Danes, falls in the reign of Constantine, the son of Kenneth Mac-Alpin, in his fourteenth year, and in this year the Pictish Chronicle records a battle between the Danes and the Scots, and adds, that after it, "*ocasi*

sunt Scotti in Coachcochlum," which seems to refer to this very slaughter. 2d, Hector Boece preserves a different tradition regarding their origin. He says: "Non desunt qui scribant sanctissimos Christi martyros Hungaros fuisse. *Alii ex Scotos Anglisque gregarie collectos.*" There was therefore a tradition that the clergy slain were not Hungarians, but a body composed of Scotti and Angli. But Hadrian was a bishop; he landed in the east of Fife, within the parochia of St Regulus, and he is placed at the head of some of the lists of bishops of St Andrews as first bishop. It was therefore the Church of St Andrews that then consisted of clergy collected from among the Scotti and the Angli. The Angli probably represented the Church of Acca, and the Scotti those brought in by Adrian. The real signification of this occupation of St Andrews by Scottish clergy will be apparent, when we recollect that the Columban clergy, who had formerly possessed the chief ecclesiastical seats among the Picts, had been expelled in 717, and Angliic clergy introduced—the cause of quarrel being the difference of their usages. Now the Pictish Chronicle states, as the main cause of the overthrow of the Pictish kingdom, a century and a half later, this very cause. It says: "Deus enim eos pro merito suæ malitiæ alienos ac otiosos hæreditate dignatus est facere quia illi non solum Deum missam ac præceptum spreverunt sed et in jure æqualitatis *aliis* æqui *pariter* noluerunt." They were overthrown not only because they despised "Deum missam et præceptum," but because they would not tolerate the other party. And this great grievance was removed, when St Andrews appears at the head of the Scottish Church in a solemn concordat with the King Constantine, when, as the Pictish Chronicle tells us, "Constantinus Rex et Cellachus Episcopus leges disciplinasque fidei atque jura ecclesiarum evangeliorum que *pariter cum Scottis* devoverunt custodiri." Observe the parallel language of the two passages. In the one, the "Picti in jure æqualitatis *aliis*," that is the Scottish clergy, "æqui pariter noluerunt," and in the other the King and the Bishop of St Andrews vowed to preserve the laws and discipline of the faith "*pariter cum Scottis*," the thing the Picts would not do. It seems plain, therefore, that the ecclesiastical element entered largely into the Scottish conquest; and a main cause and feature of it was a determination on the part of the Scottish clergy to recover the benefices they had been deprived of. The exact coincidence of this great clerical invasion of the

parochia of St Andrews by ecclesiastics, said by one tradition to have been Scots, and the subsequent position of St Andrews as the head of the Scottish Church, points strongly to this as the true historic basis of the legend of Adrian.

The Norman calendar is full of early martyrs of the name of Adrian, who are celebrated on the first few days of March, and probably a confusion of identity led to the idea he was Hungarian. His true name of a Scot was probably Odran, as the name of the patron saint always enters largely into those of the clergy of the place with the usual prefix of Gilla or Maol; and we find a subsequent Bishop of St Andrews called Macgilla Odran, son of the servant of Odran. The corrupt form of it was Magidran, which is simply the Irish Mo, with the insertion of a g, *euphoniae gratia*; and Odran is Macgidran by the same law which makes Colman, Mocholmoc, Aidan Madoc, &c. As Magidrin, he appears on Macduff's Cross, the boundary-stone between the dioceses of St Andrews and Dunblane. The parishes of Flisk and Lindores, both within the parochia, are dedicated to Macgidrin, and a church near Dron is called after him corruptly Exmagirdle.

His day is the 4th of March, and on the same day we find in the Irish calendars—St Magrido or Magrudo, *Episcopi et Confessoris*. Colgan could find no church in Ireland to connect him with; but his day being the same with that of Adrian or Odran, and the resemblance of the name, make me suspect that this is our saint in his Irish disguise.

There are strong reasons for thinking that the Scottish clergy who accompanied Kenneth M'Alpin came from Ireland, and were mainly connected with the diocese of Kildare. The first Abbot of Iona after the Scottish conquest was also Abbot of Kildare.¹ We have seen that two of the chapels of St Andrews were connected with Acca's Church, being dedicated to St Michael and Mary. Other two of them point equally to Kildare. The sixth was in "honorem Stæ Brigidæ virginis," the patron saint of Kildare; the seventh, in "honorem Mouren cujusdam virginis." This could hardly have been the Mouren previously mentioned, as it is differently spelt, and the expression "cujusdam virginis" could not have been used with propriety; but in 829, just before the Scottish conquest,

¹ 865. Ceallach ab Cilledare, et ab Ja quievit. An. ult.

died Muren, Abbess of Kildare.¹ The church of Leuchars, near St Andrews, is dedicated to St Athernasc. His day is the 22d December; but in the same day appears in the Irish calendar St Athernasc of Claonadh, near Clare, in Leinster, in the county of Kildare. The church of Abercromby, now St Monan's, was dedicated to St Monan, who is said to have accompanied Adrian. His day is the 1st of March, but it is the day of St Monan, the first bishop of Clonfert, whose death is recorded by Tighernac in 571, and whose dedication he must have brought from Ireland.

I have reserved till now the difficult question of who was St Regulus? did he ever exist, or was he merely a part of the fable? because the history of this Scottish establishment throws some light upon it.

In the legends, Regulus is closely connected with the history of the translation of the relics from Patras to Constantinople; but he is also interwoven into the history of the foundation of St Andrews by King Ungus, and the one part of the legend belongs to the fourth century, while the other has its historic basis in the eighth. There is thus an interval of four centuries between the two parts of the legend; and it follows, that St Regulus must either belong to the legend of the relics of St Andrew, and his name and veneration have been brought to this country with the relics; or else he was a real man, who belonged to the history of the foundation of the church in the eighth century, and whose name was subsequently added to the legend of the relics.

In favour of the latter view we have the fact, that one of the chapels at St Andrews was dedicated to him, and there are other dedications to him throughout Scotland. On the other hand, he is said to have been accompanied by two clergy from Nola, seven hermits from the insula Tyberis, and three virgins from Colossia; but these places are mentioned in the early part of the legend, and are unquestionably connected with the history of the relics of St Andrew in the fourth century, as appears from St Jerome, Paulinus, and others.

St Regulus is celebrated on two different days in Scotland. In the Aberdeen Breviary, his legend is introduced on the 30th of March; but this is the day on which St Regulus, the first bishop of Silvanectis or Senlis in Gaul is celebrated. This St Regulus was also a Greek, and

¹ 829. Quies Muren, Abbatissa Cilledara. An. iv. Mag.

came from Greece to Gaul in the fourth century. He was popularly called St Rule, and at Silvanectis was a church called that of St Andrew in *nemore*, while the Scottish church of St Andrew was in *nemore porcorum*.

The usual day assigned to St Regulus in Scotland is the 17th October, but again this is the day of St Riaguil of Muicinsi in Lochderg in Ireland, who was a contemporary of St Columba, and Muicinsi is *insula porcorum*. The 30th March was probably the day on which the Anglic Church, established by Acca, celebrated him; and it is not impossible that Acca may have brought the relics of St Andrew from France, and the legend of St Regulus with them; while the Scottish Church which superseded it under Adrian may have identified him with their own Irish St Regulus. But I must own, that I have been unable to satisfy my own mind as to either view.

Allow me a word or two before concluding.

The foundation of that wondrous fabric of fabulous history which has been reared by our historians from John of Fordun to Hector Boece, was laid in the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, and I venture to hold the clergy of St Andrews entirely responsible for it.

St Andrews was the head of the second Scottish Church which superseded the Pictish Church in the ninth century. It represented in a peculiar manner the Scottish population, and was intimately connected and closely allied with the Scottish Royal House that occupied the throne. The spirit of rivalry which pervaded all ecclesiastical foundations, and a desire to base her high position and pretensions upon spiritual pre-eminence, led her to push her claims to antiquity very far, and to assert a pre-eminence above all other churches. We have seen that, in the third and latest legend, the story had advanced from the foundation of a church to the conversion of the king and people to Christianity by St Regulus; and in the celebrated letter from the Scottish barons to the Pope in 1320, it is broadly stated that the Scottish nation had been converted by the Nuncio who brought the relics of St Andrew, while there is no allusion to either Ninian or Columba, the real apostles of Scotland.

The process by which a fabulous antiquity was given to St Andrews

was a very simple one. The events of the latter part of the eighth and first half of the ninth century were, first, placed at an early period, coincident with the removal of the relics of St Andrew from Patras to Constantinople; and, secondly, they were suppressed at their proper period.

There was thus a fictitious history containing the foundation of St Andrews, placed before the foundation of Whitehern by St Ninian, or of Iona by St Columba, and the true history of the last half of the eighth and first half of the ninth century has disappeared from our annals. Upon this basis the fabulous historians reared the superstructure of their history, and through one channel or another it can be traced to St Andrews. Its germs are found in the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries. It received its first artistic development from John of Fordun, and the crowning capital was placed upon it by Hector Boece.

II.

NOTICE OF RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT TORMORE, IN THE ISLAND OF ARRAN. BY DR JAMIESON, GLENCLOY, ARRAN. COMMUNICATED BY DR ARTHUR MITCHELL, CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT.

Dr Jamieson formed one of a party who examined various stone remains in Arran, and this paper was a short abstract of their discoveries, full details of which were afterwards forwarded to the Society, and will appear in the next part of the "Proceedings."

III.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF "THE BROCH," OR BURGHEAD, IN MORAY, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF ITS ANTIQUITIES. BY JAMES MACDONALD, ESQ., A.M., ELGIN. [ABSTRACT.]

The Broch, or, as it is now generally called, Burghead, is a small sea-port on the southern shore of the Moray Firth, and distant from Elgin about nine miles. To those acquainted with the "Military Antiquities" of General Roy, and the "Caledonia" of George Chalmers, its more

modern name will recall the locality which those authors have identified with the *Πτερόν σπαράγεδον* of Ptolemy, and the *Ptoroton* of the treatise "*De Situ Britannia*," usually ascribed to Richard of Cirencester.

Save, however, the rocky promontory on which it stands, and the striking view of the opposite shores of the Firth, that may, under favourable circumstances, be thence obtained, there is little about Burghhead to attract attention; for its once formidable ramparts have been all but swept away before the march of improvement, and its celebrated "Roman Well" is seldom in a state that invites very close inspection.

The headland itself is the termination of a low undulating range of sandstone hills, that skirt the coast between that point and the *embouchure* of the Lossie, eight miles to the east. Its bluff extremity is divided for a considerable distance inland into two distinct areas or terraces,—the surface of the northern terrace being at first much and suddenly depressed below the level of that of the southern. From near its middle to the base of the Clarkly Hill, as the adjoining portion of the coast range is termed, there extends a flat space about 800 feet in length by 1000 in breadth, and of the same elevation as the lower terrace. These peculiarities of configuration are clearly due to the action of the sea in some past age, and, along with its reptiliferous sandstones, its submarine forest, and the recently formed dunes that thickly fringe the shores of the bay which indents the coast to the south-west as far as and beyond Culbin, have often of late drawn the rambling geologist to the spot.

But it was not till General Roy had associated its fortunes with the progress of the Roman arms in Britain that the history of Burghhead became an object of general interest. Before his day, nothing had been advanced regarding it beyond the supposition that the fort was of Danish construction. Once propounded, however, the belief in its Roman origin soon gained that all but universal credence which it still enjoys. To show the doubtful nature of the foundation on which this theory rests, and to give such details respecting the antiquities of the place as may lead to a more satisfactory explanation of them, is the principal object of the present communication; and it may be well to clear the way, by reviewing, as briefly as possible, the various notices of the place which occur in the more important of those authors who have alluded to it.

Boece.—What appears to be the first mention of the promontory under its present name, will be found in Hector Boece. Malcolm II. having refused, as is alleged, to deny an asylum to such fugitives from England as might be anxious to escape from the rule of King Sueno, the latter sent orders to two of his Scandinavian subordinates, Olave, a Norwegian, and Enetus, a Dane, to collect a body of troops, and invade Scotland. Accordingly, these chiefs landed with their followers at the mouth of the river Spey; and, after wasting the intervening country with fire and sword, laid siege to the forts of Elgin, Forres, and Narmin. Of these, the last was by far the strongest; and so important for the success of their enterprise was its reduction deemed, that the whole strength of the invaders was ultimately directed against it. While thus engaged, word was brought to the Danes that an army of Scots, led by Malcolm in person, was already within five miles of their outposts; upon which they immediately raised the siege, and marched to meet them, putting to instant death messengers sent at this juncture by Malcolm, to inquire why they had made this unprovoked incursion into his territories. On hearing of this wanton act of cruelty, the Scottish king, who had halted for a time, again put his forces in motion, but was compelled by the approach of night to bivouac near Killos (Kinloss). Here, on the following day, a battle was fought, in which, in spite of the exhortations and personal valour of their leader, the Scots were totally defeated, and Malcolm himself so severely wounded that he was carried off the field as dead. Laden with spoil, the victors then resumed their position before Narmin. "This fort," says Boece, "stood on a peninsula, and was furnished with towers and a wall of great height, marvellous works. It was accessible by a narrow path; and this neck of land being afterwards removed by the Danes, it became an island instead of a peninsula, and was joined to the mainland by a bridge." Disheartened by the defeat of their countrymen in the battle of Kinloss, the beleaguered garrison now offered to surrender to the Danes, on condition that their lives should be spared. The terms were accepted; but no sooner had the besiegers been put in possession of the fort, than, in violation of their promise, they hanged its defenders on the walls. "Thus," adds the chronicler, "did Narmin, by far the strongest fort in those parts, fall into the hands of the Danes, who in a short time so strengthened it by new works, that

many deemed it impregnable. A new name, **THE BURG**—a Teutonic vocable—was likewise bestowed upon it, which has come down to our own day." The garrisons of Elgin and Forres, warned by the fate of Narmin, abandoned their posts; and the Danes, thus masters of the whole of Moray, resolved to settle permanently in the country. Next spring, however, they were overpowered at Murthlac (Mortlach, in Banffshire) by Malcolm, who, in consequence of a vow made during the progress of the engagement, founded a see there, the seat of which was afterwards transferred to Aberdeen. The death of this monarch is usually set down as having happened in the year 1014.¹

Resting exclusively on the authority of Boece, the whole of this story is open to suspicion, and its historical value will be variously estimated; nor can there be much doubt that some of the details into which the writer enters are purely imaginary. At first sight it would seem to derive some confirmation from the assertion of Fordun,² that the bishopric of Mortlach was established by Malcolm II. after gaining a victory over the Northmen, did not the Episcopal Registers of Aberdeen appear to intimate that the real founder of the see was Malcolm Canmore.³ But a more satisfactory argument in favour of its authenticity, so far at least as the destruction of Narmin, afterwards The Burg, is concerned, may be drawn from the fact, that we have in Burghead, both as regards its situation and antiquities, the remains of a fort, which answers, to the most minute particular, all the requirements of the narrative,—a coincidence scarcely possible were the whole purely fictitious. To those acquainted with the topography of the "Laigh of Moray," and with the promontory itself, this must be evident enough; although, strange to say, Narmin has hitherto been generally identified with Nairn,—a mistake traceable, in the first place, to the carelessness of Bellenden, and subsequently to the readiness with which compilers of history often receive the statements of others without due examination.

Perhaps the only objection that can be advanced against recognising Burghead as the Narmin of Boece, is his assertion that the Danes con-

¹ *Scotorum Historiæ*, &c. Hectore Boethio Deidonano Auctore, p. 240 et seq. (Second Edition.) Parisiis, 1574.

² *Scotichronicon*, vol. i. p. 227. Edin. 1759.

³ *Reg. Episcop. Aberdon.* Preface, p. 18. (Spalding Club, 1845.)

verted the latter into an island, this being an undertaking which could scarcely have been accomplished by any means which can be supposed to have been at the command of the invaders. It must, however, be borne in mind that the writer is describing a place which in all likelihood he never saw, and may have thus been led, in noticing the fact, to speak as if the isolation of the fortress had been effected by cutting a canal from sea to sea. Besides, the statement is sufficiently explained by the existence of three parallel ditches, of considerable depth, crossed in the middle by a bridge-like path, which had been drawn across the promontory for defensive purposes, at the very time, be it noted, that its fortifications assumed their latest form; and it is not a little singular, that these ditches were formerly known to the natives of the village as "The Brigs,"—a name, it can hardly be doubted, given originally to the entrances alone, and descriptive, to some extent, of what they really were when first constructed.

The Sagas.—If it can now be shown that the Sagas have preserved any memorial of a warlike incident, whose details in some measure correspond with those of the preceding narrative, the most sceptical reader of Boece will probably admit that his account of the battle of Kinloss may rest on a foundation of truth, so that even should the Scandinavian records be silent regarding the fate of Narmin, some credit may still be given to the story of its fall. In this view, the notice which they contain of a military expedition undertaken by the Norsemen against the Scottish mainland, the chief event of which was a victory gained near a ness or promontory of Moray, possesses considerable importance, although the names of its leaders, its date, and its professed object, cannot be easily reconciled with the corresponding particulars, as given by the Scottish annalist.

Thorfinn, the celebrated Jarl of Orkney, had been invested by his grandfather, Melkolf (Malcolm), King of Scotland, with the earldom of Sutherland and Caithness. Karl or Kali Hundason, represented as Malcolm's successor, afterwards demanded tribute from Thorfinn. This being refused, he bestowed the title of earl on his own nephew, Moddan, and sent him to the north to enforce his claims. Meanwhile Thorfinn, with the aid of a Norse chief, Thorkil Fostri, having obliged Moddan to retire, overran Sutherland and Ross, making war "far and wide in Scot-

land." Word having been brought to Kali at Berwick of these proceedings, he at once set sail with a fleet and army, and, on arriving in northern waters, engaged the Norsemen off the promontory of Dyrness (Durness). Being defeated, Kali sailed southward to Breidafjord (Moray Firth), and landing, got together fresh troops. Thither he was followed by the Norse chiefs, with all their forces; and the rival armies met at a place called Torfness, "south of Bæfjord" (or, according to another reading, Breidafjord), somewhere in Maerhaefi (Moray). The engagement which ensued resulted in the complete defeat of the Scots, and the reported death of their king on the field.

"The wolves bit (sword) reddened its edges
In the place called Torfness.
A young man was the cause.
This happened on a Monday.
In this congress south of Eckial,
The thin (well-sharpened) swords sung
When the valiant prince fought
Against the ruler of Skotland."

No mention is made in the Saga of the capture of any stronghold; but it is admitted that the natives of the country were opposed to the invaders, and severely dealt with in consequence. In the significant words of the Skald Arnor,

"The conflagration blazed."

Thorfinn is further said to have followed up his success by overrunning the country as far south as Fife.¹

On comparing the two narratives a marked agreement will be found in several essential points, which it is unnecessary to particularise. The discrepancies are perhaps as numerous, but some of them are difficulties that meet us whatever view be taken of the matter,—*e.g.*, the King Kali of the Sagas, otherwise unknown to Scottish writers. Neither

¹ Orkneyinga Saga, pp. 81–48. Ed. Jonæus, Hafniæ, 1780. Translation of Extract from "Orkneyinga Saga," by W. F. Skene, Esq., in "Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis," pp. 339–345. Iona Club, 1839. Cf. Torfæus, lib. i. cap. xiii. Havnæ 1697.

annalist—the one credulous, the other boastful to excess—can be supposed to have written with much regard to historical accuracy; and due allowance must be made for this disturbing element, as well as for the fact that among every people tradition, to the inextricable confusion of all chronology, occasionally assigns to some favourite national hero the glory of achievements which belong to others. There is, however, one circumstance, as to which even tradition is less likely to err in recording a transaction of this kind, than in regard to either the date, the chief actors, or the motives from which it was undertaken—*its locality*. Is, then, the Torfness of the Saga the Narmin of Boece?

Unfortunately, much of the Scottish geography of the Sagas has not yet been satisfactorily cleared up; and though Torfness occurs several times, the context throws little light on its exact situation. Indeed, it would almost seem as if the Norsemen had bestowed the same name on more than one Scottish headland. As the scene of the battle between Thorfinn and Kali, it was unquestionably a promontory in Moray, on the southern shore of the Breidafjord,—i. e., Broad Firth, or Moray Firth, and, according to the Scald Arnor, “south of Eckial,” or Ekkjalsbakke.” This last, repeatedly noticed in the Sagas, Worsaae believes to be the river Oykel, which was, and still is, the boundary between Sutherland and Ross. Others place it elsewhere, but still so as to leave Burghead to the south or south-east. Looking, therefore, at the account of Thorfinn’s expedition to Moray as a whole, and taking into account the central position of Burghead, and its capabilities as a seaport, it will be perhaps admitted that there is no point on the southern seaboard of the Moray Firth, at or near which he was so likely to establish his headquarters. Nay more; one may even venture to affirm that it must have been in its neighbourhood that he met and defeated his opponent. It follows, therefore, since no other of Boece’s Danish battles except Kinloss can possibly be identified with that between Thorfinn and Kali, that Torfness and Kinloss are probably but different names for the same engagement, and that Narmin or Burghead, and Torfness, are almost to a certainty the same promontory.

Etymologically there seems no connection whatever between the two names—Narmin and Torfness. In Arrowsmith’s map of St Kilda, Borrera, &c., contained in his “Memoir relative to the Construction of

the Map of Scotland, 1807," an isolated rock to the north of Borrera is marked "Stack-Narmin;" but, with this exception, Narmin does not appear to occur elsewhere in Britain. Torfness, meaning Turf-head, is apparently descriptive of a headland where such fuel was to be had in abundance, and in this respect was once quite applicable to Burghead. It deserves to be noted, however, that while in the common text of the "Orkneyinga Saga" Torfness is said to have been the scene of the events now under discussion, the historian Torfæus, writing a century and a-half ago, with original documents before him, gives Thorsness in the parallel passages. This, if the better reading, would be the "Promontory of Thor," and so analogous to Thorsaa (Thurso), "Thor's rivulet." In the "Survey of Moray," by the Rev. Messrs Grant and Leslie, published in 1798, it is stated as an argument in favour of the identity of Burghead with the *Ἰνερπριὸν στρατόνεδον* of Ptolemy, "that the old inhabitants of the burgh, within these fifty years, called it Torytown, or Terytown."¹ May not this appellation be traced with more propriety to the Thorsness of the Norsemen? Burg or Broch is, as is well known, applied in the north of Scotland to those buildings otherwise known as Pictish towers. The remark that it was first bestowed on this fort by its Danish conquerors, is probably a mere conjecture of Boece's. At all events, it must have been originally given to the defences of the place, though afterwards extended so as to include as now the headland itself.²

Bellenden.—Bellenden (circa 1541), in his translation of Boece, took the liberty of substituting Narne for the Narmin of the original. Although the two words resemble each other closely enough to render it possible that the change may have been accidental, it is more likely that

¹ Survey of Moray, 1798, p. 58. Aberdeen, 1798.

² At page 21 of the preface to vol. ii. part 2, of the "Origines Parochiales Scotiæ," we read:—"It may not be out of place to intimate an opinion not hazarded in the text, that the Dufeyras of the Sagas, an emporium of Moray, and hitherto conjectured to be Banff, was no other than the old Roman station in the parish of Duffus, known to geographers as Alata Castra and Ptoroton, to which its Norse occupiers subsequently applied their usual term Burgh, and which still bears the name Burg-head." But at page 238 of the "Orkneyinga Saga," Dufeyras is called an "emporium of Scotland," *not* of Moray; and again, at page 268, the same town is spoken of as if it certainly lay beyond the boundaries of that province. Cf. Torf. Orcades, lib. i., cap. xxvi. and cap. xxix.

it was designed. And it must be admitted that the mistake into which he thus fell was natural enough, in the case of one who, notwithstanding his connection with the diocese, could have possessed but a very superficial acquaintance with the names and relative situations of places in Moray, as well as with its traditional history. Exclusive of Inverness, Elgin, Forres, and Nairn, or more fully Inver-Nairn, were the only towns in the province possessed of municipal privileges. In virtue of these, the gift of Scottish kings in days bygone, they had all become little centres of population and trade. As they were situated at no great distance from one another, and had formerly been protected each by its fort or castle, the mention of two of these in connection with the same series of warlike operations naturally enough suggested the third, —more especially as the promontory of Burghead, then inhabited only by a small colony of fishermen, had, long before Bellenden's day, ceased to be reckoned among the places of importance in the district, and may have been unknown to the courtly archdeacon by any name whatever.

As already remarked, the words of Boece can apply to Burghead, and Burghead only. Nairn (Invernairn or Innernairn) is situated at the mouth of a river of the same name, which, it may be noticed in passing, is called by Boece, in his "*Scotorum Regni Descriptio*," the "*Nairden*,"¹ an appellation quite distinct from the Narmin of his history; and had the latter been near a stream of any magnitude, it is not easy to see why no notice was taken of the circumstances. The coast line of the Moray Firth, especially between Findhorn and Inverness, has no doubt undergone considerable changes within the last few hundred years; but there is not the slightest evidence to show that, as regards the nature of the ground, or its proximity to the river, Nairn was ever very differently placed from what it is now. In the English versions of Camden's "*Britannia*," we certainly read as follows:—"Hard by is Narden, or Narne, an hereditary sheriffdom of the Campbells of Lorne; where, *in a peninsula, there stood a fort of mighty height, built with wonderful works*, and formerly held by the Danes;"² and, from the mention of the Campbells, there can be no doubt that the reference here is to the

¹ *Scotiæ Reg. Descrip.*, p. 4. Here Bellenden has "*Nardyn*."

² *Britannia*, by Gibson, p. 948. London, 1696.

town of Nairn. An examination, however, of the passage in the original Latin, discloses the fact, that the clause in italics is taken word for word from Boece,¹ Camden having been led, by Bellenden or otherwise, to confound the Narmin of the annalist with Nairn. In all probability, the "vestigia celeberrimæ olim arcis . . . nunc fluctibus obruta," noticed by Gordon of Straloch,² and laid down in the map of Moravia in Blaeu's Atlas, as "Ruins of ye Ald Castel," rest on no better foundation. Nairn may indeed have been at one time protected by some rude fortress now buried by the waves, since the old statist of the parish asserts that in his day there were persons still alive who remembered seeing vestiges of a building at spring tides;³ but regarding its fortunes, both history and tradition are alike silent.

Holinshed, Leslie, and Buchanan.—All other notices of this invasion of Moray by the Northmen to be met with in our older historians, have been drawn entirely from the pages of Boece, and mainly, it would seem, from Bellenden's version. Holinshed (1570) copied the story at length into his "Scottish Chronicle," and, as was to be expected, names the fort Narne. Bishop Leslie (1578), in his brief notice of the event, makes only one reference to the stronghold, calling it *arx Nardensis*;⁴ and as, in his "Regionum Scotiæ Descriptio," he mentions the *Nardina*⁵ (Nairn) as one of the rivers of Moray, he too was probably influenced by the mistake of Bellenden. Buchanan (1582) relates the incident at greater length, though, like Leslie, he only mentions the fortress once; and, at a loss, apparently, to choose between the Narmin of Boece and the Narne of his translator, has adopted the form *Narnim* (acc.), as if from a nominative *Narnis*.⁶ Being but a meagre summary of the narrative of the older writer, his account of the expedition does not furnish

¹ *Vide Britannia*, ed. 1607, p. 715; and compare Boece, as quoted above. In the early editions of the "Britannia" the passage does not occur,—e.g., that of 1600. Londini: G. Bishop.

² Joannis Blaeu Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, &c. Pars Quinta. Scotia et Hibernia, Amstelædami, 1654. P. 9.

³ Sinclair's Statistical Account, vol. xii. p. 383. Edin. 1794.

⁴ De Rebus Gestis Scotorum, authore Joanne Leslæo, p. 202. Romæ, 1578.

⁵ Reg. et Insul. Scotiæ Descrip., p. 28.

⁶ Rerum Scoticarum Historia, p. 156. Ed. Jac. Man. Aberdoniæ, 1762.

such conclusive proof of the identity of Narmin with Burghead; at the same time, owing to the general estimation in which the "*Rerum Scotticarum Historia*" was long held, it appears to have been the only authority consulted by those who have hitherto noticed the event, so that Bellen-den's mistake was thereby saved from an earlier exposure.

Gordon of Straloch.—In the map of ancient Scotland, by Gordon of Straloch, in "*Blaeu's Atlas*" (1653), Burghead is designated "Burgh olim Narmin," their identity being thus expressly recognised; while in that of modern Scotland by the same, it appears as "Burch;" and in the map of the four northern provinces, "The Burch." In the map of Moray (Moravia) in the same collection, the headland is laid down with sufficient distinctness, but there is no name attached to it. This, however, is an omission of either the engraver or the editor; for in the original draught by Pont, still preserved in the Advocates' Library, it is called "The Old Burgh." Accompanying this last map in the "*Atlas Scotiæ*," is a short topographical description of the province, in which we read:—"— et in ora '*The Bruch*,' olim munita arce mari circumducto, rupi firmissimæ superposita, cum reliquum littus arenosum lit. Hinc nunc quoque in adversa Rossia, Sutherlandia, et Cathanesia littora quotidianus trajetus est. Proxima est Rosyll, ubi arenæ ventis mari excitæ non exiguam optimæ terræ portionem aratis subtraxerunt."¹

Pennant and Shaw.—Passing over several incidental notices of Burghead, we find, in Pennant's "*Tour in Scotland, 1769*," a short description of it, in which the fortifications are ascribed to the "Danes."² This intelligent traveller does not seem to have visited the place in person, and was probably indebted for all he knew of it to the Rev. Lachlan Shaw of Elgin, who furnished him with the "*Account of Elgin and the Shire of Murray*," forming Appendix No. II. to the "*Tour*," and containing a notice of "The Broch," identical in substance with that to be found in Shaw's own "*History of the Province*," then preparing for publication. This latter work appeared at Edinburgh in 1775. In the chapter, entitled "*Military History of Moray*," we are furnished with an account of Burghead and its fortifications, in which he recognises it as the strong-

¹ *Blaeu's Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, &c., Scotia*, p. 105.

² *Tour in Scotland, 1769*, vol. iii. p. 169. London, 1790.

hold captured by the Northmen in the reign of Malcolm II. Referring to Buchanan's version of the incident, for Boece's was evidently unknown to him, he sensibly adds, "Our historians, not acquainted with the geography of the country, place this fort at Nairne, but no such promontory or fort was there, nor any tradition of it." As Shaw was for fifteen years (1719-1734) minister of the adjoining parish of Cawdor, this last remark shows that few in Nairn or its neighbourhood had ever heard of the "Ruins" of Gordon's "Ald Castel."

Cordiner.—In 1776 the Rev. Charles Cordiner of Banff set out on his tour, the results of which he published four years afterwards in the thin quarto, "Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland." Letter X., dated "Forres, June 7th, 1776," contains his impressions of "the Burgh of Moray, a very antient and respectable fortress;" and Plate X. of the Illustrations which accompany the Letters, is a very incorrect and poorly executed sketch of the place, with a view of the headland as seen from the Bay. Like Shaw, he considers the fortifications to have been the work of the "Danes," referring to Buchanan for particulars; but the appearances of fire that presented themselves, led him to hazard a conjecture as to the time and cause of its final abandonment. It was probably, he thinks, "one of the border castles in Moray," burnt by "one Gillescop" in 1228, and "might be possessed by some Moravian Reguli, after it was evacuated by the Danes, in the reign of Malcolm II."¹ As an Appendix to his Letters, Cordiner gives certain "Extracts from Torfæus," professedly abridged from a MS. translation of the *Orcades* by the Rev. Alexander Pope, then minister of Reay, which had been placed at his disposal for that purpose. In the first of these, the fort of Burghead is represented as having been built by Sigurd, a Norwegian chief, said to have invaded Moray, "circa A.D. 830,"—an assertion neither consistent with his own text, nor warranted by that of Torfæus; and in another it is stated to be the "Eccialsbacca" of the same writer. These so-called "Extracts" are merely commentaries on portions of Torfæus, in which unpardonable liberties have been taken with his historical labours. Cordiner complains, that "this abridgment cost him more pains than all the rest of his work." Who is to blame for its misrepresentations, can only

¹ Shaw's History of the Province of Moray. Edin., 1775.

² Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland, &c., p. 58. London, 1780.

be determined by comparing it with Pope's MS., if the latter is still in existence.¹

General Roy.—Sometime in the year 1747, a general survey of Scotland was undertaken by the Government of the day, at the suggestion of the Duke of Cumberland. This important work was put under the superintendence of Quartermaster-General Watson, but was mainly executed by Lieutenant, afterwards Major-General, Roy. For two summers he was engaged in it singly, having commenced operations in the neighbourhood of Fort Augustus in the year just mentioned; his progress, however, was so satisfactory, that in 1749 several young officers of engineers were put under his directions, and by 1752 the greater part of the Highlands was surveyed. Before the close of 1755 they had completed the whole of Scotland, "except the Isles and some small spots in the Highlands;" and on the death of General Watson, in 1761, all the maps and plans of the survey were deposited in the King's Library. Meantime Roy had greatly distinguished himself in the course of the Seven Years' War; and having returned to England on its termination, he got access, by particular desire of George III., to the results of the survey, with the view of publishing an improved map of Scotland on a reduced scale. But other duties intervened, and "to the public only remains the map inserted in his *Military Antiquities*."² In this map, which was engraved about the year 1774, and of which a few copies got

¹ Among unpublished papers in the archives of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, is a letter from Pope to the Secretary, dated "Reay, March 18th, 1781," from which the following is an extract:—"I have made an abridgment, in English, of the history of these northern parts, published in Latin by Torfæus. It contains the remotest accounts of published transactions from the ninth to the thirteenth century; and in these are many particulars which are not mentioned in any of our national histories. I have wrot several remarks upon it which are entertaining. Mr Pennant had the perusal of this manuscript, and he sent it to Mr Cordiner at Banff, in order to fill up his Supplement to Mr Pennant's Tour. I have wrot to Mr Geo. Paton at the Custom-House to get it, and I presume it is in his hands ere now, or will be very soon. If the Honble Society please to call for that manuscript, Mr Paton will give it." It appears, therefore, that Pope's work was an abridgment, *not* a translation.

² Memoir relative to the construction of the Map of Scotland, 1807, by Arrowsmith, pp. 7, 11.

into circulation at that time among Roy's private friends,¹ Burghead is laid down as a Roman station, under the name of Ptoroton. How Roy was led to such a conclusion, he himself has left on record.

Writing about A.D. 160, Ptolemy of Alexandria has noted the following among the features of the north-east coast of Scotland :—

Κελνίου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί	Οἰάραρ εἰσχυσίς
Τούαισις εἰσχυσίς	Δόξα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί.

And among the Northern tribes he enumerates as dwelling over or beyond (ὑπὲρ) the Caledonians Proper, the Οἰακομάγοι, whose towns (πόλεις) were

Βαναρία	Πτερωτὸν στρατόπεδον
Τάμεια	Τούαισις. ³

Of these last, Πτερωτὸν στρατόπεδον (*Castra alata*, "The Winged Camp") seems to have been the most important; it being the only Scottish locality among the three in Britain whose distances from Alexandria are specially mentioned in the eighth book of the Geography.³

The Οἰάραρ εἰσχυσίς (the Estuary of the Varar) has been very generally recognised as the Moray Firth; and the Οἰακομάγοι (Vacomagi) as having occupied a part of Scotland corresponding to the modern shires of Banff, Moray, and part of Inverness, though the correctness of these opinions is by no means certain; but various conjectures have been advanced regarding the position of "The Winged Camp." Hector Boece identified it with Castle Urquhart at the Northern extremity of Loch Ness;⁴ Camden, with Edinburgh;⁵ Gordon of Straloch, with Nairn;⁶ Sir John Clerk, with Cramond (Alaterva);⁷ and Horsley, with Tain.⁸ But in Roy's Map, this and every other disputed point as to

¹ Gough's Brit. Topography, vol. ii., p. 586. London, 1780.

² Claud. Ptol. Geog., lib. ii., cap. 3, §§ 6 and 18. Ed. Nobbe, Lipsiæ, 1848.

³ Cl. Ptol. Geog., lib. viii., cap 3, § 9.

⁴ Vide Scotiæ Regionum Nomina, prefixed to Boece's Scotorum Historia.

⁵ Britannia (Lond., 1600), p. 739.

⁶ Vide Remarks on Scotia Antiqua, in Blaeu's Atlas, p. 9.

⁷ Gordon's Itiner. Septent. Appendix, p. 183. London, 1727.

⁸ Britannia Romana, p. 364. London, 1782.

Ptolemy's Scottish Tables appear to be definitely cleared up; while at the same time it contains names, as for instance the new designation of the promontory, not to be found in any ancient writer whose works have come down to us. To explain this a short digression is necessary.

It was at the very time that the survey of Scotland was approaching completion, that the discovery, real or pretended, was made at Copenhagen, of the treatise "*De Situ Britanniae*," represented as the composition of Richard of Cirencester, an English monk of the fourteenth century. According to this new authority, the whole of Scotland east of the Great Caledonian Valley, and between Antonine's Wall and the Moray Firth, was conquered by the Romans in the reign of Domitian, and erected into a province named, in honour of his family, *Vespasiana*. Of this province the chief city is said to have been Ptoroton, a town of the Vacomagi, situated at the mouth of the Varar, on the coast. Other towns of the same tribe, who are stated to have dwelt along the Varar, were Tuessis, Tamea, and Banatia, as with Ptolemy; and in the Itinerary of the unknown Roman General appended to the Treatise, all these, except Banatia, are set down as Roman Stations, and two others added within their territories, Varis and Ad Tuessim. *Vespasiana* is further represented as having been traversed by two distinct Iters, which diverged at Orrea, in Perthshire, and met at "Ultima Ptoroton," on the Varar, the one proceeding from Orrea, along the coast, and the other by the mountainous interior.¹

It is scarcely necessary to remark that these are all assertions which receive no support whatever from the historians of antiquity. Except Diodorus Siculus,² who knew that Britain terminated towards the north in a promontory called *᾽Ορκὰς*, no ante-Ptolemaic author has mentioned a single locality in Scotland north of the Tay. Tacitus distinctly states that Agricola, after the battle of Mons Grampius, fell back on the line of forts he had previously erected on the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde, contenting himself with issuing orders to the commander of the Roman fleet, then at anchor in the Firth of Tay, to proceed northwards on that voyage of discovery in the course of which the island was circumnavigated; but makes no mention of any port at which the expedition

¹ *De Situ Britanniae*, p. 54. Lond., 1809.

² Diodorus Siculus, lib. v., cap. 8.

touched, with the exception of the "Trutulensian Harbour," and the Orkney Islands, boastfully said to have been then subdued.¹ On the recall of Agricola, the greater part of his conquests were immediately lost;² nor do we read of any attempt to recover them till the reign of Antoninus Pius, whose lieutenant, Lollius Urbicus, is said by Julius Capitolinus to have erected (*circa* A.D. 138), on the line of Agricola's forts, that extensive work known as Antonine's Wall, intending it as a barrier against the inroads of the Northern Clans. "Per legatos suos," writes Capitolinus, "plurima bella gessit; nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit, alio muro cespitatio submotis barbaris ducto;"—words which expressly intimate that this wall was the northern limit of the conquests of Urbicus.³ Of Severus's expedition there is no need to speak, since it did not take place till half a century after the time of Ptolemy, and a whole one after that of Domitian.

We learn from the "Military Antiquities," that during the nine years (1747 to 1765) its author was engaged in the survey, he frequently availed himself of the opportunities afforded him of indulging his antiquarian predilections.⁴ Differences of opinion regarding the site of the battle-field of Mons Grampius having led him to turn his attention to Tacitus' account of Agricola's campaigns, he became favourably impressed by an idea, first advanced in 1754 by a brother officer, that "for reasons of war," the engagement must have been fought in the neighbourhood of Stonehaven. The discovery at the same time of certain camps in the district of Strathmore, which were at once set down as Roman, stimulated Roy to prosecute the inquiry; and during the summer of 1775 his collection of plans of ancient camps was largely augmented. The Seven Years' War put a stop for a time to his researches, but they were resumed on his return home in 1764, and continued, as occasion offered, for the next ten years. In the interval, however, the "De Situ Britanniae" had made its appearance. Stukeley, its English editor, supplied notes, in which he pointed out "the present names of new places" in the southern part of the island, but attempted little in regard to those in Scotland,

¹ Tac. Agric., chaps. x. and xxxviii.

² Tac. Hist., book i. chap. ii.

³ Jul. Cap., as quoted by Gordon, Itiner. Septen., p. 48.

⁴ Roy's Military Antiquities (published by Soc. Antiq. London, 1793), Pref. p. vi.

having left the fixing of them "to such as are acquainted with that country, and who have opportunities of making private inquiries on the spot."¹ It was this hint which first suggested to Roy the composition of the "Military Antiquities." Implicitly believing in the genuineness and authenticity of the work, and relying on his knowledge of the relative situation of places, and the nature of the country in general, as sufficiently qualifying him for the task, he at once enlarged his plan, which had been originally confined to a review of Agricola's campaigns, so as to include, besides other subjects, an elaborate commentary on those portions of the "*De Situ Britanniae*," which relate to the Roman topography of Scotland.

In carrying out the latter part of this design, Roy assigned to the Vacomagi of the treatise a great part of Aberdeenshire, all Banff, Moray, and Nairn, together with parts of Inverness-shire. Their principal rivers, the Tuessis and the Celnus, he considered to be the Spey and the Deveron respectively; and in order to fix the situation of their towns he had recourse to the ninth and tenth Iters of the Itinerary, and the distances there specified.² The assumption that Tuessis was the Spey, gave approximately the position of two Vacomagian towns, inasmuch as both the Tuessis of the ninth and the Ad Tuessim of the tenth of the so-called Iters must have stood on or near its banks. As the exact site of the former, Roy fixed on Gordon Castle, on no better grounds than its proximity to the Spey, as well as to the coast. The distance between this station and "Ptoroton" being left blank in the Itinerary, the position of the latter had to be otherwise determined; and his reasons for fixing on Burghead may be given in his own words:—"This promontory," he says, "being distant from Tuessis or Gordon Castle fourteen and one-half English, or near sixteen Roman miles, which agrees perfectly well with the common length of Richard's stages, standing exactly at the mouth of the Moray Firth, being strong by nature, and still showing such conspicuous vestiges of works of art, must therefore have been

¹ Roy's *Military Antiquities*, p. 91.

² The following are the three last stations of the ninth, and the three first of the tenth Iter (so-called):—

Ad Selinam, —.
Tuessis, XVIII.
Ptorotone, —.

Ab ultima Ptorotone (to)
Varis, VIII.
Ad Tuessim, XXVIII.

the Ultima Ptoroton of the Romans.¹ To the same effect, in his remarks on the tenth Iter, he adds,—“The first stage is Varis, eight miles from Ultima Ptoroton. Setting out, therefore, from the Burgh-head, southward eight English, that is to say, about eight and a half Roman miles, will bring us to Foress. The near agreement in distance, and the striking similarity of names, the *v* of the one being softened into *f* of the other, leave no room to doubt that Foress is the ancient Varis; and hence, all circumstances taken together, the Burgh-head is proved, beyond all doubt, to be the Roman Ptoroton.”² In plate xxxiii. of the “Military Antiquities,” Roy gave an accurate and beautiful plan of the fortifications as they existed in his day; and plate xxxiv. is a map showing the relative situations of Tarbetness, Burgh-head, and Forres.

Such are the conclusions at which General Roy arrived regarding the early history of Burghead—based, as will be seen, on two assumptions, the authenticity of the “De Situ Britanniae,” and the Roman origin of the fortifications. The former of these raises a question which it is unnecessary to discuss here; since, if it can be shown, that the latter is untenable, it will follow, either that Roy has erred, or that Bertram’s “discovery,” if not a forgery, is worse than useless as a guide to the history and antiquities of these northern parts.

But it may still be asked, Are there any reasons apart from those of Roy for believing that Burghead is the *Πτερωτὸν στρατόπεδον* of Ptolemy? Its position on the copies of the map of Britain appended to some editions of the Geography certainly affords no support to such an opinion; for it there stands inland, and at some distance from the left bank of a large river, which is represented as falling into the sea between the estuaries of the *Τοῖαιρις*, and the *Ουάραρ*. Moreover, the name occurs in his Tables, not among the features of the coast, but as one of the towns (*πόλεις*) of the *Ουακομάγοι*; and it can only be placed on a headland in defiance of the authority of the Ptolemaic map, which on such a point is probably of some value. How “The Winged Camp” came to be so called, it were useless to inquire, while so much doubt exists as to the sources whence the Alexandrian geographer drew the materials for his work. In this country it has generally been taken for granted, that he owed his know-

¹ Roy’s *Military Antiquities*, pp. 131–32.

² *Id.*, p. 132.

ledge of the north of Scotland to the voyage performed by Agricola's fleet; but the point is by no means established. From his own admission, the treatise is based on an earlier one of the same nature by one Marinus of Tyre,¹ now lost; whence it has been maintained by Brehmer, that the "Geography" is to be regarded as in substance the production of the latter, Ptolemy having merely made some additions and corrections; and that the maps must have been founded on an ancient Tyrian atlas, constructed from the reports of Phœnician and Carthaginian navigators.² Our knowledge of their maritime exploits, as well as of the circumstances under which Ptolemy composed his work, being exceedingly slender, it is perhaps impossible to arrive at any satisfactory decision on the subject. The question bears, however, more directly on the possible identity of Burghhead with "The Winged Camp," than may appear at first sight. Geologists are by no means agreed as to the changes that have taken place in the relative level of sea and land around our coasts since the dawn of the historic period, though recent researches seem to prove that these are considerable; so that whatever was the case at the time that Agricola's fleet dropped anchor in the Moray Firth, few will venture to assert that the promontory was anything more than a lonely rock when the enterprise of the Phœnicians may have led them, a thousand years earlier, to visit these distant shores.

Rev. J. Grant of Elgin.—In the year 1787—six years *before* the appearance of the "Military Antiquities"—there was read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, a "Memoir concerning the Roman Progress in Scotland to the North of the Grampians," by the Rev. John Grant, then minister of Boharm, formerly of Dundurcas, and afterwards of Elgin. Referring to a "Letter from Mr Barclay of Urie to the Earl of Buchan," published in their Transactions, under the date of January 11, 1785, which contains a description of Roman camps and other "monuments" of a great battle supposed to have been fought in the neighbourhood of Stonehaven, and in which the hypothesis is put forward, "that the Romans, some time or other, extended their conquests as far north as the Murray Frith;"³ the author of the "Memoir" quotes it as "having established an opinion he had long entertained." Having then

¹ CL. Ptol. Geog., lib. i. chap. vi.

² *Vide* Appendix ii. to Heeren's Asiatic Researches, vol. ii.

³ *Vide* Archæologia Scotica, vol. i. pp. 565–569. Edin. 1792.

taken as his guide the "De Situ Britanniae," he proceeds to illustrate those portions of it which relate to the northern part of the province of Vespasiana, setting down its towns for the most part in exactly the same situations as those assigned to them in Roy's map; and, in particular, recognising Burghead as the "the *Ptoroton (sic) stratopedon* of Ptolemy." This paper remained in the archives of the Society till 1822, when it appeared in the second volume of their Transactions, published in that year.¹ Meantime the author, who died in 1814, had printed the substance of it in a work, the joint production of himself and the Rev. William Leslie of St Andrews-Lhanbryde, brought out in 1798 by the late Isaac Forsyth, Esq., then a bookseller in Elgin, and entitled "A Survey of the Province of Moray, Historical, Geographical, and Political." Of this volume it will be found that the first section of the second chapter, headed "Roman Progress," consists of the "Memoir," with a few alterations and additions.

On perusing the "Memoir," one cannot help being struck with the remarkable agreement between the view the author gives of "Roman Progress" in Scotland, and that advanced by Roy on the same question; and yet no reference is made to the Map by the latter, of which, however, according to Gough, some copies had got into private circulation thirteen years previous to the date of the "Memoir." In the "Survey," indeed, there is an apparently incidental allusion to "a map that General Roy published several years ago;" but no admission that the author was under any obligations to it. As there seemed no reason why he should appropriate the result of Roy's labours without due acknowledgment, the general harmony of their views on so doubtful a subject was at first inexplicable. Having heard, however, that Grant had bequeathed his MSS. to Cullen House library, and having, through the kind intervention of W. G. Bryson, Esq., received permission from the Earl of Seafield to examine them, the present writer found that the matter admitted of an easy explanation. Among the papers is a large quarto MS. volume, prepared for the press, and entitled "Britannia Antiqua;"² consisting of an Introduction, in

¹ *Vide* Archæologia Scotica, vol. ii. pp. 31-42. Edin. 1822.

² More fully:—"Britannia Antiqua or British History and Antiquities, Illustrated by a Collection of Passages and Historical Facts, in the Original Languages, from the Ancient Greek and Roman Writers; together with the Dissertation of Richard, a Monk of West", concerning the Ancient Geography of and Roman Stations

which a general survey is taken of the early history of the north of Scotland, followed by extracts of all the passages in the Greek and Roman historians and poets in which any allusion is made to Britain, together with the "De Situ Britanniae" entire. Three maps of Britain are said by the author to accompany the treatise—Ptolemy's, Richard's, and North Britain as known to the Romans. The first is wanting; but the latter¹ is fortunately complete, and proves to be *an exact copy of Roy's map*, save only that the mountain chains, and some unimportant names of places, are omitted, and one or two others, equally unimportant, added. Its size, its lines of latitude and longitude, and the outline of the coast, which correspond most accurately with Roy; the positions, as well as the ancient and modern names of the various provinces and towns; and the designations of the promontories and other features of the country, in all of which respects the two maps are identical, preclude the supposition that they were taken from any common source, and demonstrate beyond a doubt that Grant's is merely a pen-and-ink fac-simile of that of Roy. In the Introduction or Preface, which must have been written about 1781, and which, it may be remarked, contains the first draft of the "Memoir," this map is said to be founded on the most recent observations;² but, for whatever reason, there is no more definite reference to the source whence it was so obviously obtained.

George Chalmers.—In the "Caledonia" of George Chalmers (1810), which was long believed to have left so many vexed questions of Scottish history, to use the author's own words, "elaborated into detail, and illustrated into light," Roy's views regarding Burghead were implicitly adopted. Finding it further advisable to condescend on a date for the conquest of Vespasiana, he maintains, following up a hint dropped by his rival Pinkerton, that it must have been effected by Lollius Urbicus, although the little we know of this officer's acts expressly contradicts in Britain; to which are added his Map of the Island, one according to Ptolemy, and a third, of the Roman Stations in Scotland, with their Modern Names." By John Grant, A.M., Minister of Dundurcas.—(*MS. in Cullen House Library*, 1862.)

¹ Titled, "Britannia Septentrionalis Romana TABULA, Secundum Richardum Monachum, West', et Recentiores Observationes."

² "The other map is that of Scotland, according to modern observations, with a great number of Roman camps, stations, and towns, collected from accurate surveys, or particular inquiries that may be depended on."—*Britannia Antiqua* (*MS. Cullen House Library*), *Preface*, p. xxi.

such an opinion. Chalmers, notwithstanding, "elaborated into detail" a supposed campaign by Urbicus, at the conclusion of which every "inhabitant of North Britain who resided along the east coast, from the Tweed to the Murray Firth," might, as we are gravely told, "have claimed, like St Paul, every privilege which peculiarly belonged to a Roman citizen!"¹

That "the Danes" as well as the Romans may have been concerned in the raising of the fortifications of Burghead, was admitted both by Roy and Chalmers; the former believing that the whole had been at first the work of the earlier people, but probably altered in some degree by the Scots as well as Danes; while the latter considered, that though the ditches guarding the entrance were obviously Roman, the rampart of the upper area was as undoubtedly "Danish."

It is unnecessary to extend this sketch by referring at length to Pinkerton² (in his *second* edition), Professor Stuart (of Aberdeen),³ the late Mr Stuart of Glasgow,⁴ Worsaae,⁵ and others, who, following Roy and Chalmers, have pronounced Burghead to be an old Roman station, re-occupied as a stronghold by the Norsemen. Even Dr Daniel Wilson, while giving it as his opinion that its character is that of a "British fort," adds, that the straight wall and rounded angles of the north rampart bear some relation to the legionary earthworks.⁶ More noteworthy is it that Mr William Rhind of Edinburgh, in his "Sketches of Moray," had the boldness to deny, though without assigning any reasons, "the probability of the Romans ever having had any permanent footing in Moray."⁷

But while antiquaries were indulging in such romantic speculations regarding the fortunes of Burghead, its genuine history lay unread on the bleak surface of the promontory, in leaves already torn and defaced, and soon to be scattered like those of the sibyl of old. To these records, or rather such of them as can still be collected, it is now time to turn.

¹ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 116. London, 1810.

² Pinkerton's Inquiry (2d edition; Edinburgh, 1814), Advertisement, p. 7.

³ Archæologia Scotica, vol. ii. p. 289 *et seq.*

⁴ Caledonia Romana, p. 214 (2d edition, Edinburgh, 1852).

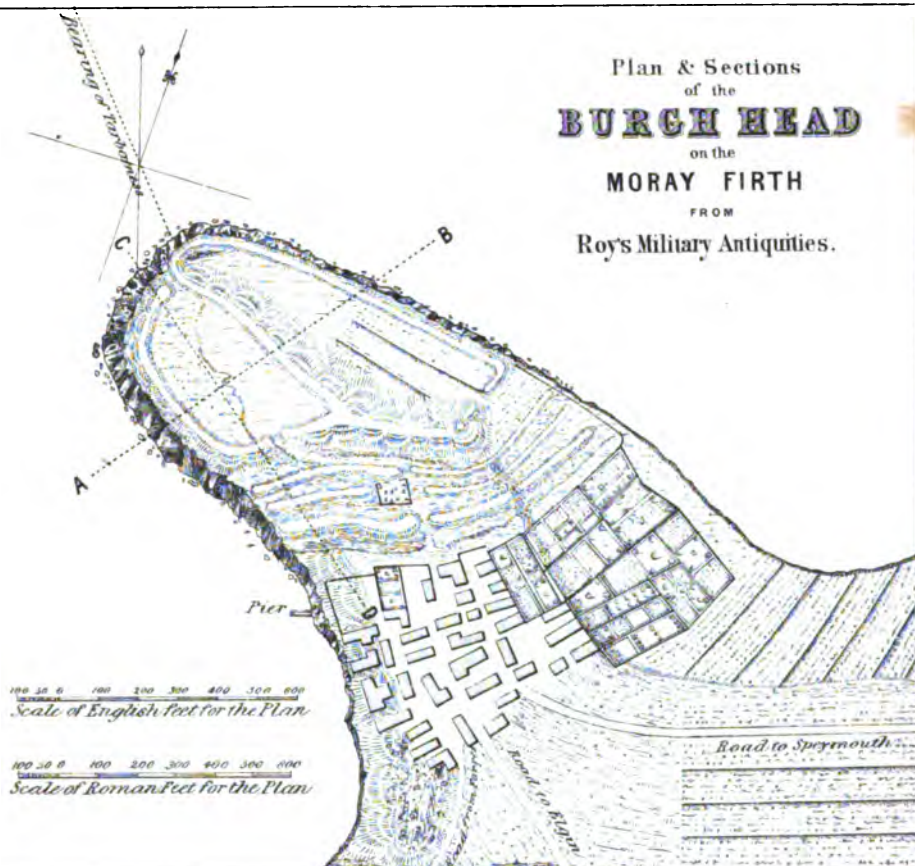
⁵ Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland. London, 1852.

⁶ Prehist. Ann. of Scotland, p. 411. Edinburgh, 1851.

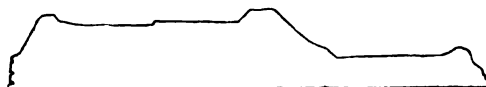
⁷ Sketches of Moray, p. 66. Edinburgh, 1839.

Plan & Sections
of the
BURGH HEAD
on the
MORAY FIRTH

Roy's Military Antiquities.



Section on the line A. B.



Section on the line C. D.



Scale of Feet for the Sections.

The Fortifications.—In their latest form, the fortifications of Burghead seemed to be so constructed as to surround and defend the two unequal terraces at the extremity of the promontory. With this view, each of these areas was enclosed within a rampart of stones, the portion of it that ran between them being, of course, common to both, though belonging really to the upper or more elevated; and three, or more properly four, nearly parallel fosses or ditches with intervening earthworks, separated them from the rest of the headland. In consequence of being thus entirely accommodated to the nature of the ground, the outline of the defences, especially of those of the lower area or fort, was somewhat irregular; and but for General Roy's Plan and Sections, of which Plate VIII. is a reduced copy, it would have now been almost impossible, even with the aid of Shaw and other writers who saw them when comparatively entire, to re-connect the few isolated mounds that are still to be seen. With him, however, as a guide, the course of the ramparts and earthworks, as well as their various measurements, may be accurately determined; while existing remains and appearances, taken along with the descriptions of them by local antiquaries of the last century and the beginning of the present, instruct us pretty definitely in many other particulars.

The southern or upper terrace, in shape not unlike the letter D reversed, was washed on two sides, the south and west, by the sea, above which the rock rose perpendicularly 45 feet. On this there rested 42 feet of gravel and sand, covered over by a thin, black, peat-like deposit, giving the surface of the area an elevation of 87 feet in all. Obviously, little was needed in a rude age to strengthen this already inaccessible spot; but, notwithstanding, what seemed a pile of stones from 7 to 10 feet high and 15 feet broad at the base was reared along its precipitous edge. The east or land side, as well as the north which rose abruptly above the lower terrace, was protected by a continuation of the same stony barrier, with a height, however, of 18 feet, and by a sudden depression of the ground, partly natural and partly artificial, 40 feet deep on the east and 45 on the north. Two openings, each about eight feet wide, broke this encircling bulwark; the one in the west on the extreme right of the terrace, and almost at the very point of the headland; the other in the east but towards the centre. According to tradition, a flight of steps,

cut out of the solid rock, once led from the former down to high-water mark; opposite the latter, the hollow in front of the east side of the area was filled up, so as to give, by means of the opening, easy access to the interior. A portion of this area, as shown by the shading on the Plan and the difference of level in the Sections, was raised a few feet by a covering of stones. Measured inside its defences, the greatest length of the upper terrace was 380 feet and its breadth 225.

The northern or lower terrace, with a height above the sea of 45 feet of sandstone, pebbles, and light mould, was depressed, as it happened, to the same depth beneath the surface of the upper, and had evidently been scooped out by the waves in its side, at a time when the relative level of sea and land was different from what it now is. Of an oblong shape, but becoming narrower towards either end, it extended further inland than the other, if indeed it might not be said to have occupied all the rest of the promontory, the upper terrace being in fact but a corner which, owing to the superior hardness of the underlying sandstone, or for some other reason, had withstood the influences to which the whole headland had once been exposed. For the lower fort, however, a convenient though irregular boundary was found in a ridge of rock, capped by a deposit of sand and a thin stratum of a peat-like substance, which branched off from the north-east angle of the upper area—a narrow prolongation, as it were, of the terrace itself—and was continued in the same direction till it nearly reached the sea. This natural barrier, 120 feet broad at its base, and 50 at the top, and which had an elevation of from 40 to 45 feet above the lower terrace, was raised to an additional height of 12 feet by what seemed a mass of stones. At its abrupt and somewhat rounded termination, an opening was left 10 feet wide, whence, down almost to high water-mark, and then along the shore to the point of the promontory, where it was piled close to the steep side of the upper terrace, ran another rampart, apparently of loose stones, 30 feet in height and from 40 to 50 feet in breadth at its base. The space thus enclosed as the lower fort, had a length of nearly 780 feet and an average breadth of 150 feet.

As a further defence on the east, the only quarter from which the forts were easily assailable, the trenches and earthworks already mentioned were drawn across the headland from sea to sea. These were neither

uniform in size, nor, in consequence chiefly of the irregular landward boundary of the lower fort, quite parallel to one another. The trenches had an average width at the bottom of 20 feet and a depth of about 10 below the surface of the ground, which here sloped gently downwards from the upper terrace as well as from that prolongation of it already described as stretching north-east and partly enclosing the lower; and between them were spaces about 40 feet in breadth, on which the sand and gravel dug out of them lay heaped up in mounds that rose to a height of from 10 to 12 feet, or of 20 above the bottom of the adjoining trench. But these dimensions varied at different points. Near the middle, the earthworks were broken by openings 8 feet wide, opposite to which the soil had either been left untouched or the fosses afterwards filled up.

Such was the appearance which the extremity of the promontory would present to an ordinary observer sixty years ago. It must not be supposed, however, that the ramparts were even then really entire. On the contrary, as will be afterwards shown, the areas had been once surrounded with walls of which the heaps of stones described above were in part the remains; while other structures may have been included in the original plan, every vestige of which had been long removed.

By the natives of Burghead its fortifications were invariably designated *The Broch Baileys*, or simply *The Baileys*, the trenches and earthworks being sometimes called, by way of distinction, *The Brigs*. Detached portions of them alone remain to tell of their former strength. Streets now cross each other at right angles on the site of *The Brigs*, a solitary fragment of the first line of earthworks being all of them that has been spared. The terraces themselves, as Nature's handiwork, have more successfully resisted aggression; but their defences have suffered greatly from a foe they were never meant to repel. Of the rampart which ran round the east, south, and north sides of the upper area, not a trace is to be seen, except a small mound to the left of the opening at the extremity of the headland; while, though a pile of stones still crowns the edge of the steep slope which bounds the area on the north, its proportions are sadly reduced from what they once were. So much of the barrier that enclosed the lower area on the east as was natural, still remains, though greatly altered; the rest, however, has been

swept away, as well as a large portion at either end of its seaward line of defence.

It was certain improvements on the harbour and village, begun in 1808 and carried on for some years, chiefly under the direction of the late William Young, Esq., afterwards sole proprietor of the place, that unfortunately necessitated, or seemed to necessitate, the destruction of these fortifications. The space occupied by *The Brigs* was too valuable to be lost; the trenches were accordingly filled up by the levelling of the earthworks, and the superabundant materials carted down to the south shore, where a large piece of ground was thus reclaimed from the sea. To the same spot were driven thousands of loads of rubbish from the ramparts of the areas, the many well-shaped slabs of freestone which they were found to contain being laid aside and afterwards used for building purposes.

All accounts hitherto given of the manner in which the defences of the areas had been originally constructed are vague and perplexing. Shaw, in reference to the upper terrace, says, that it was "surrounded with a strong rampart of oaken logs, laid deep in the earth, of which some pieces are as yet dugged up, and the burnt remains appear in the earth."¹ Cordiner informs us that the areas were fortified by "an immense mound of earth and stones," adding, however, that "the top had been defended by logs of oak piled on one another," of which "many pieces are to be seen half burnt."² On the other hand, we are told by Grant, in the "Survey of Moray," that the same area "appears to have been surrounded with a rampart about twenty feet high, built of stone and lime, with some oak planks intermixed;"³ and elsewhere he remarks, "There have been considerable buildings in this place, as the neighbouring people were long in the practice of carrying away immense quantities of cut freestone, employed in them; and from the hollow sound within the fortifications, it is probable there are vaults yet unopened."⁴ One of Chalmers's correspondents who had examined them at his request, also reported to him that the higher area "appears to have been surrounded

¹ History of the Province of Moray, pp. 210, 211.

² Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland, p. 58.

³ Survey of the Province of Moray, p. 58.

⁴ Archaeologia Scotica, vol. ii. p. 34.

with a strong rampart 20 feet high, which had been built with old [oak ?] planks, cased with stone and lime;" and the lower, "with a very strong rampart of stone, which is now demolished."¹ Professor Stuart of Aberdeen, who visited Burghead in person in 1809, wrote to Pinkerton, that "all around the top of the rock are seen the remains of a rampart, consisting of pieces of freestone of all sizes, intermixed with lime and fragments of wood, having the appearance of being burned. On some pieces of the freestone are seen remains of mouldings and carved figures, particularly of a bull, very well executed."² In a communication to the Society of Antiquaries, Stuart made a similar assertion: "The author found a very large rampart of the most various materials, surrounding the whole interior of the fort,—viz., masses of stone with lime cement, pieces of pottery, baked bricks and tiles, half-burned beams of wood, broken cornices and mouldings of well-cut freestone, along with the outlines of the figures of various animals, tolerably well represented on many of them." In his opinion all this indicated "the ruin not of an ordinary Roman station, but of a considerable town."³

Recent Excavations.—As nothing satisfactory could be gathered from such indefinite statements, the Elgin Literary and Scientific Association recently voted a small sum of money out of their funds, which was afterwards supplemented by the liberality of a few gentlemen in the town and neighbourhood, for the purpose of endeavouring to ascertain the true state of matters by excavations in the still existing mounds; and the proprietor having cheerfully given his consent, a systematic examination of them, as far as practicable, was accordingly made.

The north rampart of the upper area was first cut through, a little to the east of where it is crossed by the line CD⁴ in the Plan. It was found to consist of a mass of stones, so many of them rolled and water-worn that at a mere glance one was apt to fancy the whole ridge a portion of an old sea-beach. Among them, however, were others of a different shape and character, and towards the bottom lay small flags of freestone, a few of them apparently hammer-dressed. Some thin pieces

¹ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 180, *note*.

² Enquiry into the Hist. of Scot., 2d ed., advt., pp. vii. viii.

³ Archæologia Scotica, vol. ii. p. 289 *et seq.*

⁴ See Plate VIII.

of oak were met with, and numerous bits of charcoal, but no logs. In the hope of better fortune, a partial section was made near the point of the promontory with like results. The action of fire was, however, very evident on the stones here, and large pieces of charcoal were abundant. The absence of the logs of wood and the slabs of freestone so confidently spoken of by former observers, was afterwards explained. The whole, it seems, had been turned over many years ago by orders of the proprietor, and almost every stone of any value removed.

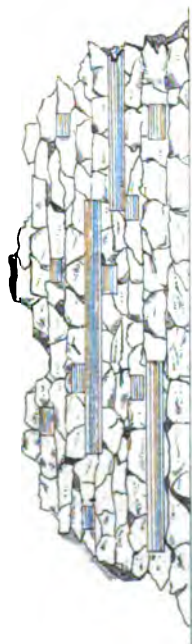
Between the third or innermost of the earthworks and the only opening that led into the lower fort, there was, a hundred years ago, a level space, which, along with the half of the area adjoining, had been covered artificially with a foot or two of mould and so brought under cultivation, as may be seen by a reference to the Plan. Among the improvements of 1809 and subsequent years, was the filling up of this space so as to bring it nearly on a level with the more elevated ground to the north; and, accordingly, the houses in this quarter of the village stand on a mass of stones of varying depth. Here, on breaking up the surface, blocks of considerable size were dug up in several places. Though of a somewhat rectangular shape, it was impossible to say whether they had been cut by the hand of man from the parent bed, or whether, as happens from time to time, a portion of the rocky headland itself, undermined by the sea and dashed into pieces by its fall, might not have supplied materials that were afterwards broken into smaller fragments and roughly squared. When several of these lay near one another, there were generally large vacant spaces between them; and to this circumstance, no doubt, is to be traced, at least in part, the belief still prevalent in Burghhead, as in the days of Grant, that there were and are "vaults" or underground passages within the fortifications. In one particular spot, immediately behind a row of houses, the workmen struck on some stones laid with great regularity at about 6 feet below the present surface, and, as was evident from the thin layer of mould which was out through on approaching them, one or two feet below what was the surface when Roy surveyed the place. On going deeper they turned out to be the top of a wall about 5 feet in height. It had only one face, and that landward; the other side being supported by a mass of small stones. For the most part it had the breadth of one stone only, but they were large, and care-

fully laid, so that the joinings of one row were removed as far as possible from those of the next. Many of them were covered with what looked like a very thin coating of mortar; others with a viscous substance having a resemblance to some kind of cement. On a closer examination, the latter turned out to be the calcareous crust-like state of *Coralina officinalis* and other lithophytes, half decomposed. The stones thus covered had evidently lain some time between tide marks; on some of them were clusters of acorn shells, leaving no doubt whatever on the point. The thin coating observed on others, which appeared like a fine powder dusted lightly over the stone, could not be referred to any such origin; but it was, in all probability, due to the quantity of lime which here enters into the composition of the rock. When exposed to damp, either beneath the ground or in a confined situation, the calcareous particles seem to have a tendency to separate from their matrix and become a deposit on the surface. Not a single grain of sand could be detected, even with the aid of a glass, so that whether the presence of lime was owing to the cause suggested or to some other unknown, the idea that the stones had been imbedded in mortar cannot be entertained. It should be remarked that the same appearances presented themselves in many of the stones dug up elsewhere in the mounds, due, no doubt, to the same causes. Owing to its proximity to the houses, and the expense of excavating at such a depth, the wall was only followed for a short distance; but, as it was thought desirable to know how far it extended, an attempt was afterwards made to determine this by making another opening close to the former, but farther to the west, and in the direction in which the structure seemed to run. Here an older surface was met with at the same depth as before; below, however, instead of a wall, were stones similar in size and appearance to what lay above; and at a further depth of 6 feet, or 12 from the present surface, these were succeeded by 18 inches or more of the bones of various species of domestic animals, embedded in a dark, clammy, greasy earth. Beneath this was a deposit of pebbles, the original surface of the ground and at least the *third* which this spot had owned at different periods in the history of Burghead.

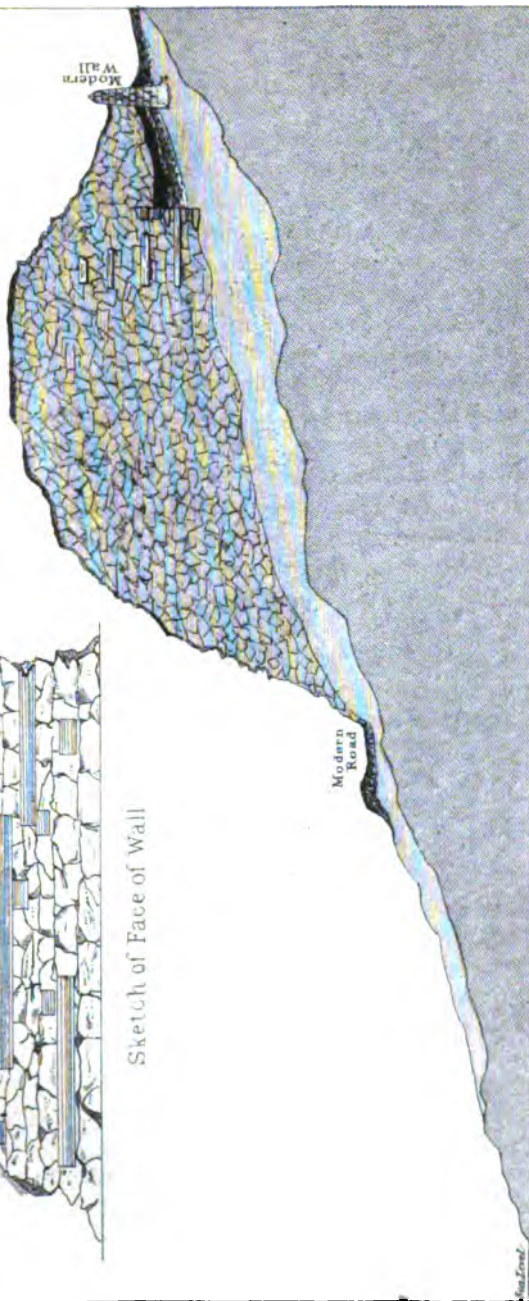
The North or seaward barrier, which guarded the most exposed side of the lower area, and a large portion of which is still pretty entire, was also examined. Recent quarrying operations carried on at its present west-

ern extremity, had revealed the existence within it of some sort of wall; and in order to discover its true nature, the whole was cut through at a point about 50 yards to the west of where it is crossed by the line CD on Roy's plan. The chief results are shown in Plate IX. To the right is seen a low modern wall, raised to prevent the materials of which the rampart consists from encroaching upon the surface of the area; and at the distance of 12 feet from it another wall rises up in the mound, which had at one time served the same purpose. The latter is built of unhewn stones, some of them of a considerable size, carefully laid, but without mortar. It has only one face; but to strengthen it, beams of solid oak, still measuring from 6 to 12 feet in length, take here and there the place of stones; and similar beams, inserted endways, pass into the mass behind. The pieces of oak lying at intervals higher up, show that the wall had once stood at the same elevation as the top of the mound. Between the bases of the two walls are successive layers of a black, peat-like earth, shells of edible mollusks, and light mould, laid down at a time when this space was part of the now adjoining area. Evidently the destruction of the older wall has been caused by the long-continued practice of turning over the mounds in search of building stones. The upper half being broken down in this way, a portion of the mass which it supported would of course fall down in front of what was left; and thus, from being the side of the mound, it would come to be enclosed within it.

Having been less systematically disturbed than the one on the north side of the upper terrace, this rampart was found to contain many pieces of unhewn freestone of all sizes. In the deposit of black earth at the base of the retaining wall, which looked not unlike refuse from human habitations, were many bits of charcoal, and a few bones; at one place a large flattened mass of agglutinated bones and sand lay on its surface, at another a small piece of iron scoria. Here and there, in interstices, often at some distance from the top, were bits of iron, modern-looking buttons, small stones with mortar adhering, and sundry nondescript articles, some of which had evidently found their way into the interior of the mound in the course of some of the probings it had undergone. No weapons or domestic utensils were met with; but the portion examined was of small extent.



Sketch of Face of Wall



Flanks (oak)
Masonry
Shells

Sand & Mould
Pebbles
Sandstone

Scale to Section only



SECTION-NORTH RAMPART OF BURGHHEAD 1861.

From these appearances several inferences seem to follow :—

First, That the ramparts of the areas had been faced, at least on one side, and in some parts, by a wall built of unhewn freestone, without mortar, and ingeniously strengthened by logs of oak laid transversely as well as lengthways.

Second, That as a single retaining wall round the areas is not sufficient to account for the immense quantity of debris, some similarly-built structure or structures had likely once occupied a part of one or both terraces ; a supposition which is strengthened by the fact that a considerable portion of the surface of the upper area is still covered by several feet of stones.

And, *Third*, That the “lime cement” of Professor Stuart—an epithet, withal, most expressive of the appearance of the *Corallina*—was nothing else than patches of half-decomposed lithophytes in their young or encrusting state, and that the “lime” (i. e., mortar) of other observers, when not modern, was for the most part either the same, or calcareous particles of the sandstone.

The few examples of partially-dressed stones, and those with the figures of “various animals,” will be noticed afterwards.

The Baileys Well.—The termination of the ridge already referred to as forming in part the landward boundary of the lower terrace, is seen in Roy’s Plan to be marked by a deep circular hollow, round which the ridge itself appears to turn in a crescent-like bend. Previous to 1809 this spot was a green hollow which tradition had long pointed out as the site of a well; and owing to the much-felt scarcity of water, it was resolved in that year of bustle on the headland to test the truth of the popular belief. Accordingly, after a mass of rubbish of the same nature as the contents of the mounds had been cleared away, a chamber cut out of the solid rock was discovered “at the depth of from twenty to thirty feet from the surface.”¹

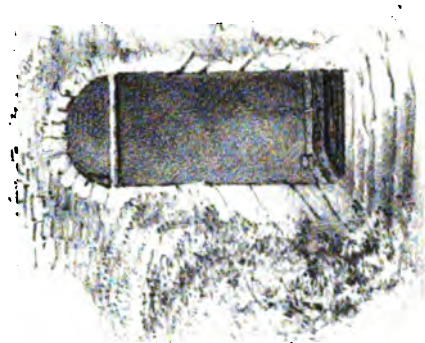
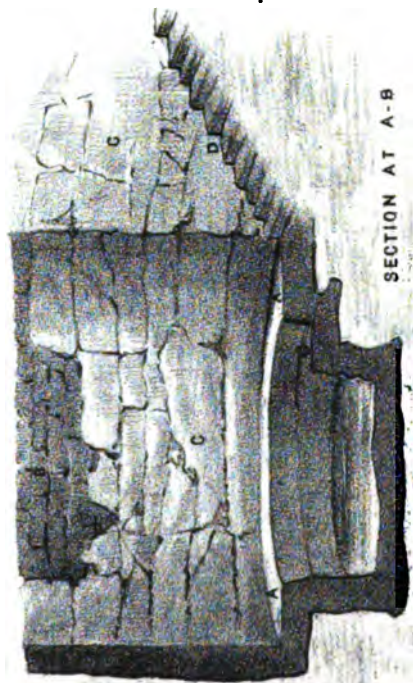
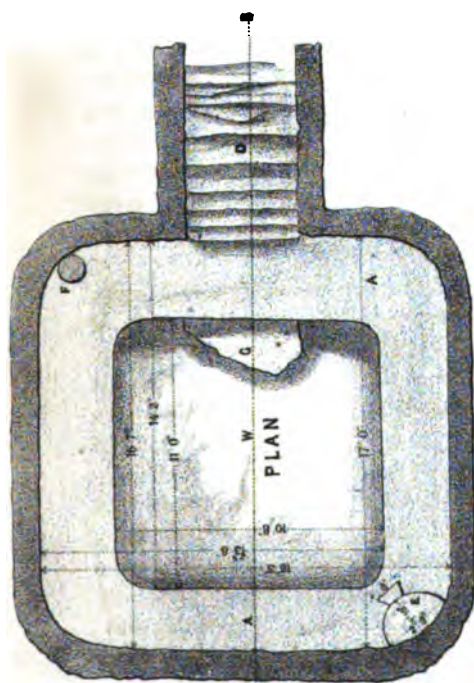
The ground-plan and section in Plate X. show the form and dimensions of this singular reservoir. The floor, reached by a flight of twenty steps (D), 1 foot 2 inches to 1 foot 5 inches in breadth, and 3 to 5 inches in height, is mostly occupied by a cistern (W), into which a spring of water finds its way from below, a ledge (A) of sandstone about 2 feet 6 inches broad being left between the perpendicular sides of the chamber

¹ Carruthers’ Highland Note-Book. p. 221. Edin.: A. & C. Black, 1848.

and this basin. The dimensions of the latter are as follow:—Greatest breadth of the four sides, 10 feet 8 inches, 11 feet, 10 feet 10 inches, and 10 feet 7 inches respectively; depth 4 feet 4 inches. Its bottom, which was originally quite smooth, was broken up a good many years ago in an attempt to deepen it with the view of increasing the supply of water. A row of thin flat stones, each about a foot or more broad, so placed as to project an inch over the edge, is said to have been found laid all round the ledge when the well was re-opened, but they have been long removed. The sides of the chamber measure 16 feet 3 inches, 16 feet 7 inches, 16 feet 9 inches, and 17 feet; and its height from the ledge upwards is 11 feet 9 inches. The angles of both it and basin are well rounded. In one corner—the innermost to the left hand on entering—a portion of the rock has been left in the form of a semicircular pedestal (E), 2 feet 9 inches by 1 foot 10 inches in breadth and 1 foot 2 inches in height; while in that diagonally opposite there is a circular hole (F) 5 inches in diameter and 1 foot 4 inches in depth. A step (G) leads down to the well, of irregular shape and very rude workmanship. The sides of the chamber are fissured and rent as shown in the section (at C), so as to have somewhat the appearance of being built of large stones. Portions of the rock have given way from time to time, and been replaced (as at B), by modern masonry.

A view of the doorway and the sides of the entrance to the well is also given in Plate X. The arch, which strangers often conclude to be of equal antiquity with the reservoir, was built shortly after the discovery, when the chamber, formerly quite open at the top, was likewise roofed over and a pump inserted through an opening left for the purpose; a wooden door being at the same time put on the entrance, the lintel of which is still to be seen. It is not unlikely that the whole, including the steps, may have been originally covered over, as tradition bore that the hidden well was approached by a subterranean passage. This, however, if founded on fact, must have had reference to a time long previous to that at which it was re-opened. From the fishing population it generally receives the name of the Baileys Well, in consequence of its being situated within the "Baileys;" but among others it is sometimes known, for an obvious reason, as the Roman Well. Both designations date, of course, from 1809.

WALL AT BREED



DOORWAY WITH MODERN ARCH

G. A. Anderson del.

W. A. K. Johnson lith.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO, ILL.

The earliest notice of this well is to be found in Chalmers' preface to his "*Caledonia*" (1810), where he remarks: "Since *Caledonia* was sent to the press, a discovery of some importance has been made. A very slight doubt remained whether the Burghead of Moray had been a Roman station, as no Roman remains had been there found. But this doubt has been completely solved, by the recent excavation within its limits of a Roman bath."¹ Shortly afterwards, we find Professor Stuart describing it to Pinkerton as a "reservoir which seemed a perfect square in form," and whose sides "were very neatly coated with smooth lime plaster;"² adding, in his communication to the Society of Antiquaries, that there were "niches in the angles, likely intended for statues."³ It was doubtless these random words that led the author of *Caledonia Romana* to record the "discovery at Burghead of a Roman bath, and also of a deep well built in the same manner, and with as much regularity as those which have been brought to light within the Roman stations of the south."⁴ Another authority, in describing the well, remarks: "This chamber is coated with plaster, which, though faded now, was when first opened up of a deep red colour."⁵ With regard to these statements, it may be remarked that the "niches" of Professor Stuart had no existence whatever, unless, which is probable enough, the term was meant to describe the pedestal-like piece of rock in one corner; and that, so far as can be judged from the present appearance of the sides of the chamber, or learned from the testimony of some persons still alive who saw it when re-opened, when he speaks of "a coating of lime plaster," he has likewise been, somehow or other, betrayed into an error. Indeed, apart from all evidence on the point, it may be well questioned whether it is possible that mortar could have remained for centuries adhering to the walls of a damp, underground chamber. There is abundance of it on them now, but the necessity for its frequent renewal is presumptive proof against the presence of any when the well was reopened. At certain seasons patches of something "of a deep red colour," at first sight by no

¹ *Caledonia*, preface, p. viii.

² Pinkerton's *Enquiry*, adv. to second edition, p. viii.

³ *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. ii. p. 289 *et seq.*

⁴ Stuart's *Caledonia Romana*, second edition, p. 214.

⁵ Anderson's *Guide to the Highlands*, p. 118. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black. 1842.

means unlike plaster, may be observed growing on the sides of the doorway; but this, on examination, will be found to be a very minute alga (*Callithamnion Rothii*), not uncommonly met with on rocks near the sea.

The Chapel-yard.—A quadrangular enclosure is laid down on Roy's plan, within the first line of earthworks, to the left of the entrance, and shortening the course of the second line. This is the "Chapel-yard," still used as a burying-ground, though with somewhat altered boundaries. Of the writers quoted above, Cordiner is the only one who alludes to it.¹ "One place in the fort," he says, "is marked as a burying-ground, by many moss-grown gravestones; if there has ever been any sculpture on them, it is mostly worn away; on one there is a cross underfaced, and in good relief; on others there seem to be some vestiges of figures and animals; but their truth is too suspicious to admit of any representation."²

¹ It is noticed in the description of "Pariah of Duffus, in Elginshire, 1725," in Macfarlane's Geographical Collections, vol. i. pp. 293, 294; MS. in Adv. Lib.—"The next country village is Outlat. The next is a sea town, of old called Narnia, now Seaburgh, which got the name from the Danes, who then had invaded Scotland, and built a strong fort, which is very likely to have been a garrison, as appears by the ditches casten to the south of it, joyning to the north-west, and to the north-east with the sea. There is among the rubbish to be found as yet a great deall of the tyne wood of oak, and the like, of a considerable lenth, which looks to be of the wood, or of the jests. On the south side there is a burial-place betwixt it and the town, with some cornland. There is a good brood of rabbits in it. It is commonly called the Burgh Baillies. There is a great many publick inns in the town, with six good fish boats for their great lines, with other six of a lesser size. It is of distance from the Outlat $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile—north from the kirk, three miles and $\frac{1}{2}$ north-west."

² Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland, p. 59. A slab of freestone, ornamented with incised lines after a pattern to be seen on some of the older tombstones in the Chapel-yard, and which is built into the gable of a fisherman's cottage, near the Baileys Well, belongs evidently to this class of monuments. It was found fifteen years ago in digging the foundation of the cottage, and owes its present position to the praiseworthy zeal of a local functionary, under whose directions there was then cut on it the words—"REMAINS OF ROMAN ANTIQUITY." The ground here is that referred to at p. 348, as having been made up in 1809, at which time a part of the burying-ground was included in the line of a new street not far from the spot, and the slab had been among the stones used for this purpose. A mutilated sepulchral offigy lately discovered at Burghead, and now in the Elgin Museum, had also, doubtless, at one time stood in the Chapel-yard.

Fig 1.



Fig 3



Fig 2.



Yet so late as the beginning of the present century, the foundations of a building were to be seen within its precincts; and tradition bore that a mill which stood fifty years ago on the burn of the Outlet, a rivulet falling into the sea about a mile to the south of the promontory, was partly built of stones taken from the ruins of the "Chapel." In the account of the parish of Duffus, contributed to the "Survey of Moray" by the Rev. William Leslie, of St Andrews Lhanbryde, it is stated that there was a chapel "there (*i.e.*, at Burghead), where public worship was long ago performed by the minister of the parish."¹

Sculptured Stones.—Amongst the debris on the promontory, sculptured stones have been found at various times, representations of almost all of which that are now known to exist are given on Plates XI. and XII.

Fig. 1, Plate XI., is reduced from an engraving in vol. xvi. of the *Archæologia*, to which the following note is there appended:—"May 11, 1809.—Mr Carlisle exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of London an impression of a bull, taken with moistened paper, from a stone found at Burghead, in Scotland, where there are many others of the same description."² This stone is in the British Museum.

Fig. 2 was taken from the original, now in the possession of T. Miln, Esq., Elgin, which had been presented to his father by the late William Young, Esq., of Burghead.

Fig. 3 is copied from plate xxxviii. of the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" (Spalding Club). The original, which has been for some time in the garden of George Anderson, Esq., Inverness, was, it is believed, a gift from Mr Young, through Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Bart., to the Museum of the Northern Association for the Promotion of Science and Literature. In this, as in the other examples, the figure of the animal is incised on a slab of freestone.³

¹ Survey of Moray, p. 125.

² *Archæologia*, vol. xvi. plate lxxi.

³ Just as this sheet is passing through the press, a *fourth* bull, of the same style of sculpture as the others, and of proportions similar to fig. 2, Plate XI., has been discovered at Burghead by workmen engaged in laying rails along the quay. As the packing of the south pier was being removed, it was disturbed by the pick-axe of a "navvy," which, after smashing the head, was about to break the whole in pieces, when the blow was fortunately arrested by a bystander. It had evidently been carried there from the old Baileys. A friend writes me that the stone seems to be

These, or such as these, were doubtless the sculptures referred to by Professor Stuart, as already quoted. The statement in the *Archæologia*, that many such were to be found at Burghead, taken along with the following, is worthy of attention :—"In digging at the time of the erection of the harbour, the worthy proprietor informed us his men found about thirty small figures of bulls cut in stone ; and, being not a little puzzled guessing at the signification of the sculptures, he sent one of them to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries. This learned body decreed that the bulls were trophies carved by the Romans, as we strike medals in commemoration of any signal victory."¹

Fig. 1, Plate XII., seems to represent a hunting scene. The original is built into the present wall of the "Chapel-yard." It was found about twenty years ago, near the spot, at a few feet beneath the surface, and is probably a portion of the arm of a cross. The figure of the deer is executed with remarkable fidelity and spirit.

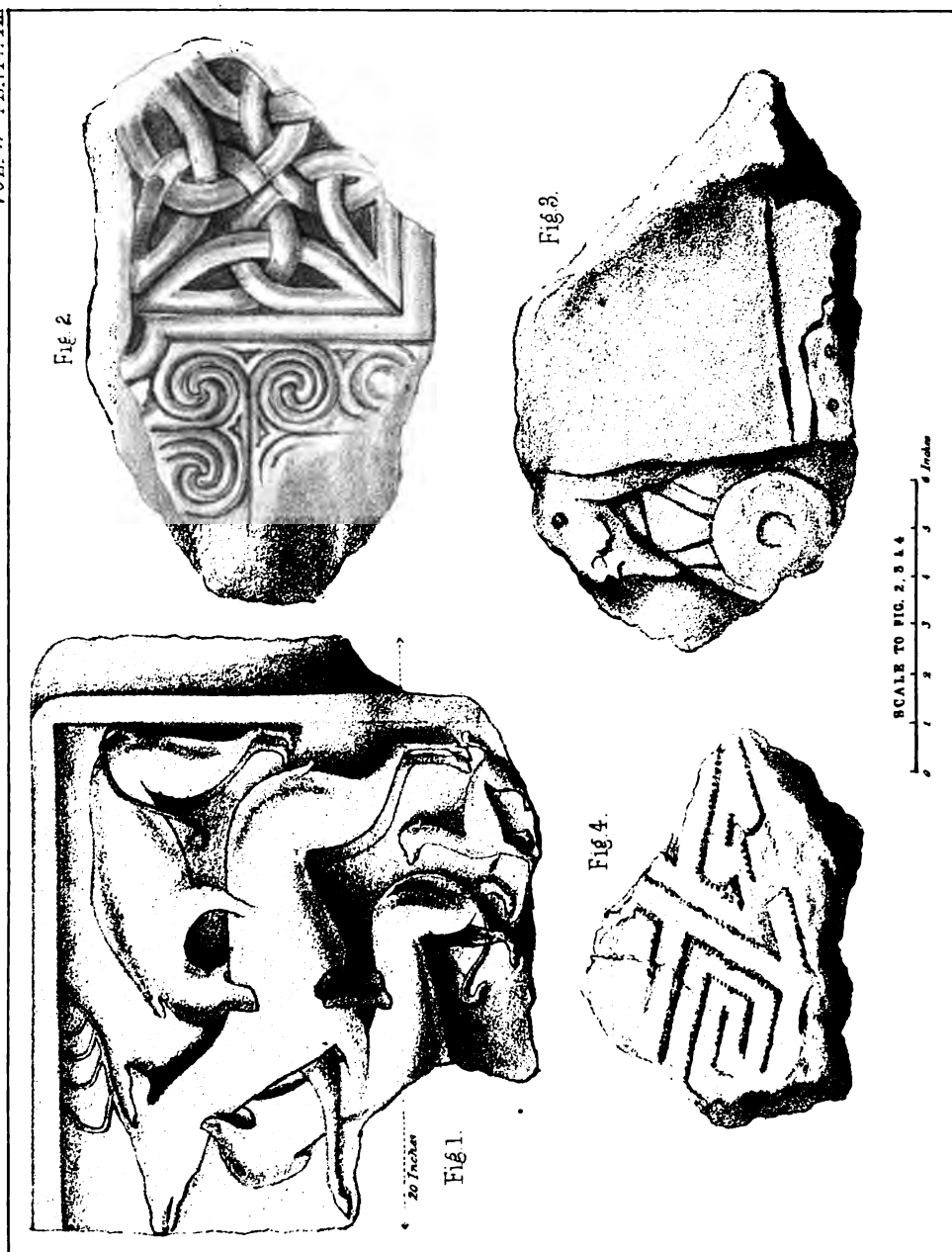
Fig. 2 is a drawing of one side of a fragment of a cross, found at Burghead, but which is now at the residence of the proprietor, Fleurs Cottage, near Elgin. The characteristic interlacing knot-work is skilfully cut in bold relief.

Fig. 3 is the other side of the same. Here the figures are incised, and the body of a man, apparently armed and on horseback, is plainly visible. The art is much ruder and perhaps earlier than that displayed in the cutting of the knot-work. Examples of this kind are interesting and by no means common. There is one, however, on the opposite side of the Moray Firth, at Golspie.²

Fig. 4 represents a fragment of a cross, now in the Elgin Museum, found a few years ago in digging near the point of the headland. It is water-worn, picked up, perhaps, on the shore—a remark which also holds good of fig. 2—and that the figure of the animal has been made to suit the size and form of the stone. None of these bulls appear to have formed part of any larger piece of sculpture, or to have been ever built into a wall.

¹ Carruthers' Highland Note-Book, pp. 220, 221. It has been said by more than one writer, that the bulls, at least one of them, were got in clearing out the well. But this is contradicted by the above extract, as well as by the testimony of living witnesses, one of whom points to the north-east corner of the upper terrace as the place where they were dug up.

² Sculptured Stones of Scotland, plate xxxiv.



sculptured on one side only—a kind of diamond-shaped work not uncommon in this type of stone monuments. Like many of the stones and fragments of wood in this part of the fortifications, it appears to have been at one time subjected to great heat.

Besides the above, there is at present in a garden in Elgin a fragment of a cross, much worn and defaced, which there are good grounds for believing found its way there from Burghead.

St Ethan's Well.—About a quarter of a mile to the east of the village a spring comes naturally to the surface, called "St Ethan's Well." The water is exceedingly pure and wholesome; and the supply, though small, is unfailing even in the driest summer. Nothing whatever is known regarding the origin of the name, but there is reason to believe that the well has borne it from a remote period.

Metal Jug.—The woodcut represents a jug, now in possession of



N. Macleod, Esq. of Dalvey, and said to have been found in the "Roman" well. It is fully $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and composed of that mixture of copper and tin known as bell-metal. The workmanship and design appear to be both mediæval.

Silver-mounting for a Horn.—An antique from Burghead was figured and described by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, in the "*Archæologia Scotica*,"¹ as a silver bracelet, and is referred to as such by Wilson.² "It was presented to me," says Sir Thomas, "by Mr Young, the proprietor of Burghead, by whose workmen it was found during their excavations, preparatory to forming the town of that name." A competent authority, Mr Franks of the British Museum, is of opinion that the relic is not a bracelet, but the mounting of a horn, of either Scandinavian or Saxon manufacture, and of an age not prior to the tenth century.

Other Relics.—During the operations of 1809 and following years, quantities of human bones were got in and near the fortifications. An intelligent old man who had charge for a time of the workmen employed in their demolition, speaks of having seen entire skeletons, as well as pieces of rusty armour; and his statement is confirmed by the fact, that a few years ago, on the removal of a portion of the north rampart of the lower terrace, a number of bones were disinterred from its outer side, among them a skull with a round hole in its upper part, their position being such as if a row of bodies had been laid down on the original surface, and this part of the mound subsequently raised over them. The same observer also testifies to the frequent occurrence of "bits of bone-like buttons" which, from their size and appearance, he and his fellow-workmen were of opinion had been used as money; and of other pieces of the same substance that went among them by the name of "arrows."³ Many stories are still current of hoards of treasure that were got in those days, but they are probably much exaggerated.⁴ A silver penny of King Alfred, however, undoubtedly from Burghead, is now in

¹ *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iii. plate v.

² It has lately been presented to the Museum by Lady Dick Lauder, and a woodcut of it will be found in a subsequent page of this volume.

³ "Another scrap of Roman antiquity was dug up by the workmen—a small brass coin, which an eminent antiquary said was one of the tokens in common use among the Roman soldiers, to note their allowance of wine."—*Carruthers' Highland Note-Book*, p. 221.

⁴ "In clearing out the well, a number of Spanish coins were found among the rubbish."—Rhind's "*Sketches of the Antiquities of Moray*," p. 67. If these coins have been correctly designated, and if they were found at any considerable depth their presence is difficult to account for.

the Museum of Antiquities. About four years ago a brooch of antique design was met with among the sandhills close to the village. It passed at the time, as a curiosity of value, into the hands of a gentleman now deceased, and cannot be recovered. The late Mr Young was wont to tell that in 1809 a pit of considerable depth, and containing a quantity of barley, was discovered near the point of the promontory. Its sides were lined with wood, and, when opened, the grain in it seemed charred. Among the few legends preserved by the natives of Burghead, is one to the effect that the fort was burned, while held by the Danes, by a king of Scotland, in revenge for some insult offered to a daughter who was married to a Danish prince.¹

Burning of the Clavie.—No account of the antiquities of Burghead would be complete that did not contain a notice of the burning of the Clavie. On the evening of the last day of December (o. s.), the youth of the village assemble about dusk and make the necessary preparations for this grand annual ceremony. Proceeding to some shop, they demand a strong empty barrel, which is usually gifted at once, but, if refused, is taken by force. Another for breaking up, and a quantity of tar, are likewise procured at the same time. Thus furnished, they repair to a particular spot close to the sea-shore and commence operations. A hole, about four inches in diameter, is first made in the bottom of the stronger barrel, into which the end of a stout pole, five feet in length, is firmly fixed. To strengthen their hold, a number of supports are nailed round the outside of the former and also closely round the latter. The tar is then put into the barrel and set on fire; and the remaining one being broken up, stave after stave is thrown in until it is quite full. The

¹ "A fabulous story prevails among the country people, that a daughter of the king of Scotland was married to a Danish prince, who used her ill, upon which the Scots king threatened revenge for the affront; and, therefore, immediately after the Danes came over, brought a number of pigeons and other birds, besmeared their feathers with tar and oil, set them on fire, and let them loose to fly through the different parts of the garrison; and how soon the Danes saw the flames, they fled with what valuables they could transport with them." (Notice of Burghead in Sinclair's "Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. xxi. p. 210.) The popular version of the destruction of Silchester, in Berkshire, is strikingly similar.—See Lord Carnarvon's *Archæology of Berkshire*, p. 17. London, 1859.

clavie, already burning fiercely, is now shouldered by some strong young man, and borne away at a rapid pace. As soon as the bearer gives signs of exhaustion, another willingly takes his place; and should any of those who are honoured to carry the blazing load meet with an accident, as sometimes happens, the misfortune excites no pity even among his near relatives. In making the circuit of the village, they are said to confine themselves to its old boundaries. Formerly, the procession visited all the fishing-boats, but this has been discontinued for some time. Having gone over the appointed ground, the clavie is carried to the *Doorie*, a small eminence near the extremity of the headland, once a portion of the natural landward boundary of the lower terrace, which, however, has only been the *Doorie* since 1809. On its summit a circular heap of stones used to be hastily piled up, in the hollow centre of which the clavie was placed, still burning. It is now, however, laid on a stone column recently built for the purpose by the proprietor, with a cavity in the centre for admitting the free end of the pole. After burning on the *Doorie* for about twenty minutes, the clavie is most unceremoniously hurled from it and the smoking embers scattered among the assembled crowd, by whom, in less enlightened times, they were eagerly caught up, and fragments of them carried home and carefully preserved as charms against witchcraft. At a period not very remote, superstition had invested the whole proceedings with all the solemnity of a religious rite; the whole population joining in it as an act necessary to the welfare and prosperity of the community during the year about to commence; but of late, the burying of the clavie has degenerated into a mere pastime, and will probably soon be numbered among the things that were.

What these records appear to intimate, regarding the past history of the Broch, remains to be considered.

Antiquities, not Roman—Fragmentary as they unfortunately are, its antiquities at least show that no portion of the fort, as it existed in Roy's day, can have been raised by Roman hands. The contents of the ramparts of the upper areas demonstrate that these defences were not the work of Lollius Urbicus; while the position of the chapel-yard, interrupting as it does the second line of earthworks, proves it to be older than these mounds; for it is most improbable that, with the choice of other more eligible sites, the builders of the chapel had, after clearing away

a mass of earth, erected it between two deep ditches! As no mention is made of it in the Chartulary of Moray, the chapel must have ceased to be regularly occupied as a place of worship before the year 1200, and it cannot have been built earlier than 700, probably not till much later; hence it may be safely assumed, on this ground alone, that the fosses are of a date somewhere between the beginning of the eighth and the close of the twelfth century. The ramparts may be, and probably are, older; but there is not a single fact to lend countenance to the supposition, that any former defences on the ruins of which they may have been constructed, were Roman. Not a trace of anything indubitably the work of that people can be shown to have been found on the promontory, and the remains described above all point unequivocally in other directions. The *Baileys Well* is perhaps unique of its class; yet this does not prove that such a rude, unsymmetrical reservoir is Roman any more than that it is Phœnician. Henceforth, it is to be feared, the Roman theory must be set aside as one of the illusions of those bygone days of archæology, in which the Monkbarns School was in the ascendant.

An Ecclesiastical Site.—The existence of the Chapel-yard is sufficient proof that Burghead is an old ecclesiastical site; while the sculptured crosses testify to its antiquity, as well as give approximately its age. It is more than probable that St Ethan's Well hands down the name of either the saint to whom the building was dedicated, or of some primitive apostle whose labours in the district had been abundant. As there is little doubt that Christianity was first preached in this part of Scotland by Columba and his disciples, Ethan may be a corruption of *Ædan* or *Aidan*, a monk of Iona, who was afterwards, as is well known, the first bishop of Lindisfarne, and died A.D. 681. In an old Norman-French chronicle, printed by Petrie and Sharp, the name, exactly as pronounced by the natives of Burghead, is applied to *Eata* or *Æta*, one of *Ædan's* successors in the same see.¹ But this is a point which there is not sufficient data to determine.²

The existence of the "Chapel," though hitherto all but overlooked,

¹ *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 668.

² No fair is known to have been ever held at Burghead, and all trace of the one held in olden times in the Kirkyard of Duffus appears to be lost. It is a coincidence

accounts for the presence of the crosses, and also, perhaps, for the few roughly-dressed stones that were got in the middle rampart, near where it had stood. The latter likely found their way into the mound during the turning over to which it was subjected; but there is no evidence to show where the former were all met with. The sculptured bulls appear to belong to an earlier period.

Probably a "Pictish-tower," Burgh, or Broch.—The contents of these hitherto mysterious mounds establish, beyond all reasonable doubt, the fact that they were, to a great extent, composed of the ruins of regular structures. This is clear from the statements of Grant and Stuart, as well as from the recent examination of the hitherto undisturbed portion of the seaward rampart of the lower terrace. Nor does the presence of a retaining wall round the areas account for the whole; other buildings, the necessity for which is evident enough, must have contributed some share of the debris. The question, therefore, naturally arises, What was their nature?

There appears to be one, and only one, class of stone structures known with certainty as having existed in Scotland at so early a period, the demolition of which could have yielded such a mass of materials: those "Pictish-towers," Burghs, or Brochs, examples of which, though mostly in ruins, with the exception of that of Mousa, in Shetland, are still to be seen on our north and west coasts. This conclusion is supported by the following considerations:—

(1.) *The Name.*—Burghead, as an appellation of the promontory, only dates from about the close of the last century. Previous to that it was called Burgh-sea, or Broch-sea, or, more commonly, *The Broch*. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that this is the very name by which the so-called Pictish-towers of the antiquary are known among the natives of the non-Celtic districts of the north. In Orkney, wherever Broch

worth noting, perhaps, that Duffus seems to have become the site of a chapel, dedicated to St Peter, about the time at which Burghead was seized by the Norsemen. If it took the place of one consecrated to St Ethan on the headland, Duffus may at first have borne the names of both saints; and if, further, St Ethan be identical with the Columbite Aidan, it is easy to see how his name might come to be discarded. On this supposition, the Duffus fair-day would be either the feast of St Peter *ad vincula* 1st August, or of Aidan, the 31st of same month.

occurs as the designation of a locality traces of one of these buildings invariably exist. Boece's statement, that this name was bestowed on Burghead by the "Danes," is probably one of those little matters of detail in which he is so fond of indulging and which may in general be safely passed over as unworthy of credit.

(2.) *The Situation*.—Headlands are among the sites which such Brochs most frequently occupied.

(3.) *The Character of the Debris*.—The resemblance between the Burghead mounds and the ruins of an undoubted broch can scarcely fail to strike any person who will take the trouble to compare the details given above with a description of one of those buildings. Space is not left for a full illustration of this particular. Suffice it to say, that the immense quantity of unhewn stones, some of them water-worn and bearing evidence of having been taken from between tide-marks; the absence of mortar; the mass of bones of domestic animals and the shells, observed in course of the excavations; the bits of bone resembling buttons, are all appearances more or less characteristic of brochs as well as of Picts' houses, the latter of which some of our most cautious archaeologists believe to represent the same style of architecture as the former, though in an earlier stage of its development. In Picts' houses there have also been found charred grain and sculptured stones rudely incised, these last serving to show that though the Burghead bulls are as yet unique of their class their occurrence in a so-called Pictish structure is far from anomalous. It may indeed be objected to this view that Burghead lies somewhat to the south of that part of Scotland to which brochs are generally understood to be confined; but their distribution in ancient times is a matter that cannot be settled without more accurate information on the subject than we yet possess. Besides, the promontory is within sight of, and distant but a few hours' sail from, parts of the opposite shores of the frith where they are known to have been once numerous, and lies in a district that was often visited by the marauding Norsemen, as a refuge against whose inroads brochs are generally supposed to have been erected.

(4.) *The Earthen Ramparts and Fosses*.—Examples of these are not unknown elsewhere in connection with brochs. That at Bressay in Orkney is surrounded on the land side by an earth embankment and

fosse of a horse-shoe shape, the end or heel terminating at the shore on the east and west of the burg.¹

(5.) *The Position of the Well.*—Excavated chambers, which Mr Petrie, Kirkwall, considers to have been either wells or places for the concealment of treasure, have been met with in some of the northern brochs in a position similar to that of the Baileys Well at Burghead. In his account of the burg referred to above, Mr Petrie says,—“On digging away the rubbish on the outside of the south side of the wall, a stone was accidentally lifted, and a covered way or passage discovered underneath, leading down by a flight of several steps to a well (or something very like it), excavated out of the rock and clay. . . . The well is between the earthen rampart and the burg, and is about ten feet high from the roof.”

(6.) *The Testimony of Boece.*—This, though the strongest and most direct of all, is put last for two reasons: *first*, because there are probably many who will attach no importance to it whatever; and, *second*, because it was not until the preceding facts had impressed the writer with the conviction that Burghead had been the site of a northern broch that Boece's remarkable statement came under his observation. Fortunately it is by no means necessary for our present purpose to enquire into the accuracy of the details into which he enters; but the remark may be hazarded, that the scope and object of Boece's History have been by not a few partly misunderstood. All that he appears to have proposed to himself, following in this respect the example of Livy, was to weave into a continuous narrative the materials he had somehow collected, never pausing to inquire into their historical value, and holding chronology and even probability as of secondary importance. That a work compiled on such principles is seldom alluded to by the lynx-eyed critics of our day, except in terms bordering on contempt, need hardly be wondered at; yet it is surely possible to carry this feeling too far. Whatever may be thought of his references to the unknown Veremundus, it seems unfair to set him down as having fabricated all the assertions which he makes that are otherwise unvouched for. In the case before us, Olave and Enetus may be mythical personages; it may have been

¹ Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 57. Cf. Ibid. p. 5

² Ibid. vol. ii. p. 57.

some other king than Malcolm II. that was worsted at Kinloss by the Danes; and still the substance of the story may be true. Let it be admitted, then, that tradition in the days of Boece represented Burghhead when assailed and captured by the Norsemen as "*furnished with towers and a wall of great height*;" and the assertion, as explained by appearances, now for the first time brought to light, almost if not altogether establishes the point in question. The period to which these brochs belong, and the race, whether native or intrusive, by whom they were built, are matters which cannot be discussed here.

Occupied by the Norsemen.—Boece's statement, that the Norsemen extended and strengthened the fortifications of *The Burg*, is confirmed by several particulars which it is unnecessary to recapitulate. Owing, however, to the changes the mounds have undergone, no accurate idea can now be formed of the nature of the alterations; and the same difficulty presents itself in other brochs which had been appropriated by these marauders to their own use. Little can be advanced on this point beyond the surmise that they probably destroyed the Chapel, as well as dug the two outermost fosses. Proof is even wanting that changes more or less important may not have been made on the form of the fortifications after the place was abandoned by the Northmen.¹ It may be mentioned that Plate VIII. has reminded some archæologists of the sketch of a fort called Dunbeg, near Fahan, in the county of Donegal, Ireland, given in the "*Archæological Journal*" for March 1858; and the following sentences from the description which accompanies it, will show that the resemblance is in some respects pretty close, although there are other points in which no likeness can be traced:—"The Cahen or fort of Dunbeg . . . has been formed by separating the extreme point of an

¹ Something unexplained lurks under the name *Baileys* or *Bailies*. It has been suggested that its origin is similar to that of the Old *Bailey* in London, "so designated from its position, in relation to the ancient wall of the city, and the church of St Peter in the *Bailey* of Oxford, so called from its having been originally situated in the outer *ballium* of the castle" (Edward I. in the North of Scotland, p. 115; Elgin, priv. printed, 1858.) According to this view *baileys* is an Anglicised corruption of *ballia*, the courts within a fortified castle; but the term could only be applicable to Burghhead in this sense, on the supposition that it had been temporarily occupied as a feudal stronghold.

angular headland from the main shore by a massive stone wall, constructed without cement, from 15 to 25 feet in thickness, and extending 200 feet from cliff to cliff. This wall is pierced near its middle by a passage which is flanked overhead. As a further means of defence, a series of three earthen mounds, with intervening fosses, have been thrown up outside the wall, having a pathway through, leading in a direct line to the main entrance. They are formed out of the drift-clay and gravel which overlies the strata of dull purple grits, sandstones, and slates, of which the promontory is composed."¹

The exact date of the occupation of Burghead by the Norsemen must likewise be held as uncertain; since, for reasons already given, Boece's authority in such matters is scarcely to be trusted. Even if we accept the account given in the sagas of the battle of Torfness as the Norse version of the event chronicled by him as the battle of Kinloss, its chronology is as difficult to fix as ever.² Probably, however, we shall not greatly err if we set down the event as having occurred in the course of the tenth or the eleventh century. Equally puzzling is the singular ceremony of the *Clavie*, which, though likely enough to be of Scandinavian origin, cannot be set down with certainty as such. The popular idea that it is "Druidical" is probably about as well-founded as the theory that the fortifications are Roman. So far as can be ascertained, nothing exactly similar is known in any other part of Scotland.³

Charter History.—The following account of the charter history of Burghead has been kindly supplied by Robert Young, Esq., Elgin:—

"After the Norsemen left Burghead, no doubt the whole parish of Duffus, including Burghead, reverted to the Crown, and probably so remained until granted by

¹ Archaeological Journal, vol. xv. pp. 2-5.

² The latest writer on our early history is inclined to reconcile the Norse and Scottish chronicles by supposing that Kali Hundison was no other than the unfortunate Duncan, and that he must have encountered the combined forces of Thorfin and Macbeth in the neighbourhood of Burghead.—Robertson's *Scotland under her Early Kings*, vol. i. p. 116, and Appendix P.

³ Clavie reminds one of Clava in Nairnshire, with its chambered cairns and stone circles; but the resemblance may be purely accidental. Doorie or Dourie is a well-known name in Scottish topography.

King David the First to Freskinus De Moravia. David succeeded Alexander the First in 1124, and died in 1158, which fixes the period when the estate of Duffus fell to the De Moravias. About 1285 the last male representative of this family died, leaving two daughters—Helen, married to Reginald De Cheyne, the younger, and Christian, married to William De Fedderet. Both of these were great Barons of Scotland, and both proprietors in Buchan, where the ruins of their Castles remain to attest their greatness. How the estate was divided between the daughters is not clear, but I think the probability is, that the elder daughter got two-thirds, and the younger daughter one-third. That the younger had a part of the estate appears from a gift of the patronage of St Peter's Church at Duffus, granted to Archibald, Bishop of Moray, by William De Fedderet, and Christian De Moravia, his wife, dated at Kinnedar in 1294. Reginald De Cheyne was a supporter of the English faction, and was evidently in the confidence of Edward the First of England during his occupation of Scotland, but like many others, he no doubt afterwards turned round to Robert Bruce, for his estate was not forfeited, but descended to his family; and his brother, Henry Cheyne, appears to have been Bishop of Aberdeen in King Robert's reign, and is said to have been the builder of the old bridge of Don. William De Fedderet, on the other hand, and his family, disappear from history altogether, and my conjecture is, that they were staunch supporters of Cumin, Earl of Buchan, and the Cumin party, and therefore the declared enemies of Robert Bruce; and if so, his estates would be forfeited and fall to the Crown.

"Reginald De Cheyne died in the year 1313, leaving a son by his wife, Helen De Moravia, also called Reginald, who was at the battle of Halidon Hill in 1333, and died about 1350, leaving two daughters, Mary and Mariot, so that the male line of the family of Cheynes having failed, by the middle of the fourteenth century the estate of Duffus was again in the hands of co-heiresses. Mary De Cheyne, the elder, married Nicholas, second son of Kenneth, Earl of Sutherland, and the other married John Keith, son of Sir Edward Keith, Marshal of Scotland.

"Duffus was thus divided into three parts: the King's part being probably that which had belonged to William De Fedderet; Duffus part, pertaining to the Sutherlands; and Marshal's part, belonging to the Keiths. Marshal's part was purchased by Alexander Sutherland, grandson of Nicholas, who married Morella, daughter and heiress of Chisholm of Quarrelwood. These three parts of Duffus may be in some measure traced still. Sutherland's part would contain the estate now pertaining to Sir Archibald Dunbar; Marshal's part, the lands of Inverugie, Hope-man, and westward, near to Burghead; and the remaining third, the western division of the parish. Burghead suffered also a tripartite division; being the port of the district it perhaps was considered of some value.

"After this period two-thirds of Duffus, and the like portion of Burghead, remained with the Sutherlands, who were created Lords Duffus, until their estate was sold in 1705. The history of the King's third of Duffus and Burghead is some-

what obscure for a time; but there exists a charter by James III. in favour of James Douglas of Pittendrich, of the third part of Duffus, which, of course, comprehended the third part of Burghead, dated at Edinburgh, the 14th August 1472. The Douglasses seem to have kept possession until 1608, when Archibald Douglas granted a charter of alienation to Alexander Keith, Rector of Duffus; from whose descendants it passed shortly after 1688 into the hands of Sir Robert Gordon, son of Alexander, Earl of Sutherland, and who had previously purchased the lands of Plewland and Ogston, in Drainie, from the Marquis of Huntly. In the year 1672, Sir Ludovick Gordon, the son of Sir Robert above mentioned, with consent of Robert Gordon, his eldest son, sold and disposed to Robert Sutherland, in Burg-sea, the lands of Easter Inchkeil, called the King's third of Inchkeil, the lands of Wester Inchkeil, 'and in like manner, the lands, house, laroche, and yards, bigged and to be bigged, and the harbour and sea-port pertaining to them, of the town and sea-port of Burgeea, commonly called the King's third of Burgeea,' &c. &c. Sir Robert Gordon, the grandson of Sir Ludovick, endeavoured to recover the above, and other lands, from the successors of Robert Sutherland; but he failed in this; and after a long process, the King's third of Burghead and other lands were confirmed to Lewis Kay, his great-grandson, descended through a female, by decree of the Court of Session, dated 4th July and 7th August 1767. About the year 1706, the other two-thirds of Burghead and other lands were purchased by Archibald Dunbar, of Thundertown, from Lord Duffus, from whom it descended to his great-grandson, the late Sir Archibald Dunbar of Northfield, Baronet. Sir Archibald also acquired the King's third of Burghead from Lewis Kay, the successor of Robert Sutherland, by disposition, dated 12th November 1796. Sir Archibald Dunbar thus became sole proprietor of Burghead, and on 5th July 1799, obtained a Crown-Charter over the whole.

"In the year 1808, Sir Archibald made over the property of Burghead to the Duke of Gordon, Colonel Francis William Grant of Grant, John Brander of Pitgaveny, himself, Joseph King of Newmill, George Forteseath of Newton, William Young of Invergie, and Thomas Sellar of Westfield; by whom, jointly, a harbour was erected at Burghead. In the year 1819, Mr Young purchased the shares of the other proprietors, and carried out extensive improvements on the property and the harbour, encouraging, in particular, the settlement of fishermen. About 1836, he extended the north quay-head, so as to make it a suitable berth for steamers. Mr Young died in 1842, and was succeeded by his nephew, the present proprietor."

This paper was illustrated by various water-colour sketches of the sculptured stones and other antiquities, some of which, executed by Lady Dunbar of Duffus, were previously presented by her to the Society; and by the kind permission of the Dowager Lady Dick Lauder, the curious silver ring, already referred to, and the coin of Alfred, were exhibited.

Professor COSMO INNES, from his local knowledge, was able to illustrate and confirm the statements in the paper.

Mr JOHN STUART, in adverting to the value and interest of Mr Macdonald's paper, stated that he thought the writer had been very fortunate in the destruction of the theory which attributed the remains to Roman hands, and that the excavations described had been of great use in adding to the materials for forming an opinion as to their real authors. It appeared to him that the upturning and removal of the original materials had been so great that it was almost impossible now to speak with confidence as to their original disposition. He pointed out the occurrence of sculptured fragments at Dinnacair, now an isolated rock near Stonehaven, but probably in early times the point of a peninsula like Burchhead, as had been shown by Mr Thomson of Banchory, and referred to this and other similar places on the coast as sites chosen by the early Christian missionaries, and which may have been selected from their being fortified, or secure by nature.

Mr JOSEPH ROBERTSON anticipated great good from such papers as Mr Macdonald's, which he hoped soon to see printed; and from the facts thus accumulated, and the aid of good ground plans, it might yet be possible to fix the date and the builders of many of our early forts.

Dr JOHN ALEX. SMITH remarked that the deer shewn on one of the sketches of the fragments of sculptured stones, if correctly drawn, appeared to be that of the Red Deer. The whole subject of the identification of the various species of animals represented on the Scottish Sculptured Stones, in their relation to our extirpated as well as living animals, would, he considered, form a curious and interesting field of inquiry.

After the usual votes of thanks to the Vice-Presidents and other office-bearers during the past Session, the Society adjourned to the commencement of next Winter Session.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

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EIGHTY-SECOND SESSION, 1861-62.  
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ANNIVERSARY MEETING, 29th November 1861.

DAVID LAING, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Office-bearers of the Society for the Session were elected, as follows :—

Patron.

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

President.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF BREADALBANE, K.T.

Vice-Presidents.

DAVID LAING, Esq.

JAMES T. GIBSON CRAIG, Esq.

COSMO INNES, Esq.

Councillors.

Right Hon. LORD ELCHO, M.P. } *Representing the*
GEORGE PATTON, Esq., } *Board of Trustees.*
JOSEPH ROBERTSON, Esq.

HON. LORD NEAVES.

ROBERT PATERSON, M.D.
 DAVID MILNE HOME, Esq.
 PROFESSOR JAMES Y. SIMPSON, M.D.
 WILLIAM F. SKENE, Esq.
 PROFESSOR WILLIAM STEVENSON, D.D.

Secretaries.

JOHN STUART, Esq., General Register House.
 JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D.
 DAVID LAING, Esq.,
 JOHN M. MITCHELL, Esq., } *For Foreign
 Correspondence.*

Treasurer.

THOMAS B. JOHNSTON, Esq.

Curators of the Museum.

JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A.
 FRANCIS ABBOTT, Esq.

Librarian.

GEORGE SETON, Esq.

Auditors.

ROBERT HUTCHISON, Esq.
 ALEXANDER BRYSON, Esq.

Publishers.

Messrs EDMONSTONE and DOUGLAS.

MR WILLIAM T. M'CULLOCH, *Keeper of the Museum.*
 MR ROBERT PAUL, *Assistant.*

On the recommendation of the Council, JAMES FARRER, Esq., M.P. for South Durham, was unanimously elected an Honorary Member of the Society, in recognition of the great services rendered by him to the early history of Scotland, he having for a series of years carried on extensive excavations in Orkney, attended with very important results, and always made his discoveries subservient to public interests.

The following Gentlemen were balloted for, and duly elected Fellows of the Society:—

ANDREW ROBERTSON, M.D., Chamberlain to H.R.H.
the Prince Consort, Balmoral.

WALTER BERRY, Esq., Danish Consul-General, Leith.

ROBERT BAIKIE, M.D.

WILLIAM PAGAN, Esq. of Clayton.

HENRY BROUGHAM FARNIE, Esq., Cupar-Fife.

Mr John Stuart reported, that the Society, during the past year, had lost by death The Right Hon. The EARL OF ABERDEEN, K.G., one of its Honorary Members, a nobleman who, amid the cares and responsibilities of his high functions, had found time in various ways to show his interest in Scottish literature and antiquities.

During the same period the Society had also lost by death the following Fellows:—

	<i>Elected</i>
His Grace The DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, K.G.,	1854
JAMES JOHNSTONE, Esq., S.S.C., Curator of the Museum, . .	1857
JOHN F. MACFARLAN, Esq., Chemist,	1848
WILLIAM MARSHALL, Esq., Danish Consul-General,	1844
JOHN SHANK MORR, Esq., Advocate, Professor of Scots Law in the University of Edinburgh,	1822
Sir WILLIAM KEITH MURRAY of Ochertyre, Bart.,	1833
JAMES NEWTON, Esq., W.S.,	1828
ROBERT OLIPHANT, Esq., S.S.C.,	1840

The number of Members admitted during the past year was 24, the total number of Fellows on the roll being 266.

Mr STUART made some observations on the Archæological progress of the past season, alluding specially to Mr Farrer's discovery of Runic inscriptions in the chamber at Maeshowe in Orkney, and the restoration of the Burg of Mousa. In the mean time drawings and casts of the Runes have been made at Mr Farrer's instance, and placed in the hands of a limited number of Runic scholars for interpretation; of which the Society will learn the results as soon as possible.

Mr Laing's motion, laid on the table at the last General Meeting:—
“That in consequence of the admission of two official Members of Council from the Board of Trustees, the law which requires three of the ordinary Members of Council to retire annually should be so far altered

as to require the retirement of only two such Members annually," was unanimously agreed to, as was also the additional By-law proposed by the Council :—"That it be imperative that all communications which are intended for publication in the Proceedings be left for that purpose in the hands of the Secretary immediately after having been read to the Society."

MR STUART read the following Report, to be laid as usual before the Board of Trustees, for transmission to the Right Honourable the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury :—

REPORT by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, to the Honourable Board of Trustees for Manufactures, adopted at their Annual General Meeting, held on the 29th November 1861.

The National Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland has been, during the past year, open to the public free of charge on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays, from 10 to 4 o'clock; and on Saturday evenings from 7 to 9 o'clock; and at a charge of sixpence for each person on Thursdays and Fridays, from 10 to 4 o'clock. The Museum was closed on Mondays for cleaning, also during the month of November.

The following table shows the number of Visitors to the Museum during each month of the year, distinguishing the number of visitors on the Saturday evenings :—

	Day.	Sat. Night.	Total.
1860. December,....	5,765	1,228	6,993
1861. January,	20,698	424	21,122
... February,	3,362	380	3,742
... March,	3,021	506	3,527
... April,	2,681	348	3,029
... May,	3,090	300	3,390
... June,	6,888	421	7,309
... July,	9,853	646	10,499
... August,	8,198	1,116	9,314
... September,....	6,589	1,208	7,797
... October,	3,424	470	3,894
	<hr/> 72,569	<hr/> 7,047	<hr/> 79,616

The additions to the collection by donation and purchase since the last report consist of 330 articles, 132 coins and medals, and 146 volumes of books. Donations were received from 121 contributors. Amongst the articles most worthy of notice were those presented by Dowager Lady Dick Lauder, Lady Drysdale, Mr A. H. Rhind, Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot., and James Farrer, Esq., M.P. for South Durham, F.S.A. Scot.

During the past year the labelling of the Collection in the cases has been finished. The series of Scottish and English Coins have been arranged, a work of considerable labour and time, and the Keeper is now about to proceed with the preparation of the Catalogue.

(Signed) JOHN STUART.

Thanks were voted to the Board of Trustees for the use of the Board Room for the purpose of the meeting, and also to the Chairman.

MONDAY, 9th December 1861.

DAVID LAING, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A *Conversazione* was held in the Museum, Royal Institution; and the use of the Royal Society's Hall having been obtained, the Chairman, as Vice-President delivered there an Inaugural Address, the subject of which was a retrospect of the History of the Society. It was chiefly intended as a continuation of the Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society, 1784-1830, Part III., contained in the Appendix to Volume Third of the "*Archæologia Scotica*."

This Address will be given as an Appendix to the present volume of the Society's Proceedings.

On the motion of Adam Black, Esq., M.P., a cordial vote of thanks was given to Mr Laing for his Address.

MONDAY, 13th January 1862.

DAVID LAING, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following Address of Condolence to Her Majesty the Queen, on the death of His Royal Highness the Prince-Consort, was read and adopted :—

“ TO THE QUEEN’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

“ MADAM,

“ We, the President, Council, and Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, desire to offer to your Majesty the expression of our deep sympathy in your Majesty’s bereavement.

“ Amidst the sorrow of the whole nation for the death of the Prince Consort, your husband, and while all the countries of the civilised world are preparing to testify sympathy in our common loss, we have peculiar cause of grief, and feel it to be our duty that we should give a distinct expression to our deep and respectful condolence.

“ By the constitution of our Society it is placed under the special patronage of the Sovereign.

“ We had the advantage also of numbering among our Honorary Members His Royal Highness,—a Prince so accomplished in the learning and tastes which our Society seeks to promote, that his loss must have been felt as a calamity, even independent of the exalted station which he filled, and which those accomplishments so greatly adorned.

“ In common with all your subjects, we pray that your Majesty may have all the consolation of which such a loss is capable, and that you may long reign over these nations, cheered by the affectionate support of a prosperous and grateful people.

(Signed)

“ D. LAING, *Chairman of the Meeting.*

“ JOHN STUART, *Secretary.*

“ EDINBURGH, 13th January 1862.’

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the respective Donors :—

Oval Bronze Penannular Ring, or Armlet, terminating in slightly thickened extremities. Its greatest diameter measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It was found in a peat moss at Conage, Banffshire ;

Four leaf-shaped Flint Arrow Heads ; and

Seven Arrow Heads with stems and barbs, of light-coloured flint, and of various sizes. Found on the Culbin Sandhills, Morayshire ;

Small pointed Plate of Bronze resembling a knife blade, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. Found on the Culbin Sandhills ;

Small Copper Coin of James II., King of Arragon and Sicily, A.D. 1291–1327. These rude copper coins, with the name JACOBUS, in monastic-looking characters, have very frequently been found in Scotland mixed up with the money of the Scottish Kings of that name. On the obverse they have a curious triangular ornament within a circle ; and the reverse bears a cross within a tressure of four points within a circle. The legends of this coin cannot be read ; and

A Fragment of two other Coins of the same description. Found on the Culbin Sandhills ;

Bronze Circular Brooch with Pin, measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across. It is ornamented with incised crosses, double kite-shaped ornaments, and apparently an imitation of black letter ;

Small Circular Brooch, with zigzag ornaments, 2 inches in diameter ;

Small Bronze Buckle ; and

Various small portions of unglazed reddish Pottery, probably of coarse vessels or urns. These last-named articles were all found at the Doune Hill of Belugas, Morayshire ;

Penny of Alfred (copper). *Obv.*—**EL(F)RED REX**. Portrait to the right.

MON

Rev.—**VINI** —**MONETA VINI**. This extremely rare coin is unfortunately

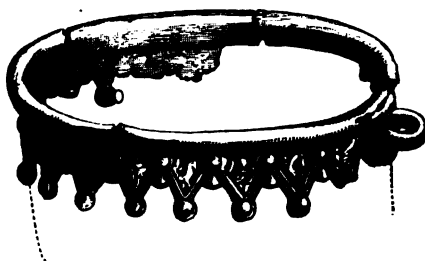
ETA

pierced in two places. On the obverse the **F** of **ELFRED** is almost entirely drilled out, a small part of the front of the letter only being visible. The other hole is under the bust, and does little harm. The reverse of the coin is considerably injured by the piercing, for the first letter of the

moneyer's name is quite drilled out, and the last nearly so. Ruding, in his list of moneyers of this king, gives the name DVINÆ. Probably the D is drilled out, and also the front part of the Æ, leaving only the I visible. The penny seems to be of this moneyer, or if not, it is unpublished. Found at Burghead, Morayshire;

Groat of James I. of Scotland (silver), of the Edinburgh mint, common type. Legends indistinct. Found at Burghead;

Ornamental Silver Ring, with loop at side, the details of which are well shown in the annexed careful drawing, the size of the original.



It may have been the ornamental border or mouth of a drinking horn, and is similar in character to ornaments on drinking horns figured in the Catalogue of the Royal Museum, Copenhagen. It was found at Burghead, Morayshire, and is described, and a rough sketch of it given, by the late Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Bart., in a communication to the Society on the 27th February 1826, printed in the "*Archæologia Scotica*," vol. iii. p. 39;

Dark-coloured Stone, squared on the sides, measuring 2 inches long, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in breadth, and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in thickness. One end is perforated, and in it is inserted an ornamented bronze penannular ring, terminating in two dragon-like heads. It was found in digging in North Uist, and was probably a touch-stone;

Four Bronze Pins (one broken), each about 5 inches in length. Small moveable rings are fixed in the heads of two of them. They were found at the Doune Hill of Relugas, Elginshire. These pins are similar in character to one found in a burying-ground at Heisker, North Uist, and figured in the "*Proceedings*" of the Society, vol. ii. p. 176;

Billon Plack of Mary of Scotland. *Obv.*—**MARIA D. G. R. SCOTORUM.** Thistle, head crowned with an arched crown, between **M** and **R.** *Rev.*—**OPPIDUM EDINBURGI.** A plain St Andrew's cross through an open crown between two cinquefoils; and a

Brass coin, in very bad preservation. Found in the cave in Eigg where the inhabitants, the Macdonalds, were suffocated by the Macleods.

These various articles were collected by the late Sir THOMAS DICK LAUDER, Bart., and are now presented to the Museum by the Dowager Lady DICK LAUDER.

Drawing in Water-Colours, being an Elevation of the Edinburgh City Cross, after the style of the original, as recommended for its proposed Restoration; with addition of coats of arms and medallion heads, by James Drummond, Esq., R.S.A. Size of drawing, 3 feet by 2 feet. By DAVID BRYCE, Esq., architect, F.S.A. Scot.

Wide-mouthed or Bowl-shaped Urn of Yellow Clay, with dark fracture, measuring 5 inches high, 6 inches across the mouth, and 2½ inches across the bottom. The urn is covered with incised lines in herring-bone pattern, and is ornamented by a groove running round its widest part, 5 knobs being left projecting from it at regular distances. It was found in a cist at Beechwood Mains, near Edinburgh, in 1859. By Mr FORBES MINTO, Polbeath.

Wedge-shaped Stone Hammer, apparently of green stone, perforated at the widest extremity for handle. It measures 10 inches in length, and 3 in thickness, and was found 10 feet below the surface, in making cuttings for drains in Laurie Street, Leith;

Two Crania of Human Skeletons recently exposed in Leith Links;

Charter by Dominus Adam Sime, one of two secular chaplains in St Ninian's Chapel, formerly at the end of the bridge in the town of Leith [St Ninian's Chapel was founded by Robert Ballenden, Abbot of Holyrood], granted to Andrew Thomson and Margaret Smeberd his spouse, of a tenement on the said bridge, &c., dated 8th February 1545-6, and signed by Robert, commendator of Holyrood, Alexander, administrator, and the other prebendaries, with two seals—"S. DOMINI ADAM SIME," rudely executed, and the large oval seal of the Monastery of Holyrood, "S'.CÔE. MONASTERI. SCE. CRVO. DE. EDINEVRG" (described in Henry Laing's Catalogue of Scottish Seals, No. 1039);

Instrument of Sasine upon the above Charter, dated 9th February 1545-6, with seal of Adam Sime;

Another Instrument of Sasine to Margaret Quhipp, 19th July 1593, with seal imperfect;

A Precept of Sasine signed by Alexander Clark of Stentoun, Provost, and two of the bailies of Edinburgh, of a house lately rebuilt in Leith, in favour of Thomas Stevenson, son of the late William Stevenson, miller, dated 14th July 1624. The seal mutilated;

By D. H. ROBERTSON, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

Two Oak Bed-Posts, the lower part square, and ornamented with concentric circles; the upper portion cut into a spiral. From Amisfield Castle, Dumfriesshire. By the Rev. JAMES CHARTERIS, Newlands.

This bedstead stood in what was called the "King's Room," and on it James VI. slept when on his way to England. The ceiling of the room was curiously ornamented in plaster. The bed is referred to by Grose in his "Antiquities." A curiously-carved oak door, displaying, it is supposed, David slaying the lion, with the date 1600, also referred to by Grose, is also in the Museum, and belonged to the room immediately over the "King's Room;"

Mallet-shaped Piece of Sandstone, partially broken, measuring 7 inches long by 3 inches thick; it was found beside stone coffins discovered in excavating at Balfour, Orkney;

Portion of broken Bone Cup, formed of the body of one of the vertebræ of a whale, measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter at bottom. Found in a "Pict's House" on the Island of Shapinshay, Orkney;

Bronze Axe-Head or Celt, measuring 4 inches across face. Found in 1821, in digging near Abernethy, Perthshire.

By DAVID BALFOUR, Esq. of Balfour and Trenaby, Orkney, F.S.A. Scot.

Portion of Cranium of a Red Deer, with Antler attached showing crown. Found in bog-land, near Drem, Haddington. By GEORGE BERRY, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Silver Medal, Laureated Bust in Armour of James Stuart when young, hair long; looking to left. *Obv.*—IAC: WALLIA. PRINCEPS. Below, N-E. *Rev.*—Sun rising over a tranquil sea, dispelling clouds and demons. *Leg.*—SOLA. LVCE. PVGAT. *Ex.* 1699. By JOHN MARTIN, Esq., Bank of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Cast from a Sculptured Stone at the Old Palace, Dunfermline, showing in high relief a figure of an angel with outspread wings, holding a scroll in the right hand, on which is *AVE . GRATIA . PLENA . DNS . TE*. Opposite, is a figure of the Virgin kneeling before a pedestal, on which is an open book inscribed *ECCE . ANCILLA . DI . FIAT . MICHI . S.V.T.* Between the two figures is a vessel with a flower, and the armorial bearings of Abbot Drury (1530-40); below, is the motto, *CONFIDO*;

Medallion of Erasmus, *IMAGO AD VIVA EFFIGIE EXPRESSA*, showing head looking to the left. On the field to the left, *ERA*; behind the head, *ROT*; under the bust, the date 1519; a "shell" four inches in diameter.

By JOHN IONS, Esq., Dunfermline.

Photographic Views in Madura, by Captain L. Tripe, Government Photographer; with Descriptive Notes by M. Norman, Esq., M.C.S., and the Rev. W. Tracy, M.A. Four Parts, large folio. 1858;

Photographic Views of Seringham, by Captain L. Tripe, Government Photographer, Madras Presidency. 1858;

Photographic Views of Poodoccottah, by Captain L. Tripe, Government Photographer. Large folio. 1858;

Photographic Views of Ryakotta, and other places in the Salem district, by Captain L. Tripe, Government Photographer, Madras Presidency; with Descriptive Notes by J. A. C. Boswell, Esq., M.C.S. Large folio. 1858;

Photographs of the Elliot Marbles, and other objects in the Central Museum, Madras, by Captain L. Tripe. Oblong folio. 1858;

Inscription around the Basement of the Bimanum of the Great Pagoda at Tanjore. Photographed by Captain L. Tripe in 1858. A roll 20 feet long, mounted on cloth;

Stereographs of Madura, taken by Captain L. Tripe; with Descriptions by the Rev. W. Tracy, M.A. 8vo. 1858. With accompanying stereoscope of Rosewood.

Presented to the Society by the MADRAS GOVERNMENT, through Dr ALEXANDER HUNTER, Superintendent of the School of Industrial Art, Madras.

Sufferance "by the Commissioners for Executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c., and of His Majesty's Plantations," allowing the ship *Margaret* of Leith to sail to Lisbon,

dated 13th May 1754. Signed by Admiral Lord Anson and other Commissioners. Imperfect. By ANDREW SPENCE, Esq., Leith.

R. B. WARDLAW RAMSAY, of Whitehill, Esq., exhibited a bronze socketed celt, showing an unusual variety of ornament on its sides, consisting of lines ending in small rings, in slight relief. Mr Albert Way considers these projecting rings may probably represent some more secure mode of attaching the axe to its wooden haft, than could be effected by the mere open loop at the side. It was found thirty-five years ago in a sand-pit at the foot of the Ochil Hills, near Tillycultry, Clackmannanshire. In the Museum of the Society there is a somewhat similar variety of celt.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

NOTES OF SOME ANTIQUITIES IN THE PARISH OF ALFORD, ABERDEENSHIRE. BY THE REV. JAMES GILLAN, MINISTER OF THE PARISH.
COMMUNICATED BY JOHN STUART, Esq., SECRETARY, S.A. SCOT.

From the hills to the westward of the farm of Dorzel, in Alford, a long irregular ridge gradually declines till it is lost in the valley of the Leochel, where its height may be still about 150 feet above the level of that stream; and at a distance from it of about half a mile, there lately existed numerous remains of ancient foundations, giving the idea of a village which must have occupied a most commanding situation, having an outlook over the whole valley of the little river, and the slopes which descend into it. The spot, which rejoices in the name of "Jenny Andro," and also of "The Picts' Houses," was uncultivated till nine or ten years ago, when it was trenched over; and under some six inches of dry, brown, mouldering earth, covered with a close green sward, through which the old foundations partially appeared, it was found that the interior of each of these was floored with rough flattish stones, laid close together, or overlying each other, and choked up with ashes, chiefly of wood. These enclosures were of an oval form, and might be 25 feet in their longi-

tudinal, and 15 in their transverse diameter. A stone cup was found on the premises. It is 3 inches in diameter within, and 2 in depth; its sides are thick; and it has a short projecting handle, perforated with a round hole. Several thick flat stones were also dug up, carefully cut out as moulds, of various forms. One is a stone mould of Chlorite slate, measuring 12 inches in length by 10 in breadth, and shows several hollows of different sizes and shapes, cut on its surface, to a depth of fully half an inch, probably for metal castings. The annexed woodcut gives a better idea of the mould than any additional description.

A number of querns of rude construction were turned up; and at one place, behind the Old Clachan as it were, there was a large accumulation of ashes, similar to those found within the foundations, and earthed and swarded over in the same manner. The whole suggested the idea of long-continued habitation; and one could scarcely look at the oval outlines without imagining poles rising from



them, and leaning inwards, wigwam fashion. The "lum" would necessarily be in the centre, and right under it the fire, whose ashes would afford the readiest filling up to the interstices of the rough stone floor. The stone vessel and the six-inch covering of earth indicate a very high antiquity. A few hundred yards down the hill to the south, a quantity of splinters of flint, closely piled together, was dug up by some labourers a few years ago. None of them seem adapted for any useful or destructive purpose; they look more like the chips struck off in working some article into shape. Many are outside slices; and they have been cut off with a remarkably neat and even cleavage, so as to leave as much of the stone available as possible.

At a similar distance to the west, one of those articles called "Adder-

Stones," was found. It is of rather more diameter than a sixpence, and four times the thickness, with a large perforation in the centre. It is of blue glass, with a white vein encircling it, by no means unlike a snake, and may have been either an ornament or a charm, though the latter, I think, rarely are so pretty.¹

At a place called Cunnins, in the southern extremity of the parish of Tough, and about four miles from the spot I have been describing, there were to be seen, some years ago, several round enclosures of big stones, sticking up through the heather on the slope of a hill, near each other, and in size not much differing from those at Jenny Andro. Not far from the place there was dug up a clay urn, with a flat piece of bronze in it, which might have been a lance-head.

A couple of miles down the water from the place first described, and very near to the Church of Alford, there is a spot known as the "Round-about," whose features are still pretty discernible, although the plough-share has been passing over it for many a year. It is on level ground, but approaches the edge of a pretty steep bank; and although it now seems a very indefensible position, it may have been much the reverse when the neighbouring lands were a morass, as they evidently at one time were. The outermost work was a nearly circular rampart, 275 yards in circumference, within which there has been a ditch, sloping from either side to the depth of 7 feet. On the inner side of the ditch there was a breastwork of stones, of which no vestige now remains, but which was very discernible at a recent period; and the interior seems to have been a level space, or to have sloped up slightly toward the centre. I have had it dug across in various directions, but found little to throw light upon its nature, besides ascertaining very distinctly the form and depth of the fosse, as above stated. The soil now in cultivation may be 10 inches in depth: under this we found the circular enclosure overspread with a layer of clay, about 8 inches thick, which had apparently been brought there as a sort of flooring: under the clay there was a black peaty soil of 8 inches, and under this the native boulder clay. In the

¹ The notices of the old dwellings, it is right to mention, are from recollection, and do not pretend to minute accuracy. The place is so completely altered within these few years, that a recent visit to it tended rather to puzzle than to refresh my memory. It is on Sir Charles Forbes's property of Asloun.

centre were a few rough stones and a bit of bone, all much marked by fire. A small segment of the enclosing circle, both of rampart and ditch, where it approached the bank, has been cut away, evidently by an incursion of the stream, which has now receded 150 yards to the westward, leaving a field of alluvial land between it and the bank it had undermined, and so carrying back the date of the encampment a considerable way into the past.

Half a mile to the north of this, at the confluence of the Leochel and the Don, chippings of flint, and larger masses from which chips had been taken, are picked up in considerable numbers almost every time the fields are tilled. Flint is not native to the neighbourhood. These are on Mr Farquharson's property of Haughton.

About a mile south-west of the church rises a somewhat detached conical hill, about 150 feet in height, called the Damil, which some interpret Danes' Hill. It is now completely cultivated; but some thirty years ago, I am informed that there was a circular entrenchment round its summit, in the clearing away of which a ladle of stone was found, which is now in the University Museum, at Aberdeen.

At Carniveran, the most southerly point of the parish, there was a large cairn on a height, having a diameter of more than thirty yards, but now almost entirely cleared away. Several coffins of flat stones were found in it, containing ashes and bones: one of them an earthen urn. The origin of this cairn well deserves to be recorded:—An old and mighty Cacodæmon had a feud with two less powerful ones, which was to be fought out in a stone battle,—he stationed on the hill of Carniveran, they on that of Lynturk, a mile to the southward. Two very considerable cairns at the latter place till recently marked out the very spot. The older combatant, too stiff in the back for stooping, had filled his apron with stones and boulders, and stood ready to hurl them across the valley, when suddenly his apron strings gave way, and the contents fell about his feet, forming this huge cairn.

In the Moss of Tillychetly, also on the southern boundary of the parish, there were dug up, a good many years ago, a couple of brass armlets, of rather neat workmanship. They are about 4 inches in diameter, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in breadth on the side, which is fluted longitudinally, and enlarged and rounded off at the opening.

Recently a bronze sword, the blade of beautiful waving outline, 20 inches in length, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ in breadth where widest, was trenched up near the edge of the burn on the farm of Wellhouse, and, with the armlets and the stone moulds,¹ are now in the possession of Mr William Anderson, the very intelligent occupant. A very perfect bronze palstave was some time since found on the farm of Kinstair, toward the middle of the parish.

II.

NOTICE OF REMAINS NEAR PETERHEAD, IN A LETTER TO THE SECRETARY. BY MR ALEXANDER MURRAY, NETHERMILL OF CRUDEN.

On the farm of Lunderton, Mr Logan tenant, in the parish of St Fergus, near Peterhead, is situated a mound which was formerly probably 20 feet in height, but in consequence of the tenant ploughing and harrowing over the mound (as it stands in a field of cultivated land), it is now not above 8 to 10 feet high. There is a similar and much higher mound in an adjoining field, unopened. I dug a trench diagonally through the mound in the direction of south-west to north-east, and then excavated the centre, in which I discovered a small chamber lying north and south, which I found had apparently been used as a living apartment, with the remains of a fireplace on the east side of the floor, which was covered with 3 inches deep of burned ashes of peat. There was a narrow passage or entrance at the south end of the mound, say 2 feet wide. The floor was simply formed of earth, with a good deal of bits of peat or "drush." I dug under the floor, but found the subsoil had not been disturbed. The apartment is about 8 feet wide and 12 feet long. In the area of the apartment I found no implements, &c., but boulders of stones and clay, which had been tumbled down from the sides. The sides now stand from 4 to 6 feet high, and are formed of a few rough boulders of stones and clay, or turf that may have been got on the sides of banks; but I could not trace anywhere such marks as would show that a spade had been used to dig the turf, &c. The north end of the apartment was partly formed of the natural subsoil or gravel that had been partially removed. The mound lies in a wet clay field, at the side of what had been a large loch; and

¹ The stone mould figured on page 388 has since been presented to the Museum.

the people had taken advantage of a naturally dry gravelly hillock to form their home. My impression is, that the walls had been built about 6 to 8 feet high, of such stones and turf as could be easily found, and the roof covered with brushwood, &c.; and after the place had ceased to be used as a habitation, the walls had been partially thrown down, and the whole place covered over with clay, &c., to a great depth, the mound having been formed over the original wall. From the size of the apartment and nature of the material, it did not appear to me that the roof could have been arched in from the sides. This mound is not above one mile from the old castles of Ravenscraig and Invernugie, and quite near to the large mound on the top of a hill called Gallowhill, beside Invernugie Castle.

In this parish, in a den or ravine at the west side of Stirlinghill, there are a great many small excavations on the sloping sides of the braes. They are round and from 6 to 8 feet in diameter. The entrance opened to the brae, which would let any water get out of the flow. There are frequently hillocks of chips of flint beside these places, and there is an abundant supply of peat and flint stones in the neighbourhood.

III.

NOTICES OF THE CASTLE, AND PAINTED ROOM OR HALL OF
EARLSHALL, IN FIFESHIRE. BY A. JERVISE, Esq., COR. MEM. S.A.,
SCOT.

The Castle of Earlsall, situated in the parish of Leuchars, about a mile south-east of the church, is a good specimen of the mixed style of baronial architecture which prevailed in Scotland from about the middle of the sixteenth century down to the early part of the seventeenth. It is still roofed, and within the last few years some of the apartments were occupied by farm labourers.

Earlsall formed, at one time, a portion of the lordship of Leuchars, and there, it is said, the old Earls of Fife had a residence,¹—a circumstance which probably gave rise to the name. It was known as Earlsall from at least the year 1497, when Sir Alexander Bruce (grandson of Edward Bruce, second son of Sir Robert, first baron of Clackmannan), and his wife Janet, daughter of Sir Robert Stewart of Rosyth, had charters of it

¹ Sibbald's Hist. of Fife. 8vo. Cupar-Fife, 1808, p. 417.

and other lands in Fife.¹ Sir Alexander died in 1504, and the inscription quoted below, which appears upon the chimney of the great hall, shows that the house was begun by his son and successor, Sir William, and finished by Sir William's grandson :—"Ædes hac extruebat D. W. B. an. 1546. extruxit tandem W. B. ejus pronepos anno 1617—D. W. B. : M.M.—contemno et ornamente manu." The arms of Bruce and Meldrum are here carved; and the initials M.M. evidently refer to Margaret Meldrum, daughter of the laird of Seggie, wife of Sir William Bruce. Another shield, with effaced bearings, and the initials M.M., is over the outer and chief entrance to the castle.

But it is the hall, with its painted ceiling, which is the most interesting part of the building; and, unfortunately, from the roof not being water-tight, it has suffered considerably from damp, some of the panneling being broken, and many of the decorations effaced. The room is about 13 feet high, 50 feet long, and 18 feet wide. The ceiling, a sort of circular, is lined with wood; it had originally been divided into upwards of three hundred compartments, in which were painted armorial bearings and objects of natural history, either in animals or plants; also figures representing the virtues of Faith, Hope, Charity, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice. Black and white are the only colours used; and the Virtues are represented with the usual accompaniments, having the names painted below in Latin.

The subjects above named are introduced alternately; and the armorial bearings on the south half of the ceiling (so far as can now be traced), apart from those of the leading families of Scotland, relate to foreign countries. They are mixed up with the arms of eminent Scripture characters (the names being painted in Roman capitals), also those of Roman Emperors, and heroes of classical antiquity, as shown by the following list :—

DUKE OF OLAUE.	KING OF CASTILE.	. . . NAVAR.
KING OF BOHEM.	KING OF CYPRUS.	PRINCE OF P . . .
DUKE OF LORA.	KING OF NE.	I. R. (with Scots Thistle and
KING OF FRIELAND.	KING OF ARGON.	Crown).
EMPERIORE OF RUSLAND.	KING OF FRANCE.	KING OF AIR.
PRINCE OF ORANGE.	KING OF DENMARK.	KING OF SUADEN.

¹ Douglas's Baronage, pp. 510-12.

On the north half of the ceiling, inscribed as follows, are the arms of—

DUKE OF SPREUSSE.	KING OF PORTINGAL.	ARTHUR OF BRITTAYNE.
EMPIROVE OF JUDEA.	KING OF JERUSALEM.	ISOVA, DUKE OF ISRAEL.
KING OF SABA.	JULIUS CÆSAR.	IUDAS MACCABEUS.
KING OF SILITIA.	DAVID, KING OF ISRAEL.	GODFREY, DUKE OF BUL-
KING OF FREISLAND.	CHARLES Y ^e MAIGNE.	LONE.
KING OF BOVLIOVN.	ALEXANDER Y ^e CONQUER-	
KING OF ARABAY.	OUR.	
KING OF POL.	HECTOR, PRINCE OF TROY.	

Some of the names of the animals (which consist of representations of quadrupeds, bipeds, fish, &c.) are curiously set down, among which are the following, also painted in Roman capitals :—

DRUMADARIE.	APE OF ARABIA (with a	RAM OF ARABIA.
TIGRE.	club in paw).	OSTRAG.
MERTRICK.	CROKADILE.	SHOE LYON.
SPINX.	FEBRET (chained).	MOUSE OF ARABIA.
PORCAPINE.	MYSEK.	RHINOCEROS.
GENETHA.	BEIR.	CAMELION.
VILD BVFFIL.	ASSE (with an ape upon its	HYDRA.
SIMIVVEPA.	back).	CUNAIG.

But, perhaps, the most oddly inscribed are the representations of a sheep, under which the artist (having, apparently, no great faith in his own powers of delineation) has cautiously inscribed "ANE SORT OF ANE SHEP;" and the figures of a sow and pig, which are politely named, "SVYN BAIB;" i.e., swine and babe.

The names given in connection with the armorial bearings resemble those upon some of the medallion portraits which decorate the ceilings of the castles of Glamis, Craigievar, and Muchals, &c.; but these ceilings, which are nearly of a contemporary date with that of Earls-hall, are executed in white pargetted plaster work, which has a much more beautiful effect than painting. The ceiling of Earls-hall appears to have been executed about 1620, at least such is the date upon a compartment near the middle of it, which is filled with two united human hearts. Upon these are the initials W.B: D.A.L., which have reference to William Bruce and his second wife, Dame Agnes Lyndesay.

The latter died in 1635; and, according to the inscription upon her tombstone, which is preserved within the chancel of the old church of Leuchars, she "was charitable to the poore, and profitable to (the) howse" (of Earls hall).¹ I have not ascertained to what particular branch of the Lindsays this lady was related; but it is probable, from the allusion to her riches, and from the fact that the Bruce and Lindsay arms are carved upon most of the window tops of the castle, that she had contributed towards the beautifying of the place.

Besides the painted ceiling, the walls of the hall appear to have been covered with a number of maxims in Roman capitals, somewhat similar in sentiment to those in the painted room at Culross.² Unfortunately, most of the inscriptions at Earls hall are obliterated, and the following only are deciphered:—

BE MEERIE AND GLAID, HONEST AND VERTEVOUS,
FOR THAT SVFFICETH THE ANGER OF THE INVVOVS.

TRY, AND THEN TRVST EFTER GVDE ASSVRANCE,
BOT TRVST NOT OR YE TRY, FOR FEAR OF REPENTENCE.

GIVE LIBERALYE TO NEIDFVL FOLKE,
DENYE NANE OF THEM AL;
FOR LITTLE THOV KNAVEST HEIR IN THIS LYF,
QVHAT CHAVNCE MAY THE BEFAL.

. . . MAKE FEAST, AND BIGE, LENE AND CRAVE,
. . . SO SHAL THOV NEVER HAVE.

Near to this couplet the figure of a soldier, in the costume of the period, is grotesquely drawn in outline, with a gun in a slanting position, pointing to the entrance-door of the hall. The figure is about 9½ inches high, with beard and mustache, a frill or ruffle round the neck, and without any covering for the head. The coat has epaulettes, with stripes upon the breast and sleeves, and a broad ribbon (?) flows from the

¹ This lady's tombstone is embellished with a full-length, and rather grotesque female effigy, sculptured in low relief, and bears this motto:—"D. AGNES LYNDESAY, Lady of William Bryce of Erishall, who in hir life was charitable to the poore, and profitable to that howse, dyed 1635, of her age 68, and waiteth in hope.—D. A. L."

² Proceed. Society of Antiq. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 389.

left shoulder. The breeches are short and wide, terminating at the knee, below which there is a garter or band round the leg tied by a knot. The gussets of the stockings are marked out by triangular lines, which reach from the foot to about half-way up the leg; and the shoes are high-heeled. Over the door is the following quaint sentiment, similar to that in a proverb given by Ray¹:—

. . . A NYCE WYF, AND A BACK DOORE,
OFT MAKETH A RICH MAN POORE.

Several other traces of writing are visible upon the walls. Of these the following stray pieces, apparently of a religious tendency, can only be made out:—"Prayer to God is the only . . . meanes . . . to prepare . . . a man for . . . a wicket ane" Upon another part of the wall are the words—" . . . yeldeth . . . e: bvt the . . . destroieth . . . er ovne hand."

A variety of carved stones, bearing the initials and arms of William Bruce and his "profitable" lady, are scattered about the castle and offices; and over a chimney, in the second flat of the house, are the initials W. B. D. A. L., and the date of 1635,—the very year, it will be seen, in which the lady died. Bruce, to whose memory there is no tombstone at Leuchars, is said to have predeceased his wife in 1631. Sir Andrew, his eldest son, by his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of the brave Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, succeeded to the estates, and in his grandson Robert, the male line of Bruce of Earlsall became extinct. The property fell to three co-heiresses; and the succession ultimately devolved upon a younger son of Henderson of Fordell. Earlsall was sold some years ago to Colonel Long.

It ought to be added, that the old iron clock of the Castle, though now mute, and removed from the tower, is preserved within the hall, and bears the initials A. B., and the date of 1600. These refer to the time of Alexander Bruce, father of the erector, and embellisher of the great hall. Upon the bell of the clock are the initials H. C., a shield charged with a fess, and a mullet in the dexter chief.

¹ Ray's Proverbs, 4th edition. Lond. 8vo, 1768, p. 45.

IV.

NOTES OF THE "VISITATION OF THE PESTILENCE," FROM THE PARISH RECORDS OF SOUTH LEITH, A.D. 1645, IN CONNEXION WITH THE EXCAVATIONS OF LARGE MASSES OF HUMAN REMAINS DURING THE DRAINAGE OPERATIONS AT WELLINGTON PLACE, LEITH LINKS, A.D. 1861-2. BY D. H. ROBERTSON, M.D., F.S.A. SCOT.

During the recent drainage operation in the vicinity of Wellington Place, Leith Links, large quantities of human remains have been brought to light; and as what I believe to be an erroneous impression exists, that these are the remains of the assailants who fell during the siege of Leith in 1559-60 (by the Lords of the Congregation against Mary of Lorraine and her French auxiliaries), I shall give my reasons for coming to another conclusion:—

In the first place, they occur in such numbers as to preclude the possibility of supposing that, in proportion to the numbers engaged, so many should have fallen.

2. The existence of female crania and juvenile bones (examples of which are now produced), is at variance with this supposition.

3. Their existence here is accounted for on other grounds more reasonably and satisfactorily.

In the session records of South Leith parish we find recorded at length an account of the "pest" which visited the town in 1645. In that year the Register of South Leith gives a copious journal, from its appearance in April till December; and the following Act of Parliament, sufficiently curious in itself, explains the extent to which the disease had reached:—

"The Act of Parliament given at Pearth the 2nd Aug^t 1645 for reliefe of the distressit town of Leith the tyme of the great visitatioun of the plague of pestilence:—

"At Pearth, the second day of August, in the zeir of God 1645 zeiris. The Estaites of Parliament, now presentlie conveinit in this fourth session of the first triennial Parliament, by vertu of the last Act of the last Parliament holdene be his Majestie and three Estaites, anno 1641, having takin to their consideratione the desyre of ane supplicatione,

gevin in by Jhone Aldinstone, ane of the baillies of Leith, and Captain James Crawford, indweller there, for themselves and in behalf of the remanent inhabitants of the said toun of Leith, bearing, That where it is not unknowne to the saids Estaites the calamitie and distress whereunder the said toun doe lye for the present, being visit with the plague of pestilence in such sort that the number of the dead exceeds the number of the leiving, and amongst them it cannot be decernit quha are clean and quha are foulle; and make the calamitie greater, the are visit with ane lamentibill famine, both for penurie and also for laicke of means; for which cause the saids supplicants are forced in their names to have recourse to the said Estaites, beseeching them out of the bowels of mercie to comserat their lamentabill conditioun, both towards them as also towards the rest of the countrie, they being now reducit to that extremitie of necessitie, rather than to perish of famine to breake throue the rest of the countrie, whereby the haill Kingdom sall be endangerit. And therefore humblie beseeching your Lordships to grant unto them some present supplie, and to take such present course for their reliefe as the foirsaid evil may be previned, as the said supplicatione at main length bears. Quhilk supplicatione being redde in the audience of Parliament, and the just merits thereof being dylie weightied and considered, the saids Estaits of Parliament be thir presentis, gives and grants full power and warrand to the present magistrates of the toun of Leith, or their commissioners and servandis having their warrand, to meddle and intromett with the number of ane quantitie of five hundreth bolls of eat meill, and that out of anie sellar or sellars in Leith, wherebe they may have it for meddling and intrometting wherewith, and (if need bees) making open doores for that effect. The saids Estaites declares thir presentis to be to the said magistrates and their servandis the comissi^{on} ane sufficient warrand; and the said Estaites hes allowed, and be thir presentis, grants full libertie to the said magistrates of the toun of Leith, or anie having their warrand, to passe throwe all the sherriffdoms of this kingdom, or any of them, as they think fitt, be south the water of Tay, to crave the helpe and supplie of ane voluntarie and charitable contribution for payment of the foirsaid victual, and furnishing of such things as may be useful to the said toun of Leith, now in such ane extremitie.—
Extractum de libris Actorum, per me, Alexandrum Gibsone, Cl. Registri.

Note—This is a just copie of the authentic in our register be Mr David Aldinstone our sessione clerk.

“ Note of defuncts the tyme of the visitatioun, *ut sequitur*, February 3rd 1646. In quhilk day (eftir incalling upone God) Mr David Aldinstone, reader, reportit that he had gone to everie elder in particular, and receavit the number of the defuncts who died of the infection in anno 1645, and the number is as follows :—

Sand Quarter—James Gibsone, 069; Alex. Ruddoch, 044; James Downie, 114—227.

Hill Quarter—Francis Wilkie, 068; John Gray, baxter, 136; Andro Archibald, 186—390.

Tolbuith Quarter—Robert Murro, 203; Jhone Bewie, 273; Alex. Balfour, 133—609.

Lees Quarter—Johne Makay, 165; Js. Crawford, 263; Jhone Kelloe, 167; James Steinsone, 170; Robt. Mathisone, 207; Wm. Comrie, 223—1195.

“ So the whole No. in Leith is 2421; in Restalrig, their died to the number of 160; in the Craigend (Calton) there died 155: the number of defuncts in the whole parioch will be 2736.”

The greater portion of these were probably buried in the Links, and the foundations of Wellington Place have exposed an immense quantity of their remains. Many curious entries of the time might be given, although they throw little light on the nature of the disease :—

“ 19th May 1645.—The pest break out in our new hospital, called King James his hospital, in a woman’s school y^r; y^rupon sundrie houses were closit up; also our reider, Mr David Aldinstone, was desyred to keip his house because he had prayed for ane Marg^t Gilmuir, who was suspect to have died of the pest; so the said Mr David was inclosit from the 16th of May 1645 to 15th June the said year, during quhillk tyme he could not get certaine notice what was done in the session, y^rfoir he left this blank.” Here follows four folios blank.

“ 17th June.—The eftir day being Tuesday, eftir incalling upo the Lord, ordainit that everie elder and deakin in their several quarters sould give in ane rolle of eneuch men to help them in this p^{re}nt [present] visitatioun, and that thei meit with the bailzie the morne in the Tolbuith

. . . . Ordaine to visit a place in a blockhouse, wherein will be most fitting for burying the corpses of the personnis who died of the pest."

"*12th Julij* 1645.—Intreated the bailzie to speak the Counsell of Edin. that we may have our impost of the wine, that it may be employed for the use of the publick in this p^{mt} visitatioun."

David Aldinstone, who was thus incarcerated for the period of a month, is frequently referred to, the record being his compilation.

The Stone-Hammer, which I now present to the Society, was found in the adjoining street (Laurie Street) fully 10 feet beneath the surface. About 18 inches beneath the causeway was a layer of 18 inches of marine shells, specimens of which I now produce. And about 6 feet beneath this layer, in loose sand, the hammer was found, and I have no doubt it reached this lower level by the vibration from carts on the causeway. Some of the crania, filled with sand and pebbles, were exhumed about the same distance below the other bones, showing that their position had also materially changed from their first level.

Mr JOHN STUART, in reference to the preceding Communication, alluded to the strange social arrangements to which our forefathers were driven in the times of the plague, of which he gave some illustrations from the ancient records of the burgh of Aberdeen.

A letter was read from Mr Leslie, younger of Balquhain, calling attention to the recent destruction of part of the walls of the old church of Turriff, in Aberdeenshire, and suggesting that the Society should use its influence with the view of preventing its further demolition. Mr Stuart explained that steps had already been taken which would probably secure the end contemplated by Mr Leslie.

MONDAY, 10th February 1862.

DAVID LAING, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

On a ballot, WILLIAM BARRIE, Esq., Dalkeith, was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The following Donations were laid on the Table, and thanks voted to the donors :—

Three Stone Celts; one $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 3 inches across the face, with its surface roughly chipped over; another, 6 inches long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the face, with its surface rubbed smooth; and the third, 3 inches long and 2 inches across the face; also a

Bronze Socketed Celt, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, 2 inches across the face; loop at the side, and ornamented by four longitudinal lines on each side. Stated to have been found, along with the three stone Celts, in the parish of Southend, Cantire;

Three Bronze Broad Daggers or Sword Blades, with rivet-holes at their broad extremities for fastening the blades to the handles; they are from 10 inches to $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and three inches in breadth at the base or widest part next the handle. One of them is much corroded. Found along with two others in the parish of Kingarth, Bute;

Two Small Bronze Three-Legged Pots. One with angular loops on each side of the mouth, 8 inches high, and the diameter of mouth $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Two projecting lines run round the widest part of the pot. The other pot is 9 inches high, and 6 inches in diameter across the mouth, with a nearly straight handle 6 inches long, projecting from one side of the neck of the vessel. Found at Hunterhouse Moss, parish of Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire;

Bronze Three-Legged Pot, with angular loops at each side of the mouth or neck, measuring 14 inches in height, and 11 inches across the mouth. Three parallel projecting lines encircle the greatest diameter of the vessel. It was found in the parish of Langholm, Dumfriesshire;

Bronze Spoon with circular mouth and straight handle terminating in an ornamented knob; Buckles and Ornaments, probably for horse trappings; Iron Key, much corroded, &c. Found in digging the foundation of the monument to the late Joseph Hume, Esq., M.P., in the High Street, Montrose;

Various Dies from the Scottish Mint, 128 in number, including duplicates and defaced dies, of the coinages of Charles II. and James II.; consisting of Dollars, Half and Quarter Dollars, Bawbees, &c. &c.;

Ancient British Gold Coin. Found at Birkhill, near Dumfries, on 27th November 1861. This coin has sometimes, but without any just ground, been attributed to Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni. *Obv.*—*BODVOG*, in large letters. *Rev.*—A disjointed three-tailed horse to the right; above, two ring ornaments and a crescent; below, a wheel; behind, a pellet; in the field, three small pointed crosses. These coins usually weigh from 83 to 84 grains, but this coin being rather worn, weighs scarcely 81 grains;

Alexander III. Penny. *Rev.*—*REX SCOTORUM*. Common type;

John Baliol Penny. *Rev.*—*REX SCOTORUM*;

John II., Sterling, Count of Hainault, 1280–1304. *Obv.*—*I. COMES HANONIE*; full faced bust. Mint mark, a cross. *Rev.*—*VALENCHENENS*; cross and pellets. Struck at Valenciennes;

Another, with similar obverse; struck at Mons. *Rev.*—*MONETA MONTES*.

Robert III., Count of Flanders, Sterling, 1305–1322. Struck at Alost. *Obv.*—*R. COMES FLANDRIE*. *Rev.*—*MONETA ALOTEN*. All found at Netherfield, Dumfriesshire;

The following Coins were found at Dunse in 1859, in taking down an old house:—

Elizabeth Hammered Shilling, of the usual type; and

Hammered Sixpence; date 1601;

Twenty Shillings of Charles I., with varied portraits, all bearing the legend, *CHRISTO AUSPICE REGNO*, and with the following mint marks:—Tun, harp, sun, triangle, anchor, sceptre, fleur-de-lis, crown, portcullis, (P.), (R.), star, bell, triangle in a circle, and full-blown rose;

Small Brass Crucifix, with the letters *I. N. R. I* over the figure. Found in digging in a street in Dumfermline;

Neck and Mouth of a Roman Amphora. Found in digging a deep grave in the churchyard, Linlithgow;

Prick Spur of Bronze ornamented with engraving, of the thirteenth century (see the annexed woodcut);



Bronze Buckles, Iron Spurs, Stirrups, various Iron Implements, &c. &c.;

Fragments of Glazed Pottery, Glass, and portion of the Stalk of a Drinking Glass containing fluid;

Small Head of a Female, in Stone, with the hair in broad, ornamented bands, of the style of the fifteenth century;

These various articles were recently found in excavating in and near the Royal Palace of Linlithgow.

The above articles were collected as Treasure Trove, and are deposited in the Museum by the Lords of HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, through JOHN HENDERSON, Esq., Q. and L. T. Remembrancer.

Penny of William I. (the Lion); of the Perth Mint. Obverse legend nearly gone, but traces of *LE REI WILAM* may be seen. Portrait to left. *Rev.*—*FOLPOLT DE PERT*. Cross with crescents and pellets. Presented by Miss ELIZA FORBES, 17 Ainslie Place.

Academic Gown, richly ornamented with braid and tassels of silk, and faced with velvet; and Doctor's Cap, worn by the celebrated Mr Alexander Henderson, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, who was appointed Rector of the University of Edinburgh in 1641; and

Two Flat Black Bonnets, one made of cloth, the other woven in a piece, used by Doctors of the Edinburgh University in the seventeenth century.

By the *SENATUS ACADEMICUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH*.

Die, with the letters *DECVS ET TVTAMEN*, for Stamping the Edge of the Crown Piece from the Scottish Mint;

Act of Parliament for Preserving the Woollen and Silk Manufactures of Scotland, &c; printed at Edinburgh 1722;

Act of the Edinburgh Town Council against Profaneness; printed at Edinburgh 1728;

Second Report of a Geological Reconnaissance of the Middle and Southern Counties of Arkansas, made during the years 1859 and 1860, by David Dale Owen, Principal Geologist. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1860. By the GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF ARKANSAS, U.S.A.

Plan of the Town of Leith, showing the Line of Fortifications erected in 1560. Drawn by D. H. Robertson, M.D., 1850.

By D. H. ROBERTSON, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

Iron Knocker from the Door of an Old House in the High Street, Edinburgh. By JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot.

Two Stone Balls, one 3 inches in diameter, the other 2 inches. Found with a number of others in excavating at Dirleton Castle, Haddingtonshire. By Mr Tod, Dirleton.

Impressions in Bronze from the Dies of a Medal of Francis II., now preserved at the Hôtel des Monnaies, Paris. It was struck on the occasion of the Treaty of Edinburgh, which was signed on July the 6th, 1560. By this treaty the right of Elizabeth to the crowns of England and Ireland was fully recognised; the ambassadors of Francis and Mary assented that they should cease to assume the arms and title of sovereigns of those kingdoms. *Obv.*—Laureated Bust of Francis II. to left, in armour. *Leg.*—FRANCISCO. II. D. G. FRANC. ET. SCOT. REX. *Rev.*—The initial F. surmounted with an arched crown, between two cornucopiæ, from which issue small busts, *capita adversa*, possibly typifying Francis and Mary. *Leg.*—ABUNDANTIA PVBLICA GALLIAR. *Exergue*, 1560. PAX. CVM. ANGLIS. Diameter, 2½ inches. By ALBERT WAY, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Three-sided Swivel Seal, of Cairngorm or rock crystal, with silver mounting, which formerly belonged to the Princess Amelia, sister of George III., who died in 1786. On one side is the royal arms of England on a lozenge-shaped shield with supporters, with the royal crown above. On another side is the crest a lion passant, over which is the royal crown; and on the third side the monogram of the letters A P repeated, over which is the royal crown;

Steel Key of Gunningsburgh Park, ornamented with engraved flowers, &c., with the name PRINCESS AMELIA on the stalk, and the initials G. R. below a crown; and

Ovidii Epistolæ, cum Comment. Lugduni, 1528, folio.

By Miss TURNER, Prestonpans through James MELLIS, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.



Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. Vol. XII. 4to. Washington, 1860;

Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1859. 8vo. Washington, 1860;

By the SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, Washington, United States of America.

Monumenta de Insula Manniæ, or a Collection of National Documents relating to the Isle of Man. Translated and edited by J. R. Oliver, M.D. Vol. II. 8vo. Douglas, 1861;

Bibliotheca Monensis: a Bibliographical Account of Works relating to the Isle of Man. By William Harrison. 8vo. Douglas, 1861.

By the COUNCIL OF THE MANX SOCIETY.

Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History, delivered at the Catholic University of Ireland during the Sessions 1855 and 1856. 8vo. Dublin, 1861. By EUGENE O'CURRY, Esq., M.R.I.A., Cor. Mem. S.A. Scot., the Author.

Transactions of the Ossianic Society for the Year 1858. Vol. VI., containing the Second Series of Fenian Poems. Edited by John O'Daly. 8vo. Dublin, 1861. By the SOCIETY.

The following Communications were read:—

I.

NOTICES OF SOME OF THE ABBOTS OF KINLOSS, AND OF A VOLUME WHICH BELONGED SUCCESSIVELY TO ROBERT REID, ONE OF THE ABBOTS; WILLIAM GORDON, BISHOP OF ABERDEEN; AND JOHN LESLIE, BISHOP OF ROSS. By JOHN STUART, Esq., Sec. S.A. Scot.

The Abbey of Kinloss was founded by David I., King of the Scots, in the year 1150.

According to the tradition of the Abbey, as preserved by Ferrerius, the King, while engaged in a hunting expedition, lost his way in a thick wood; and while in extremity, and in answer to his prayers, he received the guidance of a white dove, by following which he was led to an open spot, where he found two shepherds tending their flocks. From these he received food and shelter. During the night, he was warned in a

dream that he should there erect a chapel in honour of the blessed Virgin, by whose ready aid he had been preserved; and on rising from sleep, and revolving the tenor of his dream, he resolved to act on it, and, drawing his sword, he marked out on the green sward the chapel which he vowed to erect. The King then went to the castle of Duffus, accompanied by his nobles; and after communicating to them his vision and consequent vow, he called the architects and masons engaged on royal works in various places, in order that the foundation of Kinloss might forthwith be proceeded with. To secure the uninterrupted progress of the work the King remained during the summer at Duffus; and when he was called away by other affairs before the completion of the Abbey, he sent to Melrose for a monk, whom he set in charge over his builders and the rising monastery, of which he afterwards was made the first abbot.

It may be doubted whether this story of the white dove and the subsequent vision was not invented in after days, perhaps to compete with the legend which connects the foundation of Holyrood by David with the spot where he was miraculously delivered from an enraged stag by the intervention of the Holy Cross.

In any event, it were a pity to deprive the saintly David of the real merit of the action, which was the result of that policy by which he hoped to humanize his subjects, and of the unfailing piety by which he meant to honour God.

We gather, however, from the surer testimony of Charter record, the personal interest of the good king in the work, as we find that he gave to his new foundation not only the lands of Kinloss and Inverlochty, but in addition the land which the king himself perambulated "as the brook falls into Maffath, and as the marsh runs down to the wood," and the land on which stood a Scottish mill; also the wood of Inche Damin, by those bounds which the King David pointed out before the Bishop of Caithness, and other good men.¹

To the foundation thus made, other kings and nobles made additional grants, although the abbey never attained anything like the wealth and importance of some of those southern institutions which took their rise in the same age. In 1561 its revenues were returned as L.1152, 1s.

¹ Cart. Confirm. regis Alexandri, A.D. 1226. Regist. Morav., p. 457.

Scots; 47 chalders 11 bolls 1 firlet 3 pecks bear and meal; 10 bolls 3 firlets oats; 84 widders, 41 geese, 60 capons, and 125 poultry.

Edward I. spent part of the autumn of 1303 in the monastery of Kinloss; and Ferrerius preserves the tradition, that, during the years of their occupation, the English consumed 60 chalders of malt, which he thinks an impossible quantity for the place to have furnished, unless it had been brought from other places, and used for food as well as in drinking.

About thirty-three years after this time, the Abbey was visited by Edward III., on his expedition, in the summer of that year, to relieve the young Countess of Atholl, who had been besieged during the previous winter in the castle of Lochindorb. On his march through the wilds of Badenoch he suffered from want of provisions. Two days after, he reached Kinloss, where, as we learn from a contemporary account, he found wine, ale, salt fish, corn, and other necessaries for his followers, who are said to have been thereby "*refecti et non modicum consolati.*"¹

In the hope that it may interest the members to examine a volume which belonged successively to three prelates (one of them an abbot of Kinloss), who in different ways made some figure in our Scottish history about the time of the Reformation, I have brought it for their inspection, and taken the opportunity of throwing together a few notices, as well of Kinloss as of the book and its owners.

The volume, which is a folio of considerable thickness, contains the works of George Wicelius, a German divine, who at first joined Luther, but becoming disgusted, went back to his old church, for which Luther persecuted him, and procured his imprisonment. The first part contains his Postils on the Epistles and Gospels, "*de tempore et de sanctis,*" throughout the year. It is printed at Cologne in 1553, and extends to 991 pages.

The second work in the volume contains Expositions of the Gospels, Epistles, and other lessons used in the office of Mass during Lent. It contains 290 pages, and is printed at Cologne in the month of February 1555.

¹ Nova de Scotia, 1836; printed in Ferrerius, p. 19.

The style of the treatises is mostly devotional and practical; but occasionally the author takes an opportunity of exposing what he calls the pestilent heresies of the Lutherans. His works seem to have commended themselves to those of our reformed clergy who wished to find out some scheme which should comprehend the Church of Rome with the Protestants. William Forbes, the first bishop of Edinburgh, often said, that if there had been more like Cassander and Wicelius, there would have been no need for Luther and Calvin.

It derives some interest, as indicating the class of works collected by such a man as Reid, and as one which was afterwards the subject of special gift by the Bishop of Ross.

On the title-page of the volume is written, in a contemporary hand, "Liber Reverendi Patris Vilhelmi Gordonii Episcopi Aberd. Ex dono Johannis Leslie Episcopi Rossen. moderni." The same inscription is also twice repeated, in different handwriting, on a fly-leaf at the end of the volume. On each of the boards is the book-stamp of Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney. It is of an oval shape, having in the centre the family crest of the Reids—a stag's head, surmounted by a mitre, with the motto "*Moderatè*" below. Surrounding this is the inscription, ✠ ROBERTVS REID. EPVS. ORCHADEN. MT ABBAS A KYNLOS 1558.

Bishop Reid died in September 1558; and the volume seems then to have become the property of John Leslie, at that time official of the See of Aberdeen, who afterwards, in 1566, was appointed Bishop of Ross.

Bishop Reid was a man of great learning and liberal genius; and every place to which his fortunes carried him bore marks of his energetic and improving hand. According to Ferrerius, he was nominated successor to Thomas Chrystal in the Abbacy of Kinloss in 1526. In the following year he went to Rome to obtain the necessary writs for his promotion; and we learn the circumstances of his coming to take possession from a diary kept by John Smyth, a monk of Kinloss, the original of which is now in the Harleian Library—"Anno M^o V^o xxix^o In translacione Sancti Benedicti Magister Robertus Red subdecanus et officialis Moravie et vicarius de Gartle et Bruntkyrk et vicarius de Kyrkcaldy recepit habitum Cistercien. in Edinburgo ab episcopo Aberdonen. et benedictus ab eodem venit ad Kynloss et receptus honorifice ut decebat

2^o die Augusti a monachis et eorum obediencias secundum tenorem bullarum Summi Pontificis recepit."¹

The same monk has recorded that Abbot Thomas, the predecessor of Reid, got the latter to bring from France many fine books in 1529, whose titles are in the catalogue; and Ferrerius tell us that, in 1538, Abbot Reid erected a handsome fire-proof library, and covered the church with lead. We get a glimpse from the same author of a portion of the contents of the general library. Works of Cicero and Aristotle often occur along with those of some of the dogmatic writers of the middle ages, such as those of Peter Lombard, and there are many on philosophy and rhetoric. Among the books procured by Abbot Reid, and kept in the new library for the use of the students, the first is the Old and New Testament in six volumes, with the works of St Jerome, St Ambrose, St Chrysostom, St Augustine, St Bernard, and some of the schoolmen, such as Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas.²

The monk of Kinloss has recorded the elevation of Abbot Reid to the episcopate: "On 27 Nov. 1541, the said Robert Reid, created Bishop of Orkney, and consecrated in the place of the Minors of Edinburgh on the first Sunday of Advent." He was made Lord President of the Court of Session about the end of 1548; and on many occasions he was employed on foreign embassies and other diplomatic affairs. As Bishop of Orkney he endowed a school at Kirkwall, added to the Bishop's Palace, and adorned the cathedral with some tasteful additions. In 1544 he founded various offices in the cathedral of Orkney; and his deed of foundation may be referred to as containing the latest regulations on such subjects, previous to the commencement of the new order of things at the Reformation. It is printed in the Appendix to Peterkin's "Rentals of Orkney." Nor did he confine his benefactions to the localities where he exercised his functions; for it was a bequest made by Bishop Reid for the foundation of a college in Edinburgh that enabled the magistrates, in 1581, to purchase from the provost of the Kirk of Field the ground

¹ MS. No. 5855, entitled "Var. de Ord. Cisterc. apud Scotos," &c. Transcript by General Hutton. "Dominus Joannes Smyth nuper subprior jam monachorum confessor simul et bursarius," was made a monk in the time of Abbot Thomas Crystall, predecessor of Thomas Reid. (Ferrerius, p. 87.)

² Ferrer. Hist. pp. 43-46. Bann. Club, Edin. 1839. 4to.

on which were subsequently erected the buildings of the University of Edinburgh.

Adam Elder, another monk of Kinloss, has preserved a notice of Walter Reid, a nephew of the Bishop of Orkney, in a volume of discourses which he published and dedicated to this prelate in 1558,¹ the year of his death. In an introductory notice, dated in that year, prefixed to his discourses, which were delivered in the chapter at Kinloss, Elder refers to two letters which he had recently written to the bishop, giving him an account among other things of the welfare of his nephew, Walter Reid, abbot of Kinloss. He is described as a youth; and his progress in learning Greek and Latin is stated to be satisfactory. His other pursuits had also been described in the letters, and are again referred to: "Sed et linguarum earundem cognitione non contemnenda jam habita asseveraveram eum trino etiam philosophiæ generi, rationali, morali, et naturali, non segniter aut defunctorie, sed totis et corporis et ingenii nervis invigilare. Subinde vero eundem in disciplina morum atque vitæ honestate suis majoribus vitæ et morum probitate merito laudatis, non dissimilem esse, ubique et semper præbere. Tum denique de nonnullis rebus aliis quæ tunc temporis apud nos gerebantur reverentiam tuam sedulo ammonueram."

This reference, along with others in Smyth's diary, enables us to amplify a notice of the abbots of Kinloss, prefixed to the History of Ferrierius already quoted, and to add one to their number. It is there stated that Robert Reid retained the abbacy *in commendam* till the time of his death. It will be seen, however, that his nephew Walter is described as abbot in 1558, when Elder wrote his preface; and two notices by Smyth enable us to fix the date of his accession to the dignity: "6 April 1553. Walter Red Abbas de Kynloss recepit obedienciam monachorum;" and ten days thereafter, "fuit solempniter et honorifice benedictus in eodem monasterio per reverendum in Christo Patrem Robertum Red Episcopum Orchaden." As he was only a youth, however, at his studies at Paris when Elder wrote his dedication, it is possible that

¹ Adami Senioris Scoti, monachi ordinis Cisterciensis, Monasterii Kynlossensis, ad Reverendum in Christi Patrem ac Dominum, Dominum Robertum Reid, Orchadum Præsulem Srenæ, sive Conciones Capitulares. Parisiis, ex typographia Matthæi Davidis, via Amygdalina ad veritatis insigne. 1558. 4to.

Walter Reid had not then taken actual possession of the abbacy. His name does not appear in the list of abbots; and it is said that, on the death of Robert Reid in 1558, he was succeeded as abbot by Walter Hetton, a monk and cantor of the abbey.

It may be mentioned, before leaving Bishop Reid, that in 1538 he employed, on various works, a famous painter, Andrew Bairtrum, of whom Ferrerius complains that he was crabbed, weak in mind, and lame in both feet. Perhaps, however, we must take this with some limitation, for it would appear that Ferrerius was in the way of quarrelling with his neighbours, and saying very sharp things of them. As a specimen of his humour, and of the little differences which arose in monasteries of old, I may quote a letter which he wrote concerning Adam Elder, the monk whose work has been quoted above, and the cause for which arose thus:—Five monks of Beaulieu, a priory in Ross-shire, which was held *in commendam* by Robert Reid, had spent three years at Kinloss in studying under Ferrerius, who at their departure made gifts to them of some of his own books. It so happened that the monk Adam Elder had carried off the Lives of Plutarch belonging to Ferrerius, and that this was one of the books which he had gifted away. He accordingly wrote to Elder to return the book to the person for whom it was intended. Elder not only refused to do so, but alleged that Ferrerius was not possessed of a single volume but what he had bought with the Abbot's money. This having been reported to Ferrerius, he wrote to his correspondent, Thomas Tognius, a monk of Beaulieu: "What you write of Adam Elder does not much surprise me. I had indeed thought, that as he drinks milk and water in these days he would become less foolish, but he goes on, I perceive, always like himself. The argument which he uses against my books is like a man weak in the loins; for it does not follow that a book belongs to a man although his name may be prefixed, in the same way as you and your colleagues, for nearly three years, bore here the cowl of the Cistercian order when you were of a different profession, for a considerable number of the books have the name of Abbot Thomas affixed by Sir James Pont, when truly they were the books of Abbot Robert. It is false that they were all bought with the Abbot's money, when even before I had seen the face of the Abbot, I had more books at Paris, and brought more into Scotland at my first coming, than the Abbot himself

had; and when I was occupied at Court, I bought not a few at Edinburgh with my own money. Lastly, what I have bought at Paris during almost the whole of the last four years many at Kinloss can bear witness, who saw what I brought with me at my second coming, which, if you rightly compute, almost a half is mine, bought with my own money. Was the money which I had before I knew the Abbot never my own? or that which I have since acquired by my own labours? More justly are these my property than that which Adam turns to his own use, by the piecemeal sale of cabbages from the garden entrusted to him, without the Abbot's permission. I indeed am of no profession but that of Christ, and what my labours yield are my own; whatever a monk acquires, belongs not to himself but to his monastery. That I have most frequently placed the Abbot's name in the books, this is to be attributed to my love for him, as I might wish all things to be common among friends. But I ask you with what front or face does he daily approach the altar in so manifest and so bitter a falsehood? May Christ bring it to pass that he henceforth judge more truly of my affairs. In the meantime, take care again to claim, through your Superior, the Plutarch which, with a proper title, I presented to you on your departure from this place." At all events, Bairtrum the artist was employed at Kinloss for three years, during which time he painted three "Tabulæ," or altar-pieces, for three chapels in the church—one of the Magdalene, another of St John the Evangelist, and another of St Thomas of Canterbury. He also painted "*Sed pictura levior quæ nunc est per Scotium receptissima*," a chamber and oratory of the Abbot, as well as a larger chamber before the step in the way to the Abbot's chamber.

Moreover, the Abbot brought over from Dieppe a skilful gardener, called William Lubias, whose good deeds in spreading a knowledge of his art not only in the neighbourhood, but also throughout the whole of Moray, are duly chronicled by Ferrerius. But even here we discover a trait of the writer's temper; for after commemorating the good qualities of the gardener, he adds, "Nor is there anything more to be wished for in a man so famous and energetic, unless it be his other foot, which he lost by the wound from a bombard, while fighting under Francis I. in a naval action against the Spaniards, near Marseilles."

It is added, that the gardener was skilled in chirurgery, and that he

healed many wounds, during five years, through the whole of Moray. There are many entries in Smyth's Diary, which serve to show that the calls on his surgical skill were probably very frequent; for in one year we hear of the burning of Daviot by the Mackintoshes, the devastation by the Earls of Moray and Huntly of the lands of the Clan Chattan, and the beheading at Forres of their chief captain. Twice also were the cloisters of the Abbey defiled, apparently by deeds of blood: on 17th November 1529, the cloister was reconciled by Mr James Hay, bishop of Ross, when "*benedixit eucharistiam majorem;*" and on 15th February 1553, the cloister was again reconciled "*honorifice,*" by Bishop Robert Reid.

Under Abbot Thomas Chrystall, we learn from Ferrerius, that John Gordon, eldest son of Alexander, Earl of Huntly, on the 27th December 1515, broke into the Monastery of Kinloss, and forced open a box belonging to a lady called Margaret Mouat, in which were preserved writings and money belonging to her. He proceeded to France with his spoils, but his bad conscience not allowing him to live there, he returned to Scotland, and could rest nowhere except at Kinloss, in which place he died, two years after the commission of his crime, affording an example to all sacrilegious persons.¹ Those who were his partners in guilt soon after all died basely, except James Dunbar of Tarbate, who repented and obtained pardon.

We may glance, in passing, at a few additional notices of the Abbots and Monks of Kinloss preserved by Ferrerius, as such little passages serve more than anything else to give us something like a picture of the state of society at the time.

In the time of Abbot James Guthry, who died in 1482, David Eliot received the tonsure. He bought or transcribed many ritual books necessary for the students, and bought, for the Chapel of St John the Evangelist, the image of the Evangelist.

William Butter also became a monk about the same time, who in anger committed homicide, in striking a boy in the cloister in the time of Abbot William Culros. On this account, having lost his order, he proceeded to Rome with another monk, in the year 1500, where he was

¹ His death is noticed in Smyth's Diary as follows:—"Anno domini M v° xviii° Johannes dominus de Gordon predictus, in Kynloss obiit v° decembris et est Sepultus ubi solet cerei paschalis benedicio."

absolved, and sent a copy of the absolution to his abbot, but neither he nor his companion ever returned.

Abbot James Galbreth died in 1491. He first sent to Rome for bulls of his election; for before this time, the abbots were canonically elected by the votes of the monks and the election of the abbot of Melrose, "*Cum antea abbates eligerentur canonice per monachorum suffragia et patris abbatis a Melros electionem.*" Of one thing Ferrerius has no doubt, that he obtained the Abbacy simoniacally, having bought it from his predecessor. On one occasion, having gone to the church of Avoch in Ross-shire, and returning with few companions, he was seized by the Baron of Kilravock. But when Sir James Dunbar, Sheriff of Moray, had collected a company of armed men, with the view of obtaining the Abbot's release, his captor thought better of the matter, and released him. This abbot was rather of a hot and irascible temper.

His successor was William Culross, who died in 1504. He laboured under bodily disease, and after a few years appointed Thomas Crystall his successor, he himself being still alive. During his whole incumbency he did nothing great; and if he did not add to the wealth of the monastery, neither did he diminish it. He did many things with his own hands; he wrote much of books of ritual, and at times even laboured till he sweated in the gardens, in transplanting trees and work of that sort. He was a man sufficiently pious, if he had not given himself up to carnal pleasures and venery.

Thomas Crystall, was only a youth of eighteen when Abbot Galbreth selected him as a candidate for the Cistercian order in 1487. Next year he professed, and afterwards was admitted to the priesthood. He became abbot in 1499, and from that time, in asserting the rights of the monastery, in restoring ruinous buildings and erecting new ones, in reclaiming silver vessels and vestments from the families of those who had used them, in gathering into the order monks who had fallen away, and many other similar works, he was wholly occupied; and when he was getting into years, being about sixty, he selected Robert Reid as his successor.

The volume of Wicelius must have been acquired by Reid after 1555, when the last part of it was printed, and probably not till his last journey abroad in 1558, as the book-stamp is dated in that year.

It is probable that every foreign visit brought an accession to the

library. Thus Smyth notes, "Item, memorie commendandum quod Thomas Abbat de Kynloss fecit Robertum Abbatum ejus successorem de Galliis plures probos libros secum deferre anno domini m° v°xxix quorum nomina sunt in registro."

It may have been gifted by Reid to John Leslie; at all events, we find that he became the owner of it. It does not appear how long he retained it, but he presented it to Bishop William Gordon, probably before the time when his faithful adherence to the fortunes of his Royal Mistress drove him into prison and exile.

Bishop Gordon was fourth son of Alexander, third Earl of Huntly, and he was promoted to the See of Aberdeen in the year 1546. There is little reason for believing that this prelate was much addicted to literature.¹ It is at least well known that he was devoted to pursuits of a grosser sort, which are commented on very severely by Archbishop Spottiswood in his account of him. Perhaps Leslie hoped that his friend might find in the work of Wicelius an antidote to some of his evil ways. It is remarkable that Leslie, when parson of Mortlach, and as such a canon of the Cathedral Church of Aberdeen, had been a party in admonishing the Bishop at an earlier period.

In the year 1558, the Dean and Chapter of Aberdeen presented to their spiritual father a document entitled, "The Counsall gevin be the Deyne and Cheptour of Aberdeen to my Lord Bischope of Aberdene thair ordinar at his Lordschips desyr for reformatioun to be maid and staunching of heresies pullulant within the Diocie of Aberdene."

The original of this paper, which is signed by Leslie, and has the seal of the chapter, is still among the papers of the Erskines of Dun at Dun House, where I have examined it. It has been several times printed; but as a document of great historical significance it will bear to be quoted here:—

After giving advice on other points, the chapter "hertlie prayis and exhortis my Lord thair ordinar, for the honour of God, relief of his awin conscience, and weil of his Lordschip's diocie, eveting of greit sclander, and

¹ I may notice that in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, there is a copy of the works "Dionysii Carthusiani," in 4 vols., which belonged to Bishop Gordon. They have his book-stamp and coat of arms, with the legend "Gvillielmus Gordone Episcopus Aberdonensis 1552."

becaus all thai that ar contrarius to the religion christian promitts faithfull obedience to the Prelatis, sua that thai will mend thair awin lyvis and thair inferiours, conforme to the law of God and Haly Kirk: In respect heirof that his Lordschip wald be sa gude as to schaw gude and edificative example: in speciale, in removeing and discharging himself of company of the gentill woman be quhom he is gretlie slanderit; without the quhilk be done, diverse that ar partinaris sayis they cannot accept counsall and correctioun of him quhilk will nocht correct himself; And in lyk manner nocht to be our familiar with thame that ar suspect contrarius to the kirk and of the new law; and that his Lordschip evaid the samyn; that quhen his Lordschip plesis to vesey the fieldis to repois himself, [he] cheis sic company as efferis till his Lordschip's awin estate, and caus his Lordschip's servands to reforme thamselvis; becaus, next himself, it seems him to begin at his awin houshold. Quhilkis premissis being done, the said Deyne and Cheptour belevis in God that all sall cum weill to the honour of God and generall reformatioun of the hail Diosie of Aberdene; and thay promise to his Lordschip thair hartlie concurrence and assistance, with honour, service, and obedience, at thair utter power."

Of the volume of *Wicelius* nothing farther is known, till it was bought from a book-stall in Aberdeen within the last few years.

II.

NOTES ON THE LEWIS CHESSMEN. BY CAPTAIN F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N.,
CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT.

In the spring of the year 1831 a large number of ivory chessmen were found in the sands of Uig, in Lewis. They were made the subject of a very learned essay by Sir F. Madden, in the 24th volume of the "*Archæologia*;" and Dr D. Wilson has a condensed account of them in his "*Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*." Sir F. Madden appears to think the chessmen to be of Icelandic origin, while Dr Wilson supposes them to have been manufactured nearer home.

In some manuscript volumes of legends and traditions of the Lewis, there is an account of the way by which these ivory figures came into the Lewis, but, unfortunately, there is not a hint as to the place

from whence they were brought. The tradition is to the following effect:—

THE UIG CHESSMEN.

“George Mor Mackenzie was tacksman of the farm of Balnakill and other lands, in the parish of Uig; and at one time he had yeld cattle at a remote shieling in the southern end of the parish, called Aird Bheag, near the entry to Loch Resort. Mackenzie employed a young man to herd the cattle there; and on a stormy night a ship was driven ashore at Aird Bheag.

“On the following morning, Mackenzie’s herd saw from a hiding-place a sailor swimming ashore with a small bag upon his back. The herd pursued the sailor, overtook and slew him without ceremony, hoping to find riches and money on him. Burying the sailor in a peat-moss, he went to Balnakill to inform his master of the fate of the ship, advising him to kill the crew, and possess himself of the wealth the ship was supposed to contain. But Mackenzie reprimanded his herd for this barbarous advice, and directed him by no means to do them harm, but to conduct the survivors to his house. So the crew all safely arrived at Balnakill, excepting the sailor whom the herd had murdered. Mackenzie showed all manner of kindness to the strangers, who stayed about a month with him, and in that time they saved as much from the ship as more than satisfied Mackenzie for their keep.

“When the shipwrecked seamen left the country, the wicked herd, always afraid of detection, though living in a remote corner of the parish, went to where he had concealed the bag for the sake of which he had murdered the sailor, to examine the contents. These turned out to be carved relics of various descriptions, and fearing the figures might be turned to proof against him, he travelled not less than ten miles in a dark night, and buried the carved images in a sand-bank in the Mains of Uig. This herd never prospered thereafter, but went on from bad to worse, until, for his abuse of women, he was sentenced to be hanged on the Gallows Hill, at Stornoway. When he was brought forth for execution, he told of many wicked things which he had done, and, among others, how he had murdered the sailor, and where he had buried the images.

"Thereafter, in A.D. 1831, Malcolm Macleod, tenant of Penny Donald, in Uig, found upwards of eighty of these carved relics; and those images were sold in Edinburgh by the late Captain Ryrie, for L.30, for the above Malcolm Macleod."

Such is the tradition noted by Mr Morrison of Stornoway, who was for many years a resident in the parish of Uig, and was intimately acquainted with the folk-lore of that district. From another part of the manuscript I learn the George Mor was one of those to whom the Tutor of Kintail gave encouragement to settle in the Lewis after its subjugation by the Mackenzies. George Mor was one of the principal tacksmen, a rich as well as a valiant man, a powerful swordsman, and a dexterous marksman with a bow.

The final conquest of the Lewis took place about 1613 or 1614, so that an interval of about 200 years must have occurred between the traditional shipwreck and the finding of the chessmen in the Sands of Uig.

There seems to have been a considerable trade passing the islands at that time, as is proved by the frequent complaints of piracy; and without implicitly accepting all the circumstances of the narrative, it gives probably a correct explanation of how the chessmen were brought into the Lewis.

Mr JOHN STUART thought that Dr. D. Wilson had been entirely successful in rescuing these relics from the Scandinavian origin attributed to them, on considerations touching the style of ornamentation, which seemed so like that of the Norman era, as well as relating to the armour, dress, and contour of the figures, which resembled other remains of art in this country of the twelfth century.

III.

NOTICE OF AN EARTHEN JAR FOUND IN EXCAVATING THE FOUNDATION OF AN OLD HOUSE AT LEITH. By ROBERT PATERSON, M.D., F.R.C.P.E., F.S.A. Scot.

This jar (see the annexed woodcut), composed of coarse yellow clay, and presenting no ornament, manufacturer's mark, or initial, is unsymmetrical in shape, 6 inches high, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in circumference at its mouth,

and 15 inches in circumference at its widest part ; but the handle had been roughly attached to the jar, the marks of this junction being indicated by the remains of coarse streaks or scrapings. It has been fashioned after a Roman model. The handle is small, the lip turned over, the neck narrow, gradually widening to the body, which again gradually tapers to the base.



Many jars of similar material and shape have been found in Britain, but they have all been of larger size. One jar found by Mr Roach Smith, and described in his catalogue of Roman remains found in and around London, approaches this jar very nearly in shape; but it is symmetrical, and much larger. Such Roman vessels were called *Gutturniæ*; they were water jugs or ewers, with the mouth compressed and turned over, to allow the water to be poured out slowly or in small quantities. The Roman amphora, again, had two handles, a more elongated shape, and was used for holding wine or oil.

The unsymmetrical form, rude execution, and small size, conclusively withdraw this specimen from the Roman catalogue, and place it among mediæval productions. Dr D. Wilson, in referring to the mediæval pottery of Scotland, says that it is always much smaller in size than the

Roman, unsymmetrical in shape, and generally glazed. Mr Birch of the British Museum, whose opinion on such subjects is unquestionable, and who has kindly examined this specimen, says, "that its material and style characterise it as mediæval." I have just quoted Mr R. Smith as my authority that the Romans used jars of this shape for holding water; but I will now show that the jar under consideration must have been used as a wine vessel. When found it was empty, with the exception of a little agglutinated sand which closed its mouth. Adhering to the interior of its neck and body was a dark purplish brown substance, which was readily shaken out in small masses. I collected a quantity of this, and requested my friend Dr Murray Thomson to subject it to analysis. His report, which is too elaborate to quote here, states that the substance sent him for analysis exhibited all the reactions of bitartrate of potash, the characterising ingredient in lees of wine, and that, from the dark purple colour which this exhibited, he had hoped to have extracted the colouring matter also. In this, however, he failed; but expresses his conviction, from the various characteristics of the contents of the jar, that had he possessed a larger quantity of material in which to seek for the colouring matter, it ought to have been discovered.

Putting this down, therefore, as a mediæval wine-bottle, it would be interesting to find data which would enable us to approximate to what period of the ten centuries usually included in the middle ages, such jars were manufactured and used. I hope that some data connected with the discovery of this specimen will throw some faint light on its age.

It was found lying on its side, upwards of six feet under the foundation of one of the oldest houses in the town. The bed of sand in which it lay was pure sand, what geologists call blown sand, and its position bore the evidence of an entombment perfectly undisturbed.

A few years ago, in removing the foundation of the old house, which had been built upwards of six feet above the spot where this jar had been quietly entombed, several carved stones, sculptured memorial tablets, and portions of pillars were exhumed.

My friend the late Mr P. Hamilton, architect, who assisted his father to remodel the present South Leith Church, at once recognised these carved stones as portions of the clerestory windows, and the pillars as similar to

those existing in old South Leith Church; he had no doubt but that they had belonged to the choir of the old Church. History comes to our aid in explanation of this. The Church was demolished by the English army in May 1544, under the Earl of Hertford; the choir was at that time completely destroyed; and we know that his army did not long remain in Leith, but proceeded towards England, after burning and destroying everything of importance which was found in the town and neighbourhood.

As we know that it was the practice of the time to make the ruins of sacred edifices the quarries out of which the houses of the neighbouring towns or villages were constructed, so we think it likely that Leith was no exception to this rule, and that soon after the destruction of the choir of the old church, those building houses in the neighbourhood had recourse to this common source of building material. We thus infer that soon after the destruction of this portion of the sacred edifice, the foundation of this house was laid, and in all probability the greater proportion of it built out of the materials thus afforded. But if we believe this jar to have been deposited in a bed of sand which was gradually increased over it by the variable winds of the locality, we must look for some explanation of the presence of a wine jar in this particular locality. Maitland, in his "History of Edinburgh," 1753, supplies us with this. He says that the western boundary of the oldest portion of the ancient town of Leith was within a few yards of the spot where this jar was found. "The first time," says he, "that I read of this ancient portion of the town is in the beginning of the twelfth century, and the second time in 1329." (P. 485.)

The presence of inhabitants so near this place in the early part of the twelfth century gives us a starting-point, between which and 1544 (the period of the destruction of the Church, out of the ruins of which the houses seem to have been built) this jar was in all probability manufactured, used, and lost on the spot where it has been recently disinterred.

MONDAY, 10th *March* 1862.

JAMES T. GIBSON CRAIG, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were balloted for, and elected Fellows of the Society :—

JOSEPH YOUNG, of Dunearn, Esq.

WILLIAM FORBES, of Medwyn, Esq.

The following Donations were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors :—

Upper Stone of a Quern, 18 inches in diameter. Found in a Pict's house in Aberdeenshire. By ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D., Corr. Mem. S.A., Scot.

Upper Stone of a Quern, 15 inches in diameter, ornamented by raised lines radiating from the centre towards the circumference. It was found, with a number of bronze articles previously presented to the Museum (pp. 294, 295), in trenching a moss, in the parish of Balmaclellan; and a

Bronze Spear-Head, 6 inches long, with socket, and neck pierced with holes for fastening to handle. Found in the parish of Balmaclellan, New Galloway. By the Rev. GEORGE MURRAY, minister of the parish.



Small Bronze Three-footed Pot, 7 inches high, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the mouth, with straight handle partially broken. Found near Gala-shiels, Selkirkshire. By ROBERT MERCER, of Scotsbank, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Portion of a Squared Tree or Log of Alder (?), measuring 16 inches

on the sides. From a lake habitation, or crannoge, in Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire. By Professor J. Y. SIMPSON, M.D., V.P.S.A. Scot.

Two English Groats, Edward III., struck at York; *reverse*, "CIVITAS EBORACI." By ROBERT COX, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

English Crown of Charles II.; *obverse*, with rose under the bust; date, 1662; and

English Crown of William III.; date, 1696;

Crown of Queen Anne, E. under the bust, Edinburgh Mint; date, 1708;

English Shilling, George I., with "S. S. C." (South Sea Company) on reverse; date, 1723;

English Twopenny and a Three-halfpenny Piece, of Victoria;

By JAMES TAYLOR, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Provincial Tokens,—Thames and Severn Canal, and eight others. By W. E. VERNON, Esq., Dentist.

Fragment of Egyptian Sculpture in Limestone, 16 inches long by 8 inches broad, with two figures sculptured in front in high relief, and an incised hieroglyphic inscription. On the back is cut another inscription in the same character;

Head of a Female Statue in Sandstone, showing the hair arranged round the head in large plaits or folds;

By EBENEZER MURRAY, Esq., West Claremont Street.

Portion of a Marble Sculpture in low relief, measuring 10½ inches by 7 inches in length, displaying two male figures with arms raised. Brought from the Senacherib chamber in the palace of Kouganjik, Nineveh, by the donor. By C. D. HODDER, Esq., School of Design, Edinburgh.

Fragment of a Roman Mortarium, with small pebbles imbedded in its inner surface. Found at Uriconium, or Wroxeter, Salop; and

Pair of White Metal Penannular Armlets or "Bangles," terminating in ornamented bulbous extremities. From Hindustan;

By CLAUD HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Photographic View of Melrose Abbey from the South, by Frith, 19 inches by 15 inches. By ALEX. AUCHIE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Archæologia Cantiana; being the Transactions of the Kent Archæological Society. 8vo, vols. ii. and iii. Lond. 1859-60. By the COUNCIL OF THE KENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Archæologia Æliana; or, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity, published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle. Part 18 (vol vi.), New Series. 8vo. Newcastle 1861. By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

Karlamagnus Saga ok Kappa Hans. Fortællinger om Keiser Karl Magnus og hans Jævn timer; I Norsk Bearbejdelse fra det trettende Aarhundrede, udgivet af C. R. Unger. II. Program til I. semester 1859. 8vo. Christiania 1860;

Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkens Bevaring. Aarsberetning for 1861. 8vo. Norske Bygninger, &c. (Norwegian Buildings from former times): Andet hefte (plates v.—ix.) folio. Christiania, 1861;

Om Nordmændenes Landhusholdning i Oldtiden, af Fr. Chr. Schübeler. 8vo (pp. 20). Christiania 1861;

Det Kongelige Norske Frederiks Universitets Stiftelse, fremstillet i anledning af dets halvhundredearsfest, af M. J. Monrad. 8vo (pp. 112). Christiania 1861;

Stjorn: Norsk Bibelhistorie omfattende Tiden fra Verdens Skabelse indtil det Babyloniske Fangenskab. Udarbejdet ved Begyndelsen af det 14de Aarhundrede efter Foranstaltning, af Kong Haakon Magnusson (1299–1319), udgivet med Anmærkninger og Ordforklaringer, af C. R. Unger. 1st-4de hefte. 4 parts, 8vo. Christiania, 1853–60;

Bronze Medal, 1½ inch diameter, Crowned busts to the right of the King and Queen of Norway and Sweden, CAROLUS ET LOUISA NORV. SVEC. REX ET REGINA; below, *G. Loos Dir.* Reverse, figure of Minerva walking to the right, and reading from a tablet, owl flying in field to right, VOYENS ET MEMOR. UNIVERSITAS REGIA FREDERICIANA;

By the ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF NORWAY.

Det Norske Sprog væsentligste Ordforraad, sammenlignet med Sanskrit og Andre Sprog af samme Æt. Bidrag til en Norsk etymologisk Ordbog: a Chr. Andr. Holmboe. 4to. Wein, 1852;

Det Oldnorske Verbum, oplyst ved sammenligning med Sanskrit og andre Sprog af samme Æt., af C. A. Holmboe. 4to (pp. 34). Christiania, 1848;

Traces de Bouddhisme en Norvège. 8vo. 1857;

Pamphlet on Amulets, and other seven tracts;

By Professor C. A. HOLMBOE, Christiania (the Author).

MR DAVID LAING called the attention of the Members to the subject of the CITY CROSS, and expressed an opinion that, although a full restoration of the Cross of 1617 seemed now to be hopeless, it was most desirable that the shaft of the ANCIENT CROSS, which has been placed at the disposal of the Lord Provost and Magistrates, should at length be brought back as one of the old landmarks of the City. In order that this restoration might not be objected to as an obstruction, in the High Street, he would suggest, whether the shaft might not be raised upon a base of three or four large octagon steps, either in the centre of the Royal Exchange, or within the rails at the north-east corner of St Giles's Church, which would replace it very near the site where it originally stood. (See Plate III. compared with woodcut, *supra* 101.)

It was agreed by the meeting to remit the matter to the former committee on the City Cross.

The following Communications were then read:—

I.

NOTICE OF SIR PETER YOUNG OF SEATON; AND COPIES OF HIS LETTERS TO THE LAIRD OF BARNBARROCH RELATIVE TO THEIR EMBASSIES TO DENMARK IN THE REIGN OF JAMES VI. BY JOHN INGLIS CHALMERS, OF ALDBAR, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT. (PLATE XIII.)

Extracts from "Miscellanea Aldbarensia."

JOHN YOUNG, burgess of Dundee, died 31st August 1583, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and was buried there. He married Margaret Scrimger, "of the ancient and noble family of Scrimgeour." She died at Dundee 11th May 1578, in the sixty-eighth year of her age. She was sister to Henry Scrimgeour. Sir Peter says that his father was of ancient family. This may be, for Andrew Wyntoun mentions "Wylliame Yong of Ouchterlony" among the killed of the Ogilvie party in 1392, in "that duleful Dawerk (day's-work) at Gasklune."

John Young left three sons and two daughters,—viz. : 1. John, parson of the church of Desert (Dysart?). 2. Peter, afterwards Sir Peter. 3. Alexander, afterwards Keeper of the Privy-chamber door to James VI.¹

¹ "Ane of the ordinar Ischearis [ushers] of our Soverane Lordis chalmer." So designed in several deeds. He is also designed of Eastfield.

This Alexander married Margaret Arnot. He died in his own house in Dundee, 29th December 1603. 4. Isabella. 5. Joanna. His other children died in childhood; except 6. Henry, who was killed in Scania (Schonen) in the service of the King of Sweden.

Sir Peter, who was born at Dundee, 15th of August 1544, on the 4th of January 1569 was appointed assistant preceptor, under George Buchanan, to King James VI.

In 1574, the Assembly which met in August of that year, willed their loved brethren, Mr George Buchanan, Mr Peter Young, pedagogue to our Sovereign Lord, Mr Andrew Melvill, and Mr James Lawson, to peruse the History of Job, which had been compiled in Latin verse by Mr Patrick Adamson; and to authorise it by their signatures, if they should find it agreeable to the truth of God's word.

In Lord Burleigh's list of persons worthy of being bribed to Queen Elizabeth's interests, in 1579, are, in that "of persons who were not commended by the Regent (Morton), yet by others thought meet to be entertained," the names of Mr George Buchanan, the king's tutor, a singular man, and Peter Young, "another tutor to the king, specially well affected, and ready to persuade the King to be in favour of her Majestye;" and among the names of such as are to be entertained in Scotland "by pensions out of England," are, Buchanan, £100; Peter Younge, school-master, £30.

On the 20th of July 1586 Young was sent as ambassador to Denmark; in 1587 he was again sent, with Sir Patrick Vans of Barnborrow, to that court; and in 1594 he was a third time ambassador to Denmark, and to the Dukes of Mecklenburgh and Brunswick. On the 19th of February 1605, he was knighted by James I. in the palace of Whitehall.

On the 4th February 1577, he married Elizabeth Gibb, by whom he had eight sons and four daughters:—

1. Mary, born 1st June 1579. Married to John Douglas of Tilquihilly.—(Procuratory of Resignation by said Mary with consent, and dated at Brechin, 19th April 1598. Writs at Aldbar.)
2. James }
3. Henry } twins, born 1st July 1580.
4. Margaret, born, as he writes, "in my own house of Seton," 14th November 1581.

5. Peter } twins, born 1st July 1583.
6. Robert }
7. Patrick, born August 29, 1584.
8. John, born 25th June 1585.
9. Frederic } twins, born 1587. Frederic died 31st January 1609.
10. Joanna }
11. Michael, born 6th November 1589.
12. Anne, born 16th February 1590. "And so God blessed me with a twelfth child, the other eleven still living."

His wife died at Leith, 10th of May 1593.

He married secondly, on 6th May 1596, the Lady Janet Murray of Torphichen,¹ widow, who died in November 1596.

His third wife was Marjory Nairne; she brought him four daughters:—

13. Euphemia, 20th April 1601.
14. Elisabeth, born 11th February 1603.
15. Nicola, born 5th July 1604.
16. Arabella, born 16th December 1608.

In all eight sons and eight daughters.

Sir Peter was for many years King's Almoner for Scotland, and died at his house of Easter Seatoun, in the parish of St Vigeans and county of Forfar, on 7th of January 1628, and was buried in the parish church. There his monument, a slab fastened in the wall, is still to be seen, bearing the following inscription:—

PETRUS YOUNG A SETON, EQVES AURATUS, SERENISSIMO AC POTENTISSIMO JACOBO VI. BRITANNIÆ, FRANCIÆ, ET HIBERNIÆ REGI A STUDIIS, CONSILIIIS, ET ELEEMOSYNIS, PROPTER ERUDITIONEM, PRUDENTIAM, ET MORUM ELEGANTIAM EXIMIAM DOMI REGI SUO ET CIVIBUS CHARUS, FORIS REGIBUS ET PRINCIPIBUS, APUD QUOS VARIIS LEGATIONIBUS FUNCTUS EST, CELEBRIS.

HIC BEATORUM RESURRECTIONEM EXSPECTAT. OBIIT JANUARI VII. ANNO MDCXXVIII: ÆTATIS SUE LXXXIV.

¹ Summons against Sir Peter Young, for payment of debts contracted by Dame Janet Murray Lady Torphichen, deceased, in preparation to her marriage with said Sir Peter, her last spouse.

Peter Young acquired the lands of Easter Seatoun by purchase from John Carnegie of that ilk, but the year in which the purchase was made is not given. It was probably 1580 or 1581, as he bought Dickmount-law in the former year, as appears from a charter of confirmation by Esme, Duke of Lennox and Commendator of Aberbrothock.

1. *Copy from the Original in the Charter Chest at Barnbarroch.*

"MY LORD,—Eftir maist hertley commendation, I have gotten the arrestment subscriyvit togidder with the othir letters for staying of proces, and hes delyverit thame to my Lady your bedfellow, quha has not been ydle on hir part for y^r L/ departing. I have obtenit ane uther letter of arrestment to stay the schips hier presently, maid at his Majesty's awin instance but ony mentioun of us, quhilk sal be partly put in execution this same day at Leyth, and thairafter at Montros and Dondy, St Androis and langis all the coste syde, and for that same cause I am instantly to tak over Capten Arnat with me. I have spoken his Majestie at Creichtoun sen your departing, and has his Heines promeis that na precepts sal pass quhill we be first stakit. My Lord Secretare has hecht to hold his Majetie in remembrance, and to hald band that we be not prevenit be ony. I am making hame till the first of the nixt, quhair I sall not be unmyndful of our erand, for I feir my Lord Secretare sall forget, and Mr George allsua. The Clerk Register is busy casting over all the register for sic things as I have cravit of him. The Skippar was at me again to see gif we wad give the 1800 merkis. I stude still at the 1000 merkis that your Lordship offerit him. This day we be to speik farther. I sall not pass the 1200 quhill I see quhat schipping there is in uther partis. Ye will remember that the gentilmen be clad in blak but cullouris, for sa his Majestie spak unto me and my Lord Secretare baith sa, that sall represent a gravitie and half ane duell. The grat lang ruffis and meikle belliis wad be castin away. This I writ that the gentilmen may be warnit in deu tyme or they mak thair claithe utherwyis, as I sall warne neyne. I schewe y^r Lordship that the last Abbot of Glenlusse has promesit me Hegisippas in Greek written with hand, and Commentaria Cæsaris Manuscripta siclyk. I wald pray y^r L./ to inquyre quha gat his bukis that theis micht be

recoverit yit, war not they war ald and evil-favourit. Jhone Hume of Cumeragane had brocht thame to me, y^r L/ kennis the taile. Becausse I am pressit to depart for the tyde that is at hand, I will commit y^r L/ to God, be quhais grace I haist to be in this toune again the first or second of the nixt. From Halyrude house this xviii of Mairche 1586.

“ Your Lordship at command for ever,

“ P. YOUNG of Setoun.

“ To the richt Hon^{ble} and my very special gud
Lord, My Lord of Barnbarrow, Lord of his
Hienes Privy Counsell and Sessioun.”

The preceding letter evidently has reference to Barnbarroch's and Young's second embassy to Denmark, on which they sailed two months afterwards—viz., on 15th of May 1587. They were to be dressed in “dule” or black, in consequence of the death of Queen Mary, in the preceding month. The letter which follows this ought properly to have preceded it; the despatch of the embassy had not been resolved on at its date.

2. *Copy from the Original in the Charter Chest at Barnbarroch.*

“ MY LORD,—I have obtained leif of his Majestie to go hame for sum few days. At my lief taking I have recommendit te his Heines the purpos y^r Lordship kenis, and has schawin that is ever at hand, and that wee have worne threid bair all excuses, ellis that quhither alliance be marriage be meinit or not, ambassadouris maie be send for the mater of Orkney, gif thair war na mair or less, his Majestie wald [suffer] the reproche of breaking of promis to ane prince and natioun that makis meikle of plain dealing. I have said quhat I can, and hes promis to be reddy how sune his Majestie plesis to command me to cum to help to inform sic as sal be send. I pray y^r L/ to go doune and hold his Heines in remembrance. Alace that sa gude ane purpos hes sa feu friendis, and that his Majestie hes sa littel care of himself. My Lord Coronnel will remember for his pairt, bot he is boune over the watter. I spak my Lord Chancellor, and hes remembrit his L/ assurit of the

Kingis g[racis] promis be his last writtis, as if his L/ awin. Hold matteris in frame quhill my back-cuming, and I sall relief y^r L/ again the best I may. The Lord graunt our deir Maister and King to happen upon the worthiest Princess that is in the world for his half marrow. God bless y^r L/, and send mony sic servantis to his Majestie.—From the Quenisferry the xxij of februar at xj houris at nicht.

“Your Lordship’s awin man,

“P. YOUNG.

“As for my small particulars, gif y^r L/ may help thame do it. Gif not, I sall beir it the best that I may, and sall be never the less reddy for ane gude turne to his Majestie or the common weil, according to mein powar.

“To the richt hon^{ble} and my very good Lord,
my Lord of Barnbarracke.”

The foregoing letter has no date of the year, but taking it in connexion with that of 18th of March 1586–7, and for other reasons, I have no doubt that it is of the same year.

3. *Copy Letter said to be from Sir Peter Young to Sir Patrick Vans of Barnbarroch.*

“MY LORD,—I am still awaiting upon his Majesties returning from the raid and y^r L/ advertisement according to my late writing, qlk I doubt not bot y^r L/ has reseavit. I lang to heir from Denmark, and I marvel seeing the vind has bene sa fair and sa long in the east that the messinger the burgomaster writs of is not cum, nor na uther vord, onless it be the hoip thay had of the cuming of our Ambassadors have stayit thair sending. I pray y^r L/ will writ unto me at lenyth quhat ye ar doing (and quhat neuis occuris from all partis, namely, quhat is done and likely to fall out amang ourselves at hame). The Lord send his Majestie sune and weil hame agane from the borders (upon quhais bak cuming I request y^r L/ to awaite, and eftir ye have spekken to his Ma^{ty}, to work for me as occasion shall require). I was yesterday at Montross, quhair I saw ane very

proper schip and veil accouttrit—thar vantis nother ordanance, ensignys, flaggis, nor stremars. Sche is of fourscore and twelf tonne of brith or better, ane trim sailer and vierlyck schip, and sal be had as I sappose bettir schip nor ony uther sic schip in Scotland, for I have felt thair myndis adreich and vill knaw mair of it vithin twa or three dayis, quhairof I sall adverteiss y^r L/ God willing, to quhais protection I committ y^r L/, with y^r gude Lady and familie for evir.—From Setoun this xij of Junij 1588.

“Your L. awin

“J. Young.

“Cummer Petre desyrit hir dewtifull commendation to be rememberit to y^r L/ and my gude Lady. Let myne be joynit thairwith alsua.”

4. *Copy of the Original in the Charter Chest at Barnbarroch.*

“MY LORD,—I ressavit upon the xvj of this instant your Lordships of the xij and ane uther of the xiiij, quhairby I was informit of sindry things that I was glad to heir quhairof I hertly thank your L/. I awaite still as before upon your L/ advertisment, and that eftir y^r L/ hes spokkin his Majestie, not that I wald cloisse y^r L/ handis from writting and sending unto me before that tyme, bot to schaw y^r L/ that I intend not to steir quhill I heir of y^r L/ quhat his Majestie intends to do. I feir the sylver was ordinit for the iourney has bene employit to serve the maist haist. It sal be viel done to lat his nieues onderstand quhat ye have learnit of Captain Kincaid, and gyf his Majestie remains styll of the mind we left him in to be in reddiness as before. As for my part I sal be reddey to serve and no willing to lye ydle, and suinge [dream], with my bukis the wyffe and bairnies, gif his Majestie will permit me. Y^r L/ knows my inward mynd heirin. Being lately for sum occasion in Montrosse and seeing ane propre schip thair, I enterit to feil the mynd of the vwneris in caisse we had ado with thame. Thair answer y^r L/ will consider be thair awin letter. Let me onderstand at all occasions of y^r L/ weillfare and of cummer Patrickis, quhome with y^r L/ , eftir cummer Peter's maist hertly commendations and myne

unto you baith, I committ to Godis protection.—In haste from Setoun
this xix day of Junij 1588.

“ Your Lordship's at command for ever,

“ P. YOUNG of Setoun.

“ Gif we chaunce to have ado I know not ane schip meiter for us nor
this of Montroise, for she is ane trim sailer and is fyfeteen or saxeene
tuns mair nor Jhone Gardeneris schip, and wantis nathing necessare to
decoure hir. I wald thay had ane answer. I belief thay might be
brocht to brak of this soume.

“ To my very good Lord, my Lord of Barn-
barroch, ane of his Majesties Privy Counsell
and Session.”

ADDITIONAL NOTICES OF SIR PETER YOUNG.

Mr LAING exhibited a portrait of Sir Peter Young, engraved in
Richardson's collection, 1793, from an original picture in the possession
of the Earl of Leicester. Having obtained the use of the copperplate,
he said he would be able to furnish impressions as an appropriate illus-
tration to these biographical notices (Plate XIII.), and he would take
this opportunity to supply a few additional particulars:—

In a well-known work by a learned English divine, Dr Thomas Smith,
entitled “ *Vitæ quorundam Eruditissimorum et Illustrium Virorum*,”
Londini, 1707, 4to, there is an elaborate Life of *Petrus Junius Eques
Auratus* (or Young), and also of his son Patrick, a very distinguished
scholar, who was successively librarian in St James's Palace, London,
to Kings James and Charles I. In the account of Sir Peter Young,
extracts are given from a Latin Ephemeris or Diary: and these notices
of his relations, of his own employment in the King's service, and of his
children, correspond with the above communication. From this we learn
that he was born at Dundee, on the 15th of August 1544. In noticing
the death of Theodore Beza, he says that he had studied under him at
Geneva. King James the Sixth was a boy of four years of age when
Young was appointed one of his preceptors, and had for his colleague

the illustrious George Buchanan. But while the latter treated the youthful monarch with wholesome severity, the former was disposed to overlook the faults and flatter the vanity of his royal pupil. Sir James Melville, after giving a character of Alexander Erskine, and the Laird of Drumwhassell (Cunningham), and the two Abbots who were conjoined in the education of James along with Young and Buchanan, says :—

“My Lady Mar was wyse and schairp, and held the King in gret aw; and sa did Mester George Buchwhennen. Mester Peter Yong was gentiller, and was laith till offend the King at any tym, and used him self wairly, *as a man that had mynd of his awen weill*, be keping of his Majesteis favour.”¹

In the prospect of the King's marriage with Anne of Denmark, “Mr Peter Young of Seytoun, his Hienes Elimosinar,” is mentioned in the “Treasurer's Accounts” as one of the commissioners “directed towards Norroway,” 17th October 1589. In the collection of “Ecclesiastical

Letters during the reign of King James the Sixth,” contributed to the Bannatyne Club,² there is one written by Sir P. Young, dated 19th June 1609 (having his name thus signed in Greek): it confirms Melville's opinion of his time-serving spirit, and flattering mode of address-

ing “the Lord's Anointed.” Having received, in 1605, the honour of knighthood, Sir Peter Young soon after, also obtained from the King an annual pension of L.800 sterling.

The eldest son of Sir Peter Young was named James, at the King's special request, by whom, at a later period, he had the honour of knighthood. He obtained a grant of land in Ulster, Ireland, as one of the Scottish settlers; but died at London, a few years after his father, as appears from the Edinburgh Commissariat Register, 22d July 1635, in which he is styled, “Sir James Young of Seton, Knight, who died in London, in England;” but the date of his decease is left blank.

It may be proper to notice that a common mistake is to connect Sir Peter Young with Seaton in East Lothian, instead of East Seaton in Forfarshire. Mr Chalmers informs me that Sir James Young was succeeded

¹ Memoirs, Bannatyne Club, 1827, p.262. ² Vol. i. p. 204. Edinb. 1851, 2 vol. 4to.



A. Birrell Sculp.

Petrus. Young a Seton Eq. aur.

*Mag. Britan. etc. Regi a Consul. et
Legat. ad Reges ac Princip. Clarus.*

Ann 53.

Engraved from an original Picture



invictiss. ac potent. Jacobus VI.

*Elem. in reg. Scot. necnon variis
an. Dni. 1622. æ. 79. servit Regi mee*

*in the Possession of the Right
Hon. the Earl of Leicester.*

Published Feb. 7. 1793. by W. Richardson Castle Street Leicester Fields.

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by his son named Peter, who along with his son Robert, with consent of their wives, sold the lands of Easter Seaton, &c., to Henry Crawford, merchant burghess of Dundee, and Margaret Dunsmure his spouse and Henry Crawford their son; disposition dated 14th and 25th July 1670. The Crawfords obtained a Charter of Resignation and Confirmation under the great seal, 28th January 1676. They sold and disposed the estates to Alexander Strachan of Tarrie; disposition dated 13th May 1715.

Mr Patrick Young, already mentioned, died at Broomfield in Essex, 7th September 1652, and was interred in Broomfield Church, having latterly resided in the house of Mr John Atwood, who had married his eldest daughter.

Dr John Young, Dean of Winchester, was Sir Peter Young's sixth son, and was also distinguished as a learned scholar.

DAVID LAING.

II.

NOTICE OF REMAINS FOUND UNDER A CAIRN, SURROUNDED BY UPRIGHT STONES, ON THE FARM OF BURRELDALES, PARISH OF AUCHTERLESS, ABERDEENSHIRE. IN A LETTER TO THE SECRETARY, BY JAMES H. CHALMERS, Esq., ADVOCATE, ABERDEEN, F.S.A. Scot.

The circle or cairn in question is on the farm of Burreldales (tenant, Mr Adam Nicol), in the parish of Auchterless, but not far from the march with Fyvie; and there are at least four others within a radius of half a mile of it, besides here and there heaps of earth and ashes, where the country folks say their predecessors, "the primitives," as the farmer's wife called them, lived. From time to time a good many urns have been found in smaller cairns, here and there, through the same small bit of country.

The circle or cairn on Burreldales consisted of a large flattened cairn, or rather raised platform of stones and earth, with three or four large stones set round it, and in the interior a smaller raised cairn, which either had been hollow in the centre, thus forming a kind of dyke or enclosure, or had been opened long ago.

The diameter of the larger cairn or platform was about fifty feet. The raised cairn in the centre was about thirty feet in diameter, thus leaving

a sort of platform all round, more or less distinct, of something like ten feet wide. On this platform, at about the west point, lay a large flat stone about five feet square and two feet thick. Another smaller stone was placed at another point of the platform. These stones, as well as those used in the other circles or cairns mentioned, are all masses of what I take to be graywacke, with quartz veins, and are found on the side of a little den not far off.

The cairns, both outer and inner, consisted chiefly of stones, but the interstices were quite full of earth, which seemed to have been used along with them. The soil below was either gone, or at least had been disturbed and mixed with the stones. The subsoil for some distance down had been loosened. All about under the inner cairn there were extensive traces of burning—bones, black earth, and a sticky clay-like stuff. The inner cairn, I think, had been raised over these remains.

So far I ascertained by a partial examination in October 1860. Within the last few days the farmer has trenched over the whole cairn. Between the large flat stone and the central hollow, and just under the raised inner dyke (if a dyke or hollow cairn), or under the west edge (if it had been a cairn subsequently opened), he found a cist of an unusual shape. It is about 3 feet deep, 20 inches long, and 16 inches wide, and consists of a flat stone in the bottom, four upright flat stones for sides, and a flat cover.

In this cist he found one urn, if not two. The cist was full of earth, sand, and burnt stuff; and in clearing it out with his hands, he found (after removing a smaller flat stone which seemed to have been placed on the top of the urn) pieces of an urn. He does not seem to know whether the urn was broken, and lying in a heap as it were, or whether it had preserved its shape, and he had pushed it out of shape in scraping about. Below this, about midway down the cist, was another flat stone, and below that, he says, more fragments of an urn. From the appearance of the fragments, I am inclined to think there had only been one urn, placed between the two stones, but he is very positive that the lower flat stone was only about midway down. The urn (or one of them) was of very peculiar character, as I shall presently notice.

In the outer platform to the south or right-hand side of the large flat stone, the farmer found a hole in the ground about three feet in diameter, tolerably regular in shape, though not lined with stones, and at least four

feet deep. This hole was quite full of a very black close stuff like animal charcoal, veined with white bone-dust, about the consistence of rich Stilton cheese, says Col. Leslie, in a letter to the Secretary [probably adipocere—Ed.]; but nothing else was found here. To the east of the cairn, and under the inner dyke or edge, he found a few stones put together, leaving an irregular cavity or cist. In this he found some burnt stuff, which he believed to be fragments of another urn, and a piece of metal, shapeless with rust, which, after he had scraped at it, has assumed a shape very much like the blade of a knife. It is of bronze. This is all that he has found, and the whole place has now been trenched over.

I went to see it on the 6th of February, on hearing of the discoveries; but there being a couple of inches of snow, I could not make much of it. I picked up a quartz pebble, however, which I think had been worked on, with the view of grinding it into an axe-head. There is not much on it to show this, but I think I am right. The urn had apparently been inverted. I send for presentation to the Museum one piece of the urn sufficient to show the character of its ornamentation, and of the projections on it. Its surface is covered with shallow rounded indentations, and here and there a plain piece of clay is projected from the surface, forming a short bar or ornament. I also send some of the animal charcoal from the hole, also two bits of bone from the urn, and one bit from the hole.

I think the discovery is interesting. The shape of the cist is unusual, and the ornamentation of the urn is, so far as I know, unique. If the farmer is right as to its shape, and as to there being two, one over the other, it is remarkable in these respects too, I think.

It seems evident that there had been a very great deal of burning of flesh at the place, and this was the receptacle of the products. There was a great deal of similar stuff under the inner cairn.

MR JOHN STUART pointed out the analogies between this deposit and others at various stone circles in the same county, where urns, burnt bones, fragments of bronze, and pits filled with burnt matter, had been found, and added, that these spots were doubtless the burial-grounds of old Pagan times.

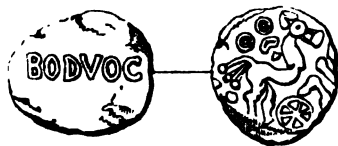
Professor SIMPSON stated that all the bones now exhibited from Bur-reldales were unquestionably portions of a human skeleton.

III.

NOTES ON AN ANCIENT BRITISH GOLD COIN INSCRIBED "BODVOC."

BY GEORGE SIM, Esq., CURATOR OF COINS S.A. SCOT.

THE coin, of which the annexed woodcut is given, was found on



November 27, 1861, in a recently enclosed garden at a place called Birk-hill, near the town of Dumfries, by Mrs Lilius Christie or Kinross, mother-in-law of Mr Robert Cowan, seedsman, the owner of the spot. It was claimed

by Exchequer, and has now been presented to our Museum.

Mr Akerman states,¹ "We have the assurance of Cæsar that the Britons had not a coinage of their own at the period of his invasion; and on this authority Eckhel maintained that they were unacquainted with a stamped currency until a late period of the Roman empire." He also states that Mionnet adopted the opinion of Eckhel, but that Sestini notices the absurdity of Mionnet, in having classed the coins of Verulam and Camulodunum under the head of Gaulish chiefs.

It has now, however, been satisfactorily established,² that a currency of coined money must have existed in some parts of the island before the time of Cæsar's invasion, and that the coins of this class are those rudely imitated from the Greek or Gaulish Philippus. From this prototype, by means of successive imitations by ignorant moneyers, a number of new and totally distinct types arose, until their original was quite lost sight of.

It has also been farther established,³ that the native British coinage must have survived till, at all events, some years after the accession of Claudius, not only among the Brigantes and Iceni, as had hitherto been conjectured, but also among one of the tribes of the west of England, and that possibly the long-sought for Cangi.

¹ Cities and Princes, p. 177.

² Numismatic Chron. vol. xii. p. 127.

³ Numism. Chron. New Series, vol. i. p. 1.

On intimating the discovery of our coin to Mr John Evans, F.S.A. (editor of the "Numismatic Chronicle" and secretary of the Numismatic Society), he most kindly submitted to me the MSS. of his forthcoming admirable work on Ancient British Coins, and supplied me with part of the information contained in my paper, and I am also indebted to him for the use of the woodcut. Since it was read, however, Mr Evans has published in the "Numismatic Chronicle" an account of this coin; and as he embodies all my details, giving a most concise and learned summary of all that is known on the subject, I have by his permission substituted a portion of his communication for my own:—

"The type is already well known, but this specimen, though not in fine preservation, is remarkable as giving the whole of the legend,—either the initial *s* or the final *c* being usually wanting on these coins, on account of the flan being generally smaller than the dies, as is so commonly the case with the coins of this series. On the obverse is *sonvoo* in large letters across the field, and on the reverse is a disjointed three-tailed horse to the right; above two ring ornaments and a crescent; below a wheel, behind a pellet; in the field three small pointed crosses. From some specimens, the whole appears to have been surrounded by a circle of pellets set at a little distance apart. The usual weight of these coins is from 83 to 85 grains; in the present instance it is 80½ grains, the coin having lost to some extent by wear.

"There are two slight varieties of them, one having the letters rather larger than the other, and being also more convex and concave. The Dumfries coin is of the flatter kind, with the smaller letters. On both there is a slight indentation round the edge of the letters, showing that they were not engraved, but punched into the dies, and that the burr thus occasioned was not removed from the face of the dies, probably with the view of giving greater apparent relief to the letters on the coins.

"Though the legend upon them occupies the same position as the *riuo* and *oom . r* . on the coins found in Hants and Sussex, yet it differs materially from them in its not being placed in a sunk recess like a countermark, but standing up in relief on the field. When we look at some of the British coins, with a plain convex obverse,—such, for instance, as those found at Whaddon Chase (Num. Chron., vol. xii. Pl. i. Nos. 8, 9),—we at once perceive that this presents the most eligible

place for an inscription on coins struck after that pattern, and the reverse of these BODVOC coins testifies to some such prototype having been used.

"The small crosses upon the field of the reverse are found also upon the coins reading CARTI and VOCORI . . . as well as on those of Antedrigus.¹ The same cross appears under the horse's head on the gold coin found at Mount Batten, near Plymouth, engraved in Hawkins, Pl. i. 6, as well as on the silver coins, both inscribed and uninscribed, of which a number were found at Nunney, near Frome. The small cross which occasionally is found on the gold coins of Cunobeline (see Akerman's 'Cities and Princes,' Pl. xxiii. 1, 2), differs in character from these, and has more the appearance of being a sort of mint mark.

"In workmanship, the coins inscribed BODVOC are rather neater than the other inscribed coins of the same district—Somerset, Gloucestershire, and Oxfordshire. They are heavier and of finer gold than those of Antedrigus, though some few of the coins inscribed CARTI and VOCORI . . . exceed them in weight."

Mr Evans, after noticing the places where these coins have been found, and the works in which they are mentioned, proceeds:—

"The gold coins have long been known, having been engraved by both Camden and Speed; and most of the earlier writers on British coins, and some of the more recent, who have not gone deeply into the subject, have been inclined to assign them to Boadicea, or Bunduica, queen of the Iceni, the leader of the revolt against the Romans in A.D. 61, which is described by Tacitus, and by Xiphilinus in his *Epitome of Dio Cassius*. There can, however, be no doubt that such an attribution is erroneous, as not only have the types no connection with those of the coins which are usually found within the Icenian territory, but the recorded places of finding of the coins inscribed BODVOC are all on the opposite side of Britain. These coins, moreover, form only a part of a series peculiar to the western part of England, of which probably they are the earliest, while the latest were in all probability struck some years before the revolt under Boadicea.

"There is, indeed, no ground for supposing that any coins were struck

¹ Numism. Chron. N. S. vol. i. p. 11.

by Boadicea, who never seems to have exercised the queenly power, unless as the leader of a short-lived revolt, and whose chief complaint against the Romans was that the kingdom left by her husband, Prasutagus, to which possibly she hoped to have succeeded, was overrun and pillaged by their troops, she herself scourged, and her daughters put to shame. There are, besides, no coins which can safely be attributed to Prasutagus, who, from his wealth and the peaceful possession of his territory, was far more likely to have struck coins.

"There is much more probability of truth in the supposition which originated with Camden, that the inscription on these coins bears some relation to the Boduni, or Dobuni, a tribe whose capital, according to Ptolemy, was Corinium (Cirencester), and who were located in and around Gloucestershire, the county in which the coins have principally been found. . . .

"In Camden's *Britannia* (Ed. 1637, p. 645; Gough's Ed. vol. iii. p. 123) is a notice of an inscription at Mynydd Margan, in Glamorganshire, of which a rude woodcut is given. It runs as follows:—

BODAO C HIC IVCIT
FILIAS CVTOTIS IRNI
PRONEPOS ETERNVLI
VE DOMAA.

"The last words are read by Camden, 'Æternali in domo;' but in whatever manner the inscription is to be read, it would seem as if it were in memorial of Bodvoo, who spelled his name in precisely the same way as it appears on these coins, as there can be no doubt that the fourth letter is a v, from its recurring in the same form in *FILIAS*. The A's are also reversed in the same manner in *IVCIT* and *ETERNVLI*. The coincidence in the name is very remarkable, though some centuries must have elapsed between the two Boduocs, whose names are preserved, the one on the coins, and the other on the stone of Maen Llythyrog. Some remarks, both on the inscription and the coin, are given in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vols. iv. and v., by Professor Westwood. Bodvoo (BODVOC FROIT) occurs also among the Potters' marks from the Allies.¹

¹ See Roach Smith's *Coll. Ant.* vol. vi. p. 72

"The supposed connection between *sonvo* and the Boduni, may therefore, after all, be purely imaginary, as besides these instances, we meet with the same syllables entering into the composition of some Gaulish names, such as Boduognatus, a prince of the Nervii mentioned by Cæsar (to whom these coins have by some been attributed), and Boduogenus, whose name occurs as the maker of an elegant bronze vessel discovered in the Isle of Ely, and engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. p. 436, who must probably have been of Gaulish origin.

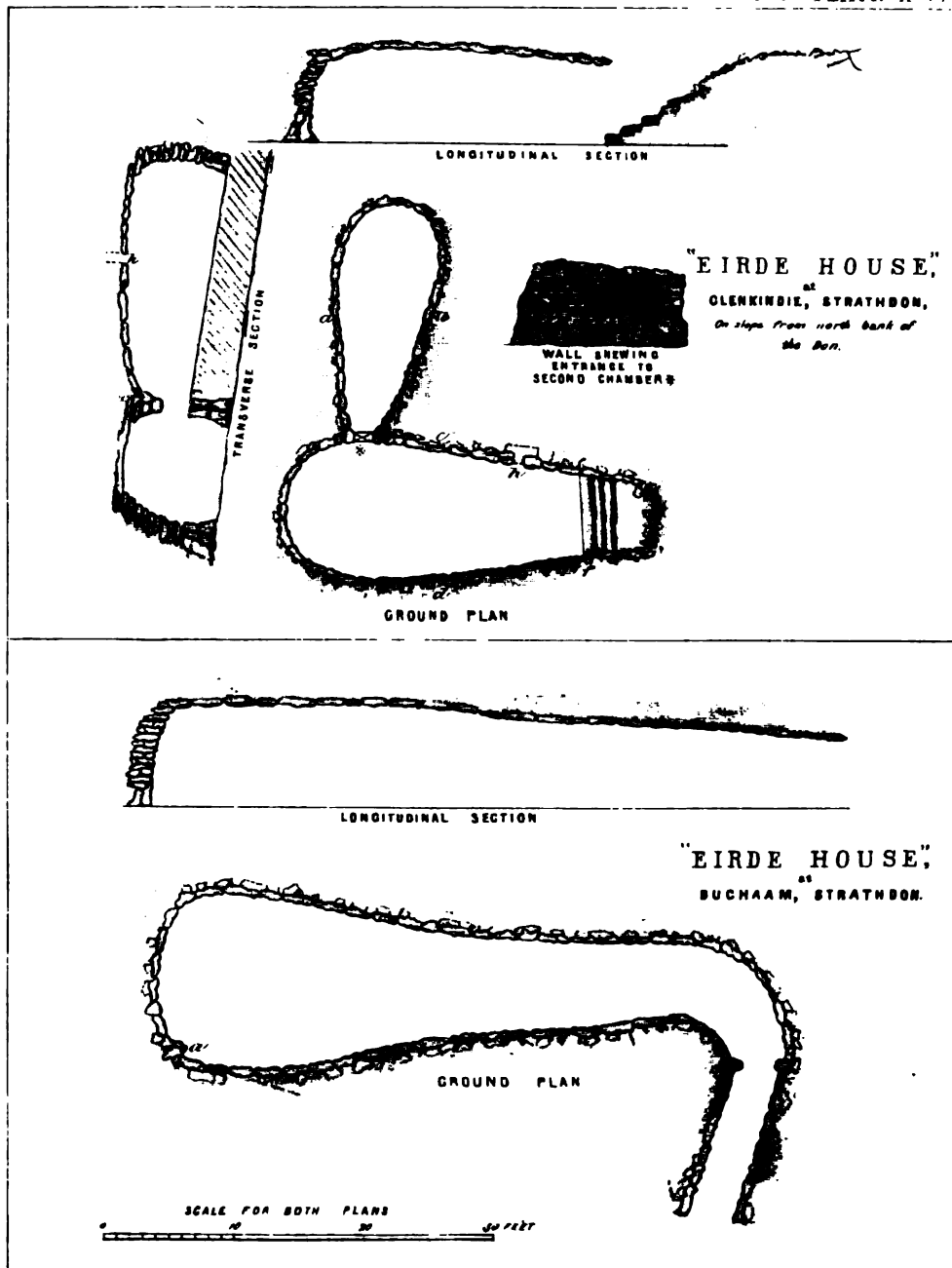
"Unsatisfactory as it may appear, the whole that can with certainty be predicated of these coins is, that they were struck in the western part of England at a rather late period of the British coinage. To this may be added the probability that on them is preserved a portion, or possibly the whole of the name of some prince, and that he reigned over the Boduni."

IV.

NOTICE OF THE RECENT EXCAVATION OF AN UNDERGROUND BUILDING AT BUCHAAM, STRATHDON, ON THE PROPERTY OF SIR CHARLES FORBES, BARONET, OF NEWE AND EDINGLASSIE. COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES BY ARTHUR MITCHELL, A.M. AND M.D., CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT. (Plate XIV.)

For the excavation, the results of which I am about to detail, we are indebted to the liberality of Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., of Newe and Edinglassie, on whose property Buchaam is situated. The work was ably superintended by Mr Walker, gardener at Castle Newe. I happened to be in the locality when the clearing out was in progress; and on stating to Mr Walker that I thought the results ought to be laid before this Society, he promised to forward to me everything he found, and undertook to give me all the information he possessed, if I would prepare a short communication on the subject. This he has done, and the note which I now read is a compilation from the numerous letters which I have received from him, though of course I have been assisted by having had an opportunity of examining the ruin, and of taking sketches and measurements on the spot. These have been submitted to Mr Walker for verification.

In the district in which this "*Eirde House*" occurs, similar structures





Jas Simpson. Shap

W & A K Johnston, Edin

STANDING STONES. AT SHAP. WESTMORLAND.

are numerous, but only two of them have been carefully examined, viz., the one at Buchaam, which I am now to describe, and another at Glenkindie, which is in a state of wonderful preservation. Of both of these I append accurate plans. (See Plate XIV.)

The road to the farm-steading of Buchaam passed over that which Mr Walker has just cleared out, and the foundation of the farm-house itself was in such close proximity to it, that we feel sure its existence could not have been known to those who built the house. On the mound over the roof, there grew a large ash tree, which Mr Walker thinks must have been planted in 1727, and he concludes that those who planted it must have known nothing of the cavity below them. The roots of this tree had disturbed the roof stones, many of which were found out of place. Some of these are of great size, being 7 to 8 feet long, 3 feet wide, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ thick, and more than a ton in weight. Neither they nor any other stone about the structure gave any evidence of having been dressed or shaped by tools of any sort.

The chamber was nearly filled with earth and rubbish, and at the bottom there were 20 inches of fine blue clay, which had evidently been carried through the walls by the action of water from the clay bank outside. Its finer quality left no doubt on this point. Either in or below this bed of clay, all the objects now exhibited were picked up. Above the clay there was a deep layer of black earth and stones.

In forming the road to which allusion has been made, it is known that the mound above the chamber was levelled; and when Mr Walker began his excavations, some of the roof stones were almost bare. From what remained *in situ* however, he thinks that, after the stones were laid, the builders must have spread a rough puddling of clay over them, more effectually to make the chamber water-tight.

The general outline of the chamber is pear-shaped, with an elongated and curved neck, and the length of the mesial line, following the curve, is 58 feet; the greatest breadth is 9 feet 3 inches, and the smallest at the entrance is 3 feet 6 inches; the height varies from 5 feet to 7 feet, and for the greatest part of its length is above 6 feet. The walls rise perpendicularly for the first two or three feet, and the first course consists of large cubical stones resting on their broadest aspects. After rising two or three feet, the walls begin to incline inwards, not in a

straight line, but with a curve, as represented in the drawings—this portion of the cross section corresponding to the cross section of a cylinder sliced off above and below. In other Eirde houses which I have seen, the stones of the first course are included in this curve, and fall outwards from the line of the base, so that the breadth of the chamber, three or four feet above the floor, is somewhat greater than at the floor, there being first a slight expansion and then a contraction. In the chamber at Buchaam, however, this is not noticeable, if it exists at all. Where the breadth at the base is 9 feet 3 inches, at four feet above the floor it falls to 7 feet 9 inches, and at the roof stone to 5 feet. This will give some idea of the rate and extent of the contraction. The drawings, however, which are to scale, still better illustrate this feature in the construction of Eirde houses. They also show that in this instance the outer aspect of the walls was nearly perpendicular.

Twelve feet from the entrance, there are two projecting jambs. I saw these, and the conclusion was resistless, that they were in some way intended as the supports of an internal door; but there was no mark of tools about them, nor could I see any way in which bolts or fastenings had been used, as, for instance, holes in the adjoining side walls.

At the north-eastern corner of the chamber, a large quantity of charcoal was found, and near it, bones of the sheep and domestic fowl. Above this, there was a well-built smoke-hole. A similar smoke-hole is to be seen in the Eirde house at Glenkindie.

At the opposite, or south-eastern corner, was found the mouth of a drain, leading away under the corner of Buchaam House, and six feet below the present ground surface. Its outlet has not yet been found, but it was followed for five or six feet, and was found to be about ten inches square, well built, with good roof, sides, and bottom, and having a peculiar box-like opening in the inside of the chamber. I am not aware that such a drain has ever before been observed in connection with the so-called Pict's house, and I regret that I had not an opportunity of personally examining this peculiarity. The floor of the chamber was regularly paved, and the pavement in many parts was found in good preservation.

As already stated, all the objects now exhibited were found in or below the clay. We have, first, an iron ring, the purpose of which I

cannot divine, and another object in iron, which appears to have been the iron shoeing of a wooden spade. These were the only pieces of metal discovered.

Several staves of a small wooden cog were found. The duplicate of this might be bought in our own day in any country market. Other fragments of wood were also found, whose shape had been given to them by cutting tools. One of these Mr Walker regards as a bit of the handle of a spade. The wooden comb, so generally found in such excavations, was also found here, and is now shown. Bones of the sheep and domestic fowl, deer's horns, bits of charcoal, fragments of pottery of a fine clay but coarse workmanship, an acorn, and a piece of a quern, were the other objects discovered.

It appears to me that the general character of these objects is not such as to lead us to regard them as very ancient, or as by any means coeval with the structure in which they were found. The temporary occupation of such a chamber as a human habitation might occur in very late times.

Mr Walker has peculiar views as to the manner in which these Eirde houses must have been constructed. He thinks that a deep trench was first dug round the outline of the house, and that in this the walls were built with the required slope inwards, the undisturbed earth supporting them till the huge covering stones were rolled over the contained earth into position. Though these are in no sense the key-stones of an arch, still, he thinks, that by their weight, they would prevent the walls from falling in, and bind them together. When all this was done, he thinks the *excavation* was commenced, and a mound raised over the roof.

Mr Walker has restored the house at Buchaam, as far as he could, to its original state. A solid coat of clay has been puddled over the traverses of the roof to make it water-tight, and over this there is now an oblong curved mound of earth, round which 80 to 100 spruce and silver firs are planted. Restorations are perhaps doubtful, but Mr Walker has done what he thought best for the preservation of this interesting relic of antiquity.

Mr JOHN STUART pointed out the great value of Dr Mitchell's careful observations and plans, which enabled us to compare these structures with each other. He added, that all along the course of the Don, down to Kildrummy, there appeared groups of similar houses, indicating the

presence of an abundant population at an early period, and with evidences, in some cases like the present, that they had been the abode of men, which had sometimes been doubted. Their more recent occupation was analogous to what was found in the Irish crannoges, where articles of bone and stone were found mixed with others which were not 200 years old.

Professor SIMPSON drew attention to a similar house which he had discovered in a mound near Bathgate, now destroyed, and to the fewness of such structures south of the Forth.

Various members gave instances of the continued use of the quern for grinding meal at the present time.

TUESDAY, 14th April 1862.

DAVID LAING, Esq., one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

On a ballot the following gentlemen were elected as follows:—

Sir WALTER CALVERLEY TREVELYAN, Bart., Wallington, near Morpeth.

ROBERT MERCER of Scotsbank, Esq., Portobello.

ROBERT CARFRAE, Esq., George Street.

GEORGE SETON VEITCH, Esq., Bank of Scotland.

The following Donations were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors:—

Portion of a large Yellowish-coloured Clay Urn, showing black fracture, and a quantity of burnt human bones which it contained. It was found near Burntisland. The urn is of the usual type of the large cinerary urn, ornamented with a belt of crossing lines on the upper part, the lower portion being plain. By JOSEPH YOUNG of Dunearn, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., Burntisland.

Four Stone Balls of Limestone, measuring from two to five inches in diameter. Found in digging the foundations of a house in York. By THOMAS LAYCOCK, M.D., Professor of the Practice of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh.

Circular Rough-grained Stone, measuring three inches in diameter,

with deep cup-like indentations on each side. Found on Goldenoch Moor, Wigtownshire. By the Rev. THOMAS B. BELL, Leswalt, Wigtown.

Bronze Three-legged Pot, with angular loop on each side of the mouth or neck. It measures 9 inches high, and 8 inches across the mouth; the inner lip of the mouth is ornamented with a scroll pattern, apparently bit with acid. The pot was found in digging near Haddington;

Seventeen small Iron Spear-Heads of various sizes and shapes, one ornamented with bronze; several of the spears are divided into three prongs: Also a rude Knife with waved blade and wooden handle; three blades, and a terminal ornament in bronze. Found among the ruins of an old temple in Ceylon;

By HORATIO M'CULLOCH, Esq., R.S.A.

Plaster Casts of Four Ivory Chess Pieces—the king, queen, bishop, and knight—found in the Island of Lewis, and now in the British Museum. By J. O. WESTWOOD, Esq., Oxford.

Circular Embossed Brass Alms-plate, 16 inches in diameter, with a rude representation in relief of Eve offering Adam the apple, surrounded by a wreath and other ornaments. Stated to have belonged to one of the Edinburgh City Churches;

Oval-shaped Belt Badge in Brass, displaying a castle with flag flying, surrounded by trees; and above, on a ribbon, the words *LOYAL STIRLING VOLUNTEERS*; below, the thistle, rose, and shamrock;

Small Mummy Figure in Wood painted, with hieroglyphic inscription on the front, 21 inches high;

By JAMES FERGUSON, Esq., Lauriston Place.

Etui Case, of Egyptian jasper and pinchbeck, containing knife, spoon, scissors, tooth and ear picks, and pencil-case. By Mr JOHN E. VERNON, Jeweller, 54 Leith Street.

English Coins,—Edward I., Penny of Bristol, and one of York; Edward II., Penny of London;

Scottish Coins,—Alexander III., two Pennies of usual type, late coinage;

Foreign Sterling,—Gaucher II. de Chatillon, Comte de Porcien or Neufchateau, who died in 1329; *R. MONET NOVA YVE*. The coin was struck at Ive;

By Major THOMAS BELL, E.A.V.

Curiously carved Smoking-Pipe in Blue Slate; the bowl rises in the middle of the pipe in the shape of an ornamented box or house; on one side two male figures are seated, and on the other a female and a large bird. From Queen Charlotte's Island, North Pacific. By R. D. DAVIDSON, Esq., Smith's Place.

Twelve Autograph Letters by General Wolfe, from 1749 to 1758, addressed to Captain, afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Rickson. By Mrs JANE PIERRE ROBERTSON of Rosebank, near Glasgow, through John Buchanan, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot. (See Communication, page 455.)

The Standard Yard-Measure of the City of Edinburgh, with the initials of Patrick Lindsay, Dean of Guild, 1726;

Proposals for keeping the Streets, Lanes, and Passages of Edinburgh Neat and Clean, by a Voluntary Subscription of the Proprietors and Possessors of the Sundry Houses therein. Edinb. 1734, small 4to MS. (pp. 22);

The City Cleaned and Country Improven. Edinb., small 8vo (pp. 16). 1760. (See Proceedings of the Society, vol. iii. page 171);

History of Edinburgh from its Foundation to the Present Time, by William Maitland, F.R.S. Edinb. 1753, folio;

By DAVID LAING, Esq., V.P.S.A. Scot.

Autograph Signature of Lord Balmerino, 23d July 1739;

Autograph Letter from Lady Margaret Balmerino to Mrs Borthwick, her sister, dated London August 19, 1746. (See page 453);

Petition of Elizabeth, Lady Dowager of Balmerino, to the Commissioners of Edinburgh, 7th Nov. 1746. MS. (See page 454);

Information for His Majesty's Advocate for His Highness' Interest against John Porteous, late Captain-Lieutenant of the City Guard of Edinburgh. Edinb. 1736, small 4to (pp. 16);

By D. H. ROBERTSON, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

The Cambrian Journal, published under the auspices of the Cambrian Institute. Seven vols. and parts 1 and 2 of vol. viii. 8vo. Tenby, 1855-61. By the CAMBRIAN INSTITUTE.

The Old Countess of Desmond: an Inquiry, Did she ever seek redress at the Court of Queen Elizabeth, as recorded in the Journal of Robert Sydney, Earl of Leicester? &c. 8vo. Dublin, 1861. By RICHARD SAINT-HILL, Esq., Cork.

Guide to the Isle of Man, comprising an Account of the Island. 12mo. Douglas, 1861. By W. KNEALE, Esq. (the Author).

The Old Celtic Town at Treaves Ash, near Linhope, Northumberland. 8vo (pp. 36); Alnwick, 1862. By GEORGE TATE, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot. (the Author).

I.

STONE CIRCLES NEAR SHAP, WESTMORELAND. BY THE REV. JAMES SIMPSON, VICAR OF SHAP. (Plate XV.)

In the neighbourhood of Shap, in the county of Westmoreland, may still be seen several of those curious stone circles, the use and object of which have not yet been satisfactorily explained. They are more or less complete according to the nature and cultivation of the ground upon which they stand, and sometimes consist of two, in some cases of three, concentric circles. The stones have been originally upright, though many of them are now fallen, and some of them are partially buried in the ground. In any particular circle the stones do not much vary in size, but there is a wide difference between those forming one circle, and those used for another. In some instances the stones are five or six feet in length, and of proportionate thickness. They are for the most part, though not invariably, granite boulders, are of great weight, and must have cost much labour to place them in position. They would not indeed have to be conveyed any great distance; and it is not improbable that the difference in size of the stones used in the formation of different circles may have depended entirely upon the size and character of the "boulders" scattered about the particular locality in which the circle stands. At Gunnerkeld not far from Shap, I had the pleasure of showing Mr Stuart, secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, one of those circles, the stones of which are of great size and weight. At Gamelins, in the parish of Orton, there are the remains of another, which, with the exception of the long upright stone, is in its general characteristics not unlike the circle in Cumberland, well known as Long Meg and her daughters. Several of the stones have been broken up and destroyed, but there is no difficulty in fixing their original site, and clearly tracing the circumfer-

ence of the circle; the diameter of which is about 135 feet. At Gunnerkeld there are two concentric circles, the outer of which measures about 100 feet across, the inner about 49 feet. It may be observed, that these measurements cannot be made with exact accuracy, because the stones forming the circle having fallen in different directions, it is not always easy to fix the points to and from which the measurements should be made. There are other stone circles in the neighbourhood similar to those at Gamelins and Gunnerkeld; but at present I wish to call attention to a class formed of upright stones, much smaller in size, and standing not more than 20 inches or two feet above the ground, and I may remark that it is not unusual to find two of these circles adjoining, one of which is much more perfect than the other. I have specially noted two instances in which the circles are concentric, in one of which most of the stones remain; in the other the outer circle has either been partially destroyed, or it may be the few stones now remaining mark the commencement of a work which has never been completed. Two such concentric circles as those I have described may be seen upon Knipe Scar, a short distance from Shap; another in the adjoining field; and two others exactly similar, with the exception of the third innermost circle, may be found at Odindale, in the parish of Crosby Ravensworth. I mention these more particularly, because I have had the space within the circles carefully examined, and in each of them discovered faint traces of burnt matter.

At Knipe Scar, I had the advantage of Mr Stuart's great experience and careful judgment; and the results of our examination were sufficient to satisfy us, that at some remote period burnt matter had been deposited within the innermost of the three concentric circles. Near the centre of the larger and more perfect of the two sets of circles adjoining each other, about 18 inches below the surface, we found a rough flat-shaped stone 15 inches in width, and about 2 feet 6 inches in length. Under this stone were evident traces of charcoal and burnt earth, but no bones. The deposit was not exactly in the centre, but rather towards the northwest side of the circle, a peculiarity which I noted in two other instances in which the deposit was found. The diameter of the outside circle is 63 feet, the second 21 feet, and the innermost of the three within which the flat stone covering the deposit was placed, is 7 feet.

From the centre of this circle to the centre of the one adjoining, the distance is 96 feet. In the centre space of this other circle, about the same depth below the surface, we found a rude pavement of cobbles about 6 feet in length and 4 feet in width, and under this pavement a similar deposit of charcoal.

At Odindale, where two circles occupy the same relative positions, there was the same kind of deposit found within the innermost circle; but if there ever had been a stone or pavement, it had been disturbed on some previous occasion, when the ground had been partially examined. The position of the deposit was the same as in the circles upon Knipe Scar, and the present condition of the two circles are relatively the same. There is, however, at Odindale, a stone placed half-way between the two concentric circles. It is of the same size and character as those forming the circles, and though not in a line due east from the centre, is very nearly so. Neither at Odindale nor at Knipe Scar was any deposit found either within the space between the circle, or near to or under the stones forming it, though some of them were dug around, and some of them taken out of their position, and the site carefully examined. I need hardly say, that the stones disturbed were replaced, and the circles left as nearly as possible in the condition in which they were found. I do not at present venture to offer any opinion upon the use of those circles or their date, or the people by whom they were erected; my object is to collect and record facts, not to deduce inferences from or found theories upon those facts; and I shall merely observe, that whatever other uses they may have had, they have at some period or other been used as places of deposit for the ashes of the dead.

It is however worthy of observation, and suggestive of interesting thoughts, that barrows, or what are, in the neighbourhood of Shap, called hurrocks or raises, seem to have been formed in places originally occupied by these stone circles. At a place called Penhurrock, on the same moor as the circles at Odindale, there still exists one of those stone circles, within which, at no distant period, there was a large barrow. Tradition says, that when the barrow or hurrock was removed, burnt bones were found deposited in a small dist-shaped hole cut into the rock, and covered with a flat stone. Within the innermost circle at Gunnerkeld, there are still the remains of a barrow or hurrock, which, though

disturbed, does not appear to have been at any time thoroughly examined. Barrows or raises similar in character, though not always surrounded with a circle of stones, are by no means uncommon in the locality. At Sill-how, Odindale, closely adjoining the stone circles, I had one of these barrows opened, and, on removing the stones, found a cist, one side of which was formed by the rock, the other and the ends of large stones, and the cover was a rough limestone slab split from the rock, where it had cropped up to the surface, and placed upon its natural bed. The cist was not square, measuring on one side 1 foot 8 inches, on the other 1 foot 4 inches; the width was 14 inches, and the depth 10 inches; and the length of the stone that formed the covering 2 feet 6 inches. It was quite full of small portions of bone, which did not seem to have been much burnt. Horses' teeth and unburnt bones were found amongst the stones above the cist, but no weapons or ornaments of any kind.

Another raise which I have had examined is on Muir Divock, not far from a circle of stones called Standing Stones. This raise is remarkable, not only because it is star-shaped, but because towards the west side, about halfway between the centre and the circumference, there are four upright stones placed in a straight row, and probably there were originally five. Opposite the largest of these stones, and in the centre of the raise, was found a deposit of ashes and burnt bones, which had been enclosed in an urn. The stones forming the heap had been much disturbed, and the urn was broken; but when first discovered the rim was entire, and measured 13 inches across. It was of the rudest manufacture, sun-dried, and had been placed upside down. The raise could not at that time be further examined; but it is probable that each of the upright stones may have marked a similar deposit. Upon the same moor, within a very short distance, there is another barrow, formed in the same way, having the same general appearance, and called by the same name of "raise," which, when opened, was found to contain a cist formed of stones, and measuring 4 feet 4 inches in length, 1 foot 2 inches in width, and 2 feet 2 inches in depth. Each of the two sides had originally been formed of one stone; but one had evidently been broken by the workmen employed to place it, and the two pieces were supported by a third. The cover consisted of two limestone slabs taken from the surface of the rock, and placed with the natural bed downwards;

the bottom was flagged with flat stones of different sizes. This cist or coffin contained portions of a skeleton, and, from the position in which the thigh-bones were found, it would appear that the legs must have been doubled underneath. The body had been laid east and west, and the thigh-bones were at the east end of the coffin. Careful search was made for weapons or ornaments, but nothing whatever could be found. The bones were afterwards restored to their place, and the cover of the cist placed in its original position. I have mentioned the barrows thus examined, partly because the three, though similar in appearance and character, disclosed three different kinds of sepulture, and partly because, though not themselves now surrounded by upright stones, they are similar to others so encircled, and are all of them in close proximity to stone circles. It is not improbable that the people by whom these barrows or raises were erected occasionally chose the space within an existing stone circle upon which to deposit the ashes of their dead, and then raised a barrow to cover them, and commemorate the fact. At some earlier period the ashes of another race may have been buried in the same place, and a circle of stones formed to mark and protect the deposit. As a general rule, when an urn or a cist is covered by a barrow or raise, it seems originally to have been placed on the surface of the ground, and the stones or earth heaped around it. When any deposit is found within a circle of stones, it is fifteen or twenty inches below the natural surface, and the ground remains at its original level.

Whether these stone circles have had any other use than to mark a place of sepulture, protect the ashes of the dead, or do honour to the deceased, it is impossible to determine. That some of them have been used as places of burial there can be no doubt; that some of them have been twice used by two different races is highly probable; but whether, when originally constructed, they were meant to enclose the ashes of one person, or of as many as there are stones in the circles, or of a whole tribe, or of the chief of a tribe, it is impossible to say. So far as I have been able to examine the subject, I am inclined to the opinion that in each circle, or each set of concentric circles, there will be found only one deposit. It may be necessary to observe, that though many of the stones forming the circles have been carefully examined, I have never found any marks or characters upon them.

I have purposely omitted all allusion to the remains of the avenue near Shap, and "the huge stones of a pyramidal form, some of them nine feet high and fourteen thick, standing in a row for near a mile, at an equal distance," because the facts connected with this remarkable monument have recently been published in the "*Archæological Journal*." But there are scattered about the district several large granite boulders, which seem to have been placed in their present position by the hand of man; and, with the kind permission of the Society, I shall on some future occasion have much pleasure in detailing a few facts connected with these huge and massive monoliths in my own immediate neighbourhood.

Mr JOHN STUART added some facts tending to show the analogous results which had attended diggings in Scottish circles of stones. Among others he referred to a remarkable monument of two concentric circles on the estate of Begnie, in Aberdeenshire, belonging to Mr Morison, which had been dug into by that gentleman. The result showed traces of pavement, under which layers of bones in a pulverised state, and burnt matter, appeared. In the centre of the innermost circle an urn was found, the fragments of which were now sent to the museum by Mr Morison. Mr Stuart added that Mr Simpson had set an example of collecting facts, which it was to be regretted was not more generally followed by English antiquaries, some of whom, after attaching the term "temple" to the stone circles, without any vestige of reliable authority, proceeded to speculate and draw inferences which had not added to our information on these monuments beyond what was known in the days of Aubrey and Stukeley, when the "Druid temple" theory took shape. As an instance of the value of facts in testing "Druidical" theories, he noticed the following:—Hodson, the painstaking historian of Northumberland, describes a large isolated mass of rock called the Punch-Bowl Stone, near Shaftoe Crags, which he supposes to be a rock altar of the primitive heathen, and the basins in it to be consecrated to the Druidical Hu. Dr Raine, the biographer of Hodson, states that the basins have been formed by the action of the weather on the soft portions of the rock, and that the punch-bowl is accounted for by the following circumstance, recorded in the *Newcastle Courant* for 9th October 1725, where it

is stated that, on the marriage of Sir William Blakett (not long before), Shaftoe Vaughan, Esq. caused Shaftoe Crag to be illuminated in the night, and a large punch-bowl was cut in the most elevated rock, which was filled with such a generous supply of liquor as was more than sufficient for the vast crowd of neighbouring inhabitants.

Dr JOHN ALEX. SMITH stated that in Cornwall, and especially in the Scilly Islands, which he had recently the pleasure of visiting, similar basins in stones were frequently found, which had been evidently formed by the action of the weather. They generally contained water and some gravel-like debris of the rock, which was moved backwards and forwards by the winds.

II.

NOTE CONCERNING THE RESIDENCE OF THE BARONS BALMERINO
IN LEITH. By D. H. ROBERTSON, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

The mansion of the Lords Balmerino is entered by a narrow lane from the Kirkgate, by which it is bounded on the north; on the west by Coatfield Lane; and on the south by Constitution Street, from which the full front was seen until the recent erection of "St Mary's Star of the Sea," by which, and its connected buildings, it is now entirely concealed from view.

The building is thus described by Dr Daniel Wilson:—"It has a handsome front to the south, ornamented with some curious specimens of the debased style of Gothic prevalent in the reign of James VI. Its most striking feature is a curiously decorated doorway, finished in the ornate style of bastard Gothic. An ogee arch, filled with rich Gothic tracery, surmounts the square lintel, finished with a lion's head, which seems to hold the arch suspended in its mouth; on either side is a sculptured shield, on one of which a monogram is cut, characterised by the usual inexplicable ingenuity of these quaint riddles, and with the date 1631." He afterwards adds,—“Tradition may be right in assigning this mansion as the temporary residence of Charles II. in 1650.” The arms are more easily deciphered. They are the Burgh Stewart of Scotland; quarterly, first and fourth, royal arms of Scotland (lion ram-

pant), second and third, azure, a galley (or lymphad), her sails furled." The crest should have been, "a sovereign in a chair of state in armour, royally crowned and robed; in dexter hand a dagger, in sinister an owl; the motto, 'Sic fuit est et erit.'" (The Balmerino family bore three bears' heads and a chevron). It is still in good preservation. From the absence of the crest, and the general appearance of the stone, I think it has been, with due deference to the authority of my friend Dr Wilson, built into the wall at a later period than the date bears. This conjecture may be considered as a fact, as the upper portion of the stone which surmounted the crest and completed the tablet was shown to the writer by James Wallace, Esq. It is now in the garden of 24 Royal Terrace, Edinburgh, where it was placed by one of the Sibbalds, who, in after times, was proprietor of both houses. The character of the carving—the coronet and monogram—are identical with those represented, and are readily recognised. The proper entrance to the mansion—alluded to in various minutes of the parish—was from the narrow alley in the Kirk-gate, where the main tower is still to be seen. It bears the coronet of an earl, with the letter C surmounted by the thistle.

In searching the huge mass of parish documents, I had no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that this was the mansion of the Lords of Balmerinloch, and that it was the same which afforded shelter to the royalty of Charles II. A digest of the grounds on which that opinion was formed had been noted, when, through the kindness of Mr W. H. Cooper, the following history, derived from existing titles, was communicated:—

"The house was built by John Stewart, Earl of Carrick, second son of Robert, Earl of Orkney, natural son of James V., in 1631; the Earl of Carrick sold the house and grounds, on 13th September 1643, to John, Lord Balmerinloch. The property was the residence of the Balmerino family from 1643 until the attainder of the last lord, after which the estates were sold, in 1755, to John, Earl of Moray. The disposition to the Earl by the Barons of Exchequer is dated 4th February 1755. On the 1st August 1755, the Earl of Moray sold the property in Leith to Lady Baird of Newbyth for L.700. Lady Baird was succeeded by her brother, General James St Clair of St Clair, and the General, on 11th September 1762, sold the property to Colonel (afterwards Lieutenant-General) Robert Horne Elphinstone of Logie Elphinstone for L.1050;

and General Elphinstone sold it to William Sibbald, merchant in Leith, for L.1475. (Signed) CHARLES BAXTER."

The house and grounds—the house being now subdivided, part of it occupied by the poorest class of tenants, and possessing little of its former grandeur—were sold in 1848 to the Roman Catholics, for the purpose of erecting a chapel and schools, for the sum of L.1800. The main obstacle, I understand, to the completion of the titles exists in the fact that one of the Lords Balmerino "shut up the road to the alter-stane of St Mary's, which led from Quality Street, through Charlotte Lane, to St Mary's Church in former times." We add one extract from the parish records:—

"*4th November 1736.*—Whereas sundry persons, inhabitants of Leith, have for some time past presumed to lay down rubbish and muck on both sides of the Coatfield gutter, that runs between the Lord Balmerino's lodging and Robert Douglas his tenement, called the Coatfield Lands, and lying in the Kirkgate of Leith," &c.

In 1745, Arthur, the last Baron Balmerino, after the battle of Prestonpans, joined Prince Charles Edward at Holyrood. He served throughout the campaign as colonel to the 2d troop of the Life Guards, and voluntarily surrendered, though it is said he might have made his escape, four days after the fatal field of Culloden. He was tried and condemned. His final declaration is in these words:—"I must acknowledge I did a very inconsiderate thing, for the which I am exceedingly sorry, in accepting of a company of foote from the Princess Anne, who, I knew, had no more right to the Crown than her predecessor, the Prince of Orange, whom I always looked upon as a vile unnatural Usurper. To make amends for what I had done, I joined the King when he was in Scotland in 1715, and when all was over, I made my escape, and lived abroad till the year 1734. When his Royal Highness Prince Charles Edward came to Edinburgh [1745], as it was my bounden and indispensable duty, I joined him, though I might easily have excused myself from taking arms on account of my age; but I never could have had peace of conscience if I had stayed at home when that brave Prince was exposing himself to all manner of danger and fatigues both night and day." He was executed on Towerhill, 18th August 1746, the Earl of Kilmarnock preceding him to the fatal stage. The last moments of the

Baron are thus graphically described by Robert Chambers in his *History of the Rebellion* :—"The appearance of Balmerino upon this fatal stage produced a very different sensation among the spectators from that occasioned by Kilmarnock. His firm step, his bold bluff figure, and, above all, his dress, the same regimental suit of blue, turned up with red, which he had worn throughout the late campaign, excited breathless admiration, rather than any emotion of pity, and made the crowd regard him as a being of a superior nature. Walking round the scaffold, he bowed to the people, and inspected the inscription on the coffin, which he declared to be correct. He also asked which was his hearse, and ordered the man to drive near. Then looking with an air of satisfaction at the block, which he designated as his 'pillow of rest,' he took out a paper, and putting on his spectacles, read it to the few about him. It contained a declaration of his unshaken adherence to the House of Stuart, and of his regret of ever having served in the armies of their enemies, Queen Anne and George I., which he considered the only faults of his life deserving his present fate. Finally, he called for the executioner, who immediately appeared, and was about to ask his forgiveness, when Balmerino stopped him by saying,—'Friend, you need not ask forgiveness; the execution of your duty is commendable.' Presenting him with three guineas, he added,—'Friend, I never had much money; this is all I now have. I wish it was more for your sake, and I am sorry I can add nothing to it but my coat and waistcoat.' He took off these garments and laid them upon his coffin for the executioner. In his immediate preparation for death this singular man displayed the same wonderful degree of coolness and intrepidity. Having put on a flannel vest, which had been made on purpose, with a cap of tartan, to denote, he said, that he had died a Scotsman, he went to the block, and kneeling down, went through a sort of rehearsal of the execution for the instruction of the executioner, showing him how he should give the blow by dropping his arms. He then returned to his friends, took a tender farewell, and looking round upon the crowd, said,—'I am afraid there are some who may think my behaviour bold; but (addressing a gentleman near him) remember, sir, what I tell you,—it arises from a confidence in God and a clear conscience.' At this moment he observed the executioner with the axe, and going up to

him he took the fatal weapon into his own hand and felt its edge. On returning it, he showed the man where to strike his neck, and animated him to do it with vigour and resolution, adding, 'for in that, friend, will consist your mercy.' With a countenance of the utmost cheerfulness he then knelt down at the block, and uttering the following words,— 'O Lord! reward my friends, forgive my enemies, bless the Prince and the Duke, and receive my soul,' dropped his arms for the blow."

"In 1840 the coffin plates, then carelessly placed under the cushion of the chaplain's pew in the Tower Chapel, were shown to the writer. One was inscribed, 'Guilielmus Comes de Kilmarnock decollatus 18^o Augusti 1746, Ætat. Suae 42,' with an earl's coronet. The other bore, 'ARTHURUS Dominus. De Balmerino. decollatus 18^o Augusti 1746 Ætatis Suae 58,' with a baron's coronet. Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chancellors*, observes,— "From Balmerino Walter Scott has taken the exit of Fergus MacIvor."

Arthur married Margaret Chalmers, a daughter of Captain Chalmers of Leith, who survived till 26th August 1765. The following letter, written by her to her sister the day after his execution, was presented to the Society by the writer of this paper in 1851. It is indorsed, "Lady Balmerino's letter to Mrs Borthwick, 1746"—

"DEAR SISTER,—This comes from a soer heart. Yestrday my dear lord Balmerino and lord Kilmarnock was beheaded, after which they war buried in the Tower. After that my lord Balmerino's frinds came to me and told me that my greif was very jost, for that day I was the widow to the gratest man on earth, for which it gives me grat eias [ease] to hear he dyed with so much coruge. I am to go from thas to the owther end of the Tower, hiveing no mo day near the Tower. I shall let you . . . when I go thear. I have found thear your blasing to all frinds. I am [your] soerful sister,

"MARGARET BALMER[INO.]

"LONDON, *August 19th*, 1746."

I add another document in connexion with the family. It is signed by George Home, town-clerk of Leith, the father of John Home, the author of "Douglas."

" My Lords Commissarys of Edin^r. unto your Lo^{ps}. shows Elizabeth, Lady Dowager of Balmerino,—That upon the death of the deceast James, Lord Balmerino, your petitioner's husband, there was application made to your Lop^s. for inspecting his repositorys and delivering up to your petitioner the money that should be found therein, which was accordingly granted, and the money, to the amount of L.97, 5s. given up to your petitioner, upon her receipt to be accountable for the same, which lies in the clerk's hands. And your petitioner's said deceast Lord having died on the 6th day of January 1746 years, the petitioner did aliment his family from that time till the term of Whitsunday thereafter, and disbursed the said sum so received by her and much more, for which she is creditor to the said Lord Balmerino.

" And seeing the Testament dative is now shortly to be expedie, and the said sum recieved by the petitioner as above was *bona fide* debursed by her for the maintenance of the defunct's family, it is therefore just and reasonable that the said sum of L.97 ought to be deducted out of the Inventory to be confirmed, and your petitioner to get allowance thereof in part of the sum for which she is creditor for the maintenance of the family. And as your petitioner was informed there was a parallel case so decided by the Lords of Session betwixt the relict and creditors of M^r Hugh Murray Kinnimond, advocate, may it therefore please your Lop^s. to find that the said sum of L.97, 5s. recieved by your petitioner as aforesaid, ought to be deduced out of the Inventory of the said Lord Balmerino's confirmed testament, and the same allowed to your petitioner in part payment of the expense of the maintenance of the defunct's family debursed by her.—GEORGE HOME." To this we have a marginal note:—" 7th Nov. 1746.—The Commissaries refuse the petition in respect of the answers, reserving to the petitioner to insist in a proper process for the maintenance of her family as accords.—ROBERT CLERK."

The lithograph exhibited (from Dr D. H. Robertson's "Sculptured Stones of Leith") shows the sculptured stones referred to. The anagram I interpret,—I. S. E. C.:—JOHN STEWART, EARL OF CARRICK.

III.

NOTES IN CONNEXION WITH TWELVE AUTOGRAPH LETTERS, BY MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE, WHO FELL AT THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC, ON 13TH SEPTEMBER 1759, ADDRESSED TO CAPTAIN AFTERWARDS LIEUT.-COLONEL WILLIAM RICKSON, QUARTER-MASTER-GENERAL OF NORTH BRITAIN. By JOHN BUCHANAN, Esq., GLASGOW, CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT.

The capture of Quebec, more than one hundred years ago, has always been regarded as an achievement of great national importance, conferring as it did on Britain the key to the French possessions in Canada, and which ultimately led to the transference of that important province to the British Crown. With that event the name of General James Wolfe is inseparably connected, as the young hero who commanded the expedition, and who, after surmounting difficulties almost unexampled, by a daring feat succeeded in the object of the enterprise, and fell in the arms of victory.

Wolfe was one of the youngest generals ever intrusted with the command of a British army. When appointed by the elder Pitt to undertake the expedition against Quebec, Wolfe was only thirty-three. But what he lacked in years was amply compensated by admirable military qualities. One writer thus portrays his character :¹—"Wolfe was assiduously and conscientiously attentive to his profession, and constitutionally and steadily daring; his mind clear and active, his temper lively and almost impetuous; independent without pride, and generous to profusion. Exact in discipline himself, he was always punctual to obey. His judgment was acute, his memory quick and retentive, and his disposition candid, constant, and sincere. His courage never quailed before danger, nor shrank from responsibility. His letters breathe a spirit of gentleness and tenderness over which ambition could not triumph."

Yet of Wolfe's personal history little is known. He fell in the bloom of youth, the last of a warlike race, and the blaze of triumph amidst which his country lost one of her most gallant sons, seems to have

¹ Warburton's Conquest of Canada. 1850.

obscured by its very effulgence the minor incidents of his short but glorious career. No Life of Wolfe has ever appeared. What is known of him is fragmentary, and scattered in notes, letters, and other transitory memoranda, which mere chance has presented. No one has yet gathered up the stray leaves. Lord Mahon (now Earl Stanhope), in his fascinating English history, and Gleig, have published selections of some of the more interesting portions of Wolfe's letters. But there are good grounds for believing that many more exist in the possession of private individuals as yet unedited;¹ and it would be a just tribute to the long-departed soldier were these made public, in the hope that such an accumulation of authentic materials may induce some one competent to the task to undertake a full and comprehensive life of this excellent officer, who rendered his country signal service at a critical juncture.

The twelve autograph letters by Wolfe now presented to the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland come within this category. They contain much curious and interesting matter, affording also some fine glimpses into his innermost feelings and character. The discovery of these letters was entirely accidental. It happened that an elderly Glasgow gentleman died a few years ago, in whose possession an antique military-chest had remained more than half a century quite uncared for. It was known to have belonged to a relative long dead, a colonel in the army, but supposed to contain only useless papers. The key had been broken in the rusty lock, and thus the contents were fortunately preserved from dispersion and loss. After the gentleman's death, the long locked chest was broken open by his representatives, and found to be full of antique military reports and papers, besides bundles of old letters. In a corner, carefully tied up by themselves, a small group of letters was discovered, signed "*James Wolfe*." By the courtesy of the owner (an old college companion) these letters were placed in my possession, and my curiosity having been excited by their perusal, I caused them to be printed in a publication then coming out under the auspices of a few Glasgow gentlemen, titled "*Glasgow: Past*

¹ One instance may be cited. In March 1856 seven letters by Wolfe to his uncle, dated in 1757-8-9, were sold publicly, at large prices, by the eminent firm of Messrs Sotheby and Wilkinson, London. I have preserved the names of the purchasers, so that they might perhaps be traced.

and Present," accompanied by an elucidatory sketch of Wolfe's history, which I ventured to draw, so far as the meagre materials within my reach enabled me.¹ I had the honour of presenting a copy of the volume to the Society, through my friend Dr Daniel Wilson, the excellent Secretary at that time; and to that volume I beg respectfully to refer for the contents of the twelve letters, which there appear *ad longam*.

I shall only observe here that the letters embrace a period of nine years, viz., from 1749 till 1758. The officer to whom they are addressed was Captain afterwards Lieut.-Colonel William Rickson, a native of Pembroke, who had served along with Wolfe on the Continent, and more particularly in Flanders. Rickson was uncle to the afterwards celebrated Colonel Barré, one of the supposed authors of the letters by *Junius*, and an aide-de-camp to Wolfe. During the Continental war, Wolfe and Rickson appear to have contracted a very intimate and lasting friendship, which is evinced in every page of the letters. Wolfe unbosoms himself in that correspondence in the most unreserved manner. Perhaps, in this respect, these letters are the most interesting of any which have yet appeared in connection with Wolfe's name. Among other topics, Wolfe comments on the unskilful manner in which "the Scotch War" (meaning the Rebellion of 1745) was conducted on the royal side; his own views of the way in which the Highlands should be curbed, from his personal observation while quartered in the north; remarks on the condition of Halifax, then bordering on the French possessions; criticises the expedition against Louisbourg, and the failure of the attempt on Rochefort, in both of which he served; his opinion of the Glasgow people, &c., &c.

The following are the dates of the letters, to some of which Wolfe's seal is still adhering:—

- No. 1. Glasgow, 2 April 1749.
2. [Place crumbled away] but date 1750.
3. Old Burlington Street [London], 19 March 1751.
4. Banff, 9 June 1751 (eleven pages in length).
5. Exeter, 9 December 1754.

¹ Vol. iii. pp. 741-792.—The very curious and interesting work here mentioned, "Glasgow: Past and Present," consists of three vols. in 8vo, printed "by private subscription," Glasgow, 1851-1856.

- No. 6. Exeter, 7 March 1755.
7. Lymington, 19 July 1755.
8. London, 21 July 1757.
9. Blackheath [near London], 5 Novem. 1757.
10. Blackheath, 12 January 1758.
11. Portsmouth, 7 February 1758.
12. Salisbury, 1 December 1758.

Wolfe fell in action within nine months after the date of this last letter to Rickson; but no doubt, from their great intimacy, others would be written during this intervening time, though not now extant among the mass of old papers before referred to.

The house in which Wolfe resided while in Glasgow is still standing, in the antique suburb called Camlachie. In one of the letters (No. 1) he tells Rickson that he was then receiving instructions from a Glasgow teacher in Latin and Mathematics. This quaint-looking old house was built in 1720 by a then noted Jacobite, John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, father of the mistress of Prince Charles; but at the time Wolfe was quartered there, the edifice belonged to William Orr, Esq., whose father had purchased the Barrowfield estate from the Walkinshaws.

Wolfe's military cloak is preserved under a glass-case in the Tower of London; his sword hangs in the United Service Museum; his spurs were during many years in the possession of a Glasgow gentleman, long dead, but are now unfortunately lost; a small book which Wolfe had in his pocket when he fell, titled "The Treasury of Fortification," with his opinion of it written on the fly-leaf, is in the library of the Royal Artillery, Woolwich; and the twelve letters now presented to the Society for preservation are perhaps not the least interesting memorials of this brave man.

I may finally remark, that Colonel Rickson, to whom the letters are addressed, survived Wolfe eleven years. He was an officer of much experience, excellent judgment, and great bravery; generous, friendly, and affectionate. He died at Edinburgh, 19th July 1770, in the fifty-first year of his age, and the thirty-first in the service of his country. His remains were interred at Restalrig, and a suitable inscription on his tomb records the excellence of his character. A fine miniature likeness of Rickson, in his antique regimentals, is preserved by his grand-niece at

Glasgow, who has gifted the letters to the Society, and it is interesting to scan the features of one who so fully shared the friendship and confidence of the conqueror of Quebec.

IV.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESBYTERY RECORDS OF DALKEITH, RELATING TO THE PARISH OF NEWBATTLE, DURING THE INCUMBENCY OF MR ROBERT LEIGHTON, 1641-1658. COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. THOMAS GORDON, MINISTER OF NEWBATTLE. WITH SOME INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY DAVID LAING, Esq., V.P.

Any attempt to discover new facts regarding the life of a person so well known and so justly admired as ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON, might seem to be hopeless. Yet the earlier part of his history remains very obscure, and, in particular, his connexion with the Presbyterian Church during the times of the Covenant has almost been wholly overlooked, as perhaps some of his admirers could wish it should be. Anything, however, tending to illustrate the character of such a man cannot fail to be interesting.

For this purpose I had intended to form a small collection of Leighton's unpublished letters, written at various periods of his life, but find that I have been forestalled, partly by some communications which have lately appeared in "Notes and Queries," from the Rev. C. F. Secretan, Besborough Gardens, Westminster, who has brought together fifteen such unpublished letters, chiefly from the Lauderdale Correspondence, now in the British Museum.

The extracts from the presbytery books of Dalkeith, which I have now to lay before the Society, were obligingly communicated by the Rev. THOMAS GORDON, minister of Newbattle. They furnish a number of minute notices regarding the period of Leighton's career, not much known to his English biographers, when he was the minister of that parish; and they serve, as Mr Gordon has remarked in his letter accompanying the extracts, to correct various mistakes into which Bishop Burnet has fallen and misled later writers. The following is a brief summary of his life:—

ROBERT LEIGHTON was the son of Alexander Leighton, doctor of medicine, and was born in the year 1611. The place of his birth has not been ascertained. Robert was educated at Edinburgh, having entered the university in the winter of 1627, under Mr Robert Ranken, one of the regents, and he took his degree of Master of Arts 23d of July 1631.

During his attendance he incurred some academic censure in reference to a juvenile *jeu d'esprit*, which has been aggravated into his expulsion from the College. In the State Paper Office, London, a few years ago, before any printed Calendars were known, I met with a letter written by him to his Father explanatory of the circumstance, which is too interesting in his early history to be disregarded. The letter itself is one of those printed in "Notes and Queries" last February; but from the writing being very illegible, some of the words are there inaccurately deciphered. I only quote the chief part of it:—

It is addressed "To his kind and loving father, M^r Alexander Leighton, D^r of Medecine, at his house on the top of Pudle Hill, beside the Blacke Friars Gate, near the Kinges Wardrobe there, London:—

"Sir,

"The buisines¹ that fell out with me, which I cannot without sorrow relate that such a thing should have fallen out, yet having some hope to repe good out of it as yow exhort me—it, I say, was thus. There was a fight betweene our Classe and the Semies, which made the Provost to restraine us from the play a good while; the boyes upon that made some verses, one or two in every classe, mocking the Provost's red nose. I, sitting beside my Lord Borundell² and the Earl of Ha[dington's] son,³ speaking about these verses which the boyes had made, spoke a thing in prose concerning his nose, not out of spite for wanting the play, neither having taken notice of his nose, but out of their report, for I

¹ "Cathekinges," in the first part of this letter, which Mr Secretan queries, was James Cathkin, bookseller in Edinburgh: See Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 249.

² John, Master of Berriedale, predeceased his grandfather in 1639; but his son George succeeded to the Earldom of Caithness in 1644.

³ This was Robert Hamilton, the youngest son of Thomas, Earl of Haddington, by his third wife.

never saw [him] before but once, neither thought I him to be a man of great state. This I spoke of his name, and presently, upon their request, turned it into a verse thus :

' That which his name ¹ importes is falsely sad,	His name is
That of the oken wood his head is made,	Okenhead.
For why, if it had bein composed so,	
His flaming nose had fir'd it long ago.'	

"The Verses of Apology not onely for myselfe but for the rest¹ yow have in that paper. I hope the Lord shal bring good out of it to me. As for the Primare² and Regents, to say the trueth, they thought it not so hainous a thing as I my selfe did justly thinke it. Pray for me as I know you doe, that the Lord may keepe me from like fals; if I have either Christianity or naturality, it will not suffer me to forget yow, but as I am able to remember yow still to God; and to endeavour that my wayes greive not God and yow my deare Parentes, the desire of my heart is. to be as litle chargeable as may be. Now desireing the Lord to keepe yow, I rest, ever endeavouring to be,

" Your obedient Son,
" ROBERT LEIGHTON.

"I pray yow, Sir, remember my humble duety to my mother, my loving brethren and sisters: remember my duety to all my freindes.

" EDENBROUGH, *May* 6, 1628."

This letter supplies the exact date, and shows it was during the first year of his attendance at the college. The civic dignitary to whom allusion is made was David Aikenhead, who was chosen provost of Edinburgh no less than ten times betwixt the years 1619 and 1636. The Palinode or Apology in reference to these lines he here acknowledges; and it might be shown that Leighton, in his younger days, evinced a disposition to satire, having written one or more copies of sarcastic verses against the Scottish bishops of the time.³

¹ Evidently the rest of the Class.

² Primare, *primarius*, principal.

³ See Pieces of Scottish Fugitive Poetry. Second Series. Edinb. 1853, post 8vo. It includes Leighton's Apology; which is also contained in Maidment's "Analecta Scotica."

Two letters, addressed by Leighton to his mother in 1629, which make mention of his aunt, his brothers James and Elisha, and other relations of whom little or nothing is known,¹ are also preserved in the State Paper Office. These, with the former one, had been found among his father's papers, which were seized by Archbishop Laud, when Dr Leighton was apprehended, and experienced the tender mercies of the Star-Chamber, for writing his "Zion's Plea against the Prelacy," a well-known volume, printed anonymously in Holland, in 1628. Having been tried and convicted, in 1630, the author of this work had to endure not only many long years of imprisonment, but the most cruel punishment, consisting in his being whipped—standing in the pillory—his cheeks branded with hot irons with the letters S. S. (sower of sedition)—having his ears cut off—his nose slit, and fined in a sum of £10,000 sterling, and confined for life in the Fleet Prison. His case was brought before the English Parliament in 1640, when he was liberated. He survived till a very advanced age; his son, on more than one occasion, as we learn from the following extracts, having gone to England to visit him in his latter days. Dr Leighton appears to have died in the year 1649.

After Robert Leighton left the university, he spent some years on the Continent, chiefly in France, and visiting some relations who resided in Douay. On his return to Scotland, Presbytery had been re-established, and he was licensed as a preacher by the Presbytery of Edinburgh. A vacancy having occurred in the parish of Newbattle in the summer of 1641, when Mr Andrew Cant was translated to Aberdeen, Leighton obtained a presentation from the patron, William, Earl of Lothian.

In Mr Gordon's extracts, which I now take up, Leighton first appears in the month of July 1641, when, as a probationer, he was employed to "add" or expound, and also to deliver his trial discourses before the Presbytery, having brought the usual testimonial of his qualifications from Edinburgh, on the 29th of July that year.

¹ Mr Matthew Lichton, educated at Edinburgh, became minister of the parish of Currie in 1592. He died 12th October 1684. His relict-spouse was Jonet Aird. His son (probably by a first marriage), Mr Henry Lichton, was served heir, "*Magistri Mathei Lichtoune, ministri verbi Dei apud Currie*," 10 Dec. 1684. (*Inquisitiones Generales*, No. 2098.) The name of Mr James Leighton occurs in the list of expectants for the ministry within the bounds of the Synod of Fife, in September 1611.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESBYTERY BOOKS OF DALKEITH.

1639.

The National Covenant signed in August 1639 by Mr Andrew Cant, Newbottle, and other ministers in the Presbytery of Dalkeith, by the Earls of Lothian and Dalhousie, Thomas Megot of Maisterston, and other ruling Elders and several Expectants, in all about 100 persons, is preserved in the volume of Records, 1639-1652.

1639, Oct. 10.—Mr Andrew Cant (and others absent), are excused, being appointed by the Synode to attend with the rest of the brether in Edinburgh during the Parliament.

1640.

Dec. 8.—Quhilk day the Presbyterie of Aberdein sent be Mr William More ane letter desyring the bretheren to dimit frelie Mr Androw Cant to the vacant kirk of Aberdein, conform to the act of transport given by the late Generall Assemblie holden there; to the quhilk the brether returned thair ansuer and mynd be thaire missive letter sealed, and given in the said Mr William his hands.

Dec. 17.—Quhilk day Mr Androw Cant exhibit ane letter written from the Armie desyring him to returne, quha requested the brether to supplie his place during his absence. They ordane the catalogue of the bretheren to goe on, and begin whair it left.

1641.

March 25.—This day Mr Andro Cant having returned from the Armie, thanked the Brether hartlie for suppleing his kirk in his absence, and desyred thame to continnew till his returne from Aberdein; quhilk they accorded to.

June 17.—The Earle of Lauthian desyred the Presbyterie by letter to supplie the kirk of Newbotle for two or thrie Sondagis; quhilk suit was granted.

July 15.—Mr Robert Lichtone appointed to adde, and to bring a testimoniall from Edinburgh the next day.

July 22.—Exercised Mr James Porteous younger, and Mr Robert Lichtone. Rom. ii. 1, 2, 8. They approvin.

Mr Robert Lichtone produced a testimoniall from the Presbyterie of Edinburgh.

July 29.—Exercised Mr Robert Lichtone and Mr R. Cowper. Rom. ii. 4. Doctrine approvin.

Mr Robert Lichtone appointed to preach at Newbotle.

Aug. 5.—Reported Mr Robert Lichtone, that he had preached at Newbotle.

Sept. 23.—[Mark Cass or Carss of] Cockpene produced, in name of the Erle of Lauthian, a presentation to Newbotle in favours of Mr ROBERT LICHTONE. Mr Robert Lichtone appointed to preach the next day. Math. xxv. 1, 2.

Sept. 30.—Preached Mr Robert Lichtone, Math. xxv. 1, 2, and approvin. He ordained to have the common heid *De propagatione Peccati*.

Oct. 28.—Mr Robert Lichtone had the common heid *De propagatione Peccati*, and approvin. Ordained to susteine disputes the next day.

Nov. 11.—Mr Robert Lichtone sustained disputes, and approvin. This day fyfteen dayes appointed the last dyet for his farther tryall.

Nov. 25.—Mr Robert Lichtone tryed in the languages, chronologie, and difficult places of Scripture. Approvin.

Ordains ane edict to be served for Mr Robert Leightone at the kirk of Newbotle on Sunday nixt.

Dec. 2.—Reported Mr Robert Lichtone that his edict was served, and returned it indorsed. Compered the parochiners of Newbotle, and testified their accepting Mr Robert Lichtone to be their minister.

Ordains a second edict to be served.

Dec. 9.—Returned Mr Robert Lichtone his second edict indorsed. Compered the parochiners of Newbotle, and accepted.

Ordains the last edict to be served on Sunday next.

The next Thursday appointed for his admisionne.

Mr Hew Campbell appointed to preach in Newbotle on Sunday next, and the moderator (Mr Jhone Knox) at Mr Robert's admisionne. Ordains the clerk to write to Edinburgh and Hadintone for their concurrence to the said actione.

Dec. 16.—*At Newbotle.*

Quhilk day (being appointed for the admission of Mr Robert Lichtone) preached Mr Jhone Knox, Heb. xiii. 17. Commissioners from Edinburgh, Mr Robert Dowglas, Mr Archbald Neutone; from Hadentone, Mr Robert Ker, Mr Wil. Trent.

Quhilk day, after sermon, Mr Johne Knox posed the said Mr Robert Lichtone and the parochiners of Newbotle with sundry questions competent to the occasion. Mr Robert, with imposition of hands and solemn prayers, was admitted Minister at Newbotle.

Dec. 30.—Quhilk day, the brethren subscriyvit Mr Robert Lichtone's collatione and took his oath of alledgiance, and that he hath maid no privat pactione to the pre-judice of the Kirk.

1642.

(Leighton often absent this year.)

June 30.—Lichton was one of the Commissioners to the General Assembly. In his turn, he made the usual exercise and addition before the Presbytery, on July 7 and 14, on Rom. vi. 1, 4.

Oct. 6.—He and two other members ordained to speak to the Earl of Louthian about one James Ramsay, guilty of murder.

The quhilk day, Mr Robert Lighton gave advertisement to the brethren that the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly was to meet the 18th of October.

1648.

Feb. 2.—Exercised Mr Robert Lichtoun, Rom. viii. 12, and approvin.

Feb. 9.—Because Mr Rot. Lichton was sick, appoynts Mr William Thomson to adde.

Feb. 29.—Mr Robert Lichtone (being present) ordained to give James Ramsay the first admonition out of pulpit, according to the Book of Discipline.

March 9.—Long minute about James Ramsay of Southsyde, charged with the murther of William Otterburne. Reported Mr Robert Lichton that he had given the first admonition out of pulpit.

March 16 and June 1.—Mr Robert Lighton absent.

July 20.—(He being present) Annabell Hall in Carrington confessed that she had maid a covenant with the Divell, and had received his mark and his name, and ratified whatsoever she had confessed to her own minister, in presence of the brethren; whose confession the brethren subscribed, that it might be presented to the Counsell.

July 27.—Helen Ingliss in Carrington does the same.

Sept. 7 and 14.—Exercised Mr Robert Lighton. Rom. ix. 19–23. Approvin.

1644.

Feb. 8, 29, March 7 and 28.—Mr Robert Lichton one of those absent. On the 7th of March he had been ordered to supply Lasswade.

April 4.—Patrik Eleaz (Elice) of Plewlands gave in a bill to the brethren, wherein he desired them earnestlie to put him in possession of that seat in Newbotle Church quhilke belonged to the landes of Easter Southsyde, the quhilke lands he had now purchased. But because Mr Robert Lighton, the minister of the parish, was not present, the brethren would doe nothing in this businesse till Mr Robert was present.

April 11.—Patrik Eleaz and Alexander Lawsons wer desyred to be heir this day eight days to heare it decerned who had best right to the seate in Newbotle Church now in question.

April 18.—Reported Mr Oliver Colt, that the Commissioners of the General Assembly ordained that we should goe on in the processe against James Ramsay, manslayer, and cause summons him at the Corse of Edenbrugh and peire of Leith, to compeir before us and answer his murther within threescore dayes.

April 25.—The case of Patrik Eleis and Alexander Lawson resumed, and it was thought the best way to compose the businesse was by a Visitation of that parish.

VISITATION OF THE KIRK OF NEWBOTLE.

May 28.—Quhilke day preached Mr Robert Cowper. Math. iv. 19.

Reported Mr Robert Lightone that he had intimat this present Visitation.

The Minister being removed, and the heritors and elders being posed concerning his lyfe and doctrine, all with one voice approved him in bothe. He exhorted to continue.

The heritors and elders being removed, were approvin be the Minister. The Reader being removed, was approvin be the minister and elders.

The question anent the seat in the kirk, betwixt Southsyde and Alexander Law-sone continued, at the Earle of Lauthian's desyre, and that with the consent of the parties.

June 6 and 18.—Exercised Mr Robert Lichton, Rom. xi. 26–32.

July 18.—Reported Mr Robert Lightone that he had preached in Pennicooke.

Aug. 1.—Compeired James Gibsone, of the parishe of Neubottle, supplicating theyr helpe in respect of the burning of his house. Refers him to the several kirks.

Aug. 22.—Mr Robert Lightone appointed to preach in Edinburgh at the Synode.

Sept. 5.—Reported the Commissioners that the Committee of the General Assemblie advysed them to continue all farther processing of James Ramsay till it be instructed that he is living. Mr Robert Lightone appointed to acquaint the partie perseuar to use diligence herein.

Sept. 12.—No exercise this day because of Mr Robert Lighton's seiknes, who should have had the common heid.

Sept. 26.—Mr Robert Lighton had the common heid, *De Christi Descensu*.

Dec. 19.—No addition becaus of Mr Robert Lighton's sickness. Mr Robert Carson ordered to mak, and Mr Robert Lighton to adde, if health permit.

1645.

Jan. 2 and 16.—Exercised Mr Robert Lighton. Rom. xiii. 5–9.

Jan. 16.—Quhilk day, was presented ane Catalogue of books given by William, Erle of Lauthian, to be ane begining of a librarie to belong in all tyme coming to the parochie kirk of Newbottle for the use of the Minister; which the Brethren thankfullie accepts for a good work and good example to uthers, and heartillie thanks his Lordship.

July 17.—Mr Robert Lightoun appointed to adde.

Oct. 2 and 9.—Exercised Mr Robert Lichtoun. Rom. xv. 12–14. Approvin.

1646.

Feb. 19.—Exercised Mr Robert Lichton. Rom. xvi. 20, 21. Approvin.

Feb. 26.—Exercised Mr Robert Lichton. Rom. xvi. 28, 24, 25. Approvin.

May 29.—Mr Robert Cowper, minister of Temple, being accused of excessive drinking: the brethren and ruling elders were severally desyret to informe themselves the best way they cane quhairin Mr Robert has miscaried himself in his calling and conversation. "Mr Robert Lichtoun declared that ther was an surmise of his scandalous drinking in the Stobhill upon an certaine day. The brether desyret Mr Robert Lichton to try the verity thereof, and report the next day."

June 18.—Mr Robert Lichton appoynted to go ther (to Ormiston) the next day.

June 24.—Reported Mr Robert Lichton he had preached at Ormiston.

As for Mr Robert Lichton, to whom was recomendit the tryell of (Mr Robert Cowper) his drinking in Stobhill, reported, that he was informet that on an certaine day he was drinking in ane Simeon Wilson's in the Stobhill.

July 2.—Mr Robert Cowper objects to Sir James Dundas sitting as a judge. The most of the brethren thought he should not sit. "Wherewith he not being well pleasit, the brether sent forth Mr Oliver Colt and Mr Robert Lichton to deil with him, and requeist that he would not sit as an judge in that busines; quhilk when he refusit, they desyret (he being callet in) that he would giv his oath that in his cariaig in this particular he wes free of malice and splen, and had nothing before his eye bot the glory of God."

July 16.—The said day Mr Robert Lichton informet the bretherin, that ther was an who informet him that ther was an William Hoge and his wyf in Laswad, who would witnes against Mr Robert Cowper that he wes drunk, if they should be callit thereto.

[These extracts refer to a long trial of Mr Robert Cowper, who is accused by Sir James Dundas of Arnoldston (Arniston) of excessive drinking. The depositions of the various witnesses are recorded, and Cowper is finally acquitted; but having, on his acquittal, broken out into a violent invective against Sir James Dundas, he is suspended.]

August 20 and 27.—Exercised Mr Ro. Lichton, 1 Cor. iii. 1-4.

Oct. 1.—In a dispute about the settlement of Borthwick, and the presentation in favour of Mr Alexander Wedderburn, between the heritors and presbytery, each party, "after long debate and conference, nominate three candidates, viz., Mr Robert Lichton, Mr John Stirling, Mr Alexander Wedderburne for the heritors of Borthwick, Mr Alexander Verner, Mr David Lidle (Liddell), Mr William Clyd, were nominate by the presbytery." On the 15th Wedderburn declined.

Oct. 15.—Mr Robert Couper "most humbly did supplicate the brethren of the presbitery that he should be relaxit at this time from his suspension."—It was the mynd of the wholl members of the presbitery and commissioners (from Edinburgh and Haddington, who had been summoned to advise and assent) except Mr Robert Lichton and the Laird of Arnolston, he be presently relaxet upon the humble acknowledgment of his offence (against) God and his brethren, and purging himself of all malice against the Lard of Arnolston. Quherupon Mr Robert Lichton and Arnolston desyret their voyces should be market as disassenters, in respect they thought it should be referret to the judgment of the Synode.

1647.

Ormiston, Jan. 14.—The said day ther was an act of the commission product be the clerk, ordaining Mr James Robertson and Mr Robert Lichtoun to preach to the Parliament the 24 of Januar, and Mr Oliver Colt and Patrick Sibbald to preach the last of the said month; quhilk they promisset to obey.

Feb. 25.—Exercised Mr Robert Carson, 1 Cor. vi. 12, 13, &c., and wes approvin, There wes no addition, because Mr Robert Lighton wes sent for by his Father, who was lying sick at Londoun.

22 April.—The said day Mr James Fairly, moderator, delatit one named Stephen Askine, who was a known malignant, and was in actual service with James Graham, and had purchaset an testimonial from the schollmaster of Newbotle, declaring that he was an honest man, and that ther was no blamish found in his conversation except that he had been with James Graham, for which he had satisfiet the kirk-session of Newbotle, and was absolvet this last Sabbath be Mr John Sinclair, who preachit ther for Mr Robert Lichten.

May 18.—Forasmuch as Mr James Aird was not lawfully summonsed for giving a testimonial to Steven Askine, who was received for his complying with the rebels in the Church of Newbatle, contrary to the Acts of the Generall Assembly, he was ordained to be summonsed again the next day, with certification.

May 20.—Mr Robert Lightoun present.

The which day, being called, compeared Mr James Aird, and declared that the Session of Newbotle, to which he was clerk, gave orders to him for the giving up the name of Steven Askine to Mr John Sinclair, who did occasionally preach there by the absence of Mr Robert Lightoun, for receiving his satisfaction for his compliance with the rebels; and whereas he was received, not being first at the presbytery, conform to the Act of the Generall Assembly, it was onely done by him out of ignorance. Wherefore he was admonished to be more circumspect afterward, and because the Session was concerned in that businesse, they ordained the elders thereof should be present the next day to declare themselves.

May 27.—(Steven Askine, who was a parishioner of Lasswade, compears in sack-cloth.)

June 8.—The which day it was declared by Mr Robert Lightoun, in name of the elders of the Session of Newbotle, that whereas they ordained Steven Askine to satiafy for his compliance with the rebels, contrary to the Actis of the Generall Assembly, they did it out of ignorance of the said Actis.

Sept. 16.—The which day Mr Robert Lightoun made a reference to the presbytery, of a processe of adultery, from the session of Newbatle, of John Howy and Katherine Alane, which they denied.

(Long process and examination of witnesses and confronting of parties.)

[From May 20, 1647, when the sederunts began to be entered in full, till March 23, 1648 (between which date and March 30 Leighton went to England) there were 41 meetings of presbytery (several of them being merely visitations in distant parishes), at 29 of which I find Leighton was present. There were few more regular attenders.]

1648.

Jan. 20.—Mr Robert Leightone having given in *Theses de Oratione atque Invocatione Sanctorum*, was appointed to handle that commonplace, the next Thursday.

Jan. 27.—The which day Mr Robert Leighton handled the commonplace *De Oratione atque Invocatione Sanctorum*, and was approven.

March 16.—This day came from the Commission of the General Assembly, 16 Declarations and ane Act, for the reading of them by every brother the next Sabbath.

(This Declaration evidently was connected with the "unlawfull Engagement.")

March 30.—Mr Robert Leightoun, who should have added, being absent in England for some necessary businesse, Mr Robert Alisonne appointed to adde the next day.

April 6.—This day, the brethren (being interrogated by the Moderator), (as also the two days before) declared that they had all read the Declaration themselves the first Sabbath after they got it. Onely Robert Porteous, the elder of Newbotle, declared that Mr Robert Leightoun had made the Precentor read it, and that because of the lownesse of his awne voice, which could not be heard thorow the whole kirk. The clerk was ordained to report this in writt to the Commission of the General Assembly.

April 27.—Absents from the Synod, tried.—Mr Robert Leightoun, because in England, could not give his excuse.

At Edinburgh, in the New Church, May 8.—The quhilk day, the bretheren and ruling-elders being removed quhill ther presbyterie book was a trying, did mak choise of Mr James Robertstone and Mr Robert Lichtoun to preach to the Parliament Sunday come a moneth; and in case Mr Robert Lichtoun his not home-coming, Mr Patrick Sibbald to supplie his place.

June 15.—The quhilk day, according to the ordinance of the Provinciaill Assembly, the moderator did demand Mr Robert Lichtoun—1. Why he did not read the Declaration himself. 2. Why he went away to England without obtaining libertie from the Presbyterie, seeing ther was Acts of the Generall Assembly expresly prohibiting ministers to be absent from their charge thrie sabbthes togidder, under the paine of deposition, unless they have obtainet libertie from ther Presbyterie.

To the first he answered, That that Sabbath quhen the Declaration was to be red, he was so troubled with ane great defluxion that he was (not) able to extend his voyce, and therefor was necessitat to do that farr, by his intention, bot it shall be helpt in tyme coming. To the 2d he ansueret—

1. That quhen he went away he intendit onlie to have bene absent two or thrie Sabbthes at the most, and he humbly conceavet ther had bene no expresse Act why an minister might not have bene absent for that short space. Bot if ther be any such Act, he was sorrie that he should have downe anything that might appeir contrarie to it.

2. *Hoc posito* he had remainit longer away than these few Sabbthes togedder, he affirmed, that he did acquaint som of the brether with it, and desyret them to excuse him.

3. Quhen he cam to York he found an busines of an neir friend's, bot non of his own, that necessitat him to go further and stay longer than he intendit.

4. He no sooner came to York bot als sone he wrote an letter of excuse to the Brether, notwithstanding it did not come to ther hands befor his coming home.

5. Quhen he came home he was surpriset with seikness, and was not able to come to the presbyterie for the space of 14 days.

He being removit, and his excuses being considerit and they charitablie constructed, did appoynt him to be gravlie admonishit to amend; which was accordinglie done be the Moderator, after his incalling, and receavit by him humble, and promisit be the grace of God to amend.

June 22.—The quhilk day, list being made for choising the commissioners to the Generall Assemblie, Mr John Knox, Mr John Sinclair, and Mr Robert Lichton was choisen, and my Lord Borthwick rulling elder; which being intimat be the Moderatour to them, they did all accepe of the commission and gave ther oath of fidelitie, except Mr Robert Lichton, who gave these Reasones why he could not accept of the commission:

1. Because he had an great charge.
2. He had his people to examine.
3. He wes bot shortlie come home from England.
4. It was not long since he was commissioner to the Generall Assemblie.
5. The great attendance of the commission: And therefor he could wish they would not insert his name in the commissajon.

The forsaid reasons, after his removall, being consideret be the Brethren, and withall laying to heart the bad consequence that might follow upon his refusall or not accepting of the commission, being orderlie choisen, uthers might do the lyk, and so ther should be no Generall Assemblie if the allegit reasones of every commissioner should be accepted as relevant: And therefor they did adhere unto ther former voyces in choising of him commissioner, and desyret him to think upon it till the day 14 days, and then to be present and accepe upon oath as the rest.

July 6.—The quhilk day, the bretheren and rulling elders that were present finding that Mr Robert Lichton was not ther to accepe the commission to the Generall Assembly ordainet his name to be expungit be the clerk out of the commission.

Aug. 5.—(Mr Robert Lichton present—arrangement made for copying and reading the Declaration against the Engagement and two Acts of the Assembly.)

August last.—The quhilk day, Mr Robert Lichton wes poset, Why he did not come to the presbyterie that Thursday immediately preceding the sitting downe of the Generall (Assembly) and embracit his commission to the said Assemblie, conforme to the appoyntment of the Presbyterie. *Ans.* He was so troubled with an distillation that he was not able to come for the space of two or three days.

Also being poset, Why he did not embrace the commission? *Ans.* He was conscious of his own weaknes for the managing of that busines, and could have wisht that they would construe it so.

2. He declared that he wes very infirme, and feared that he should not have been able to have waited upon the sitting of the Generall Assembly. And withall he

assured them, that if he had suspected that they would not have choisen another in his place, notwithstanding of all his weakness of bodie, yea, although it had tendit to the great prejudice of his health, he would have embraced it, for he resolvit never to be refractarye to anything which they commandit him, and he lookit they would think so of him.

The forsaid reasons being ponderet be the Bretheren and found somewhat weak, they thought him censurable, but quhat his censure should be, they continued the same to the nixt Thursday that the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie be present.

Sept. 7.—The quhilk day, the bretheren and ruling elders (after Mr Robert Lichten his removall) having divers tymes hard his reasons red be the clerk, and charitably consideret them, why he did not accepe of the commission to the General Assemblie the first day quhen he was choisen, neither cam the second day conforme to the presbyteries ordinance, having gotten tyme to think upon it: And finding that it was not disaffection unto the cause of Christ, neither out of any disrespect unto the ordinance of his bretheren, but judging it modestie in ther brother and infirmite in bodie that movet him to it, did ordaine him gravly to be admonishit be the Moderator for his imprudent cariage, and to beware of the lyk in tyme coming: Which was accordingly downe, and wes modestly taken by him, and withall promiset be the grace of God to amend.

Sept. 28—Nov. 2.—(Mr Robert Whyt, expectant, charged with not being "weill myndit to the Covenant," and suspected of not praying in the Lugton family (where he seems to have been tutor) against the Engagement. He admitted he did not pray against the engagement, gave his reasons, and after long process was ultimately suspended.)

Nov. 2.—(A report on the state of the various Kirks of the Presbytery occurs here in the Register.) That of NEWBATTLE is very brief, viz.—

"The parish therof four milles in lenth, and in bredth two; communicants about 900; provydet with manse and glybe and stipend, payet be the Erle of Lowthean, patron, 4 chalder of victuals, 40 bolls thereof oats, 8 bolls wheat, and 16 bolls beir, with 400 merkes of moneys."

(At the Synod held at Edinburgh, Nov. 7, 1648, a commission, of which Mr Robert Lightounne was a member, was appointed for "trying of any members of the Assemblie had bein active promoters of the last sinfull ingadgement, or had accession thairto, or had hand in carieing on the samen, or if any of the brethren had contrivit subscrivit or had hand anywayes in a supplication that was caried on befor and at the tyme of the last Generall Assemblie, and is reported to haue been contrarie to the public resolutions of the Generall Assemblie."

The Committee reported that "they had cleared their number," but report that there "are fyve ruling Elders who have had accession to the ingagement."

[The strict examination of the Presbytery books by the Synod, precluded the possibility of any minister being habitually absent.]

Dec. 21.—(Mr Robert Leightone present.) This day, the brethren being particularly enquired by the Moderator, If they had observed the fast, and renewed the Covenant according to the directions given by the Commission of the Generall Assemblie, answered *all*, that they had so done; which Mr Jhone Knox was ordained to report to the Commission.

Dec. 28.—Exercised Mr Patrick Sibbald and Mr Robert Leightone, upon the 15th of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, from the 6th verse unto the 9th.

1649.

Jan. 12.—Exercised Mr Robert Leightone and Mr Jhone Knox, expectant, upon the 15th ch. of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, from the 9th verse unto the 12th, and were approven.

April 12.—This day, the Presbytery having diligently revised and examined Mr John Pringle, his whole processe could find none of these declarations that were given in against him clearly and directly proven, &c. (he was "an expectant," or probationer, and was charged with thinking the Engagement lawfull). Mr Robert Leightone and Mr Jhone Sinclare did declare that, to their best sense and judgment, he had testified to them and evidenced true signs of sorrow and repentance for his errors and miscarriages in relation to the late Engagement; the Presbytery suspended him from preaching till he should give further signs and evidences of repentance. (This and other notices are sufficient to show the incorrectness of Burnet's statement, that Leighton in the year 1648 had declared himself in favour of the Engagement for the King.)

Mr Gordon having communicated to "Notes and Queries," on the 7th of June 1862, the substance of these extracts, says, "I may mention that a part of Newbattle Manse, in which I live, forms the house inhabited by Leighton. It appears from the parochial records, that it was built in 1625, during the incumbency of Mr John Aird; while over one of the windows is engraved in stone the inscription "EVANGELIO ET POSTERIS." The pulpit in Newbattle Church is that from which Leighton preached; having, according to tradition, been removed from the old church to the new when the latter was built in 1727. The four communion cups of silver are the same that were used by him, having been presented to the 'Kirk of Newbotle' by various parishioners on 29th May 1646." (See extract of that date, p. 483.)

"Leighton, during the time of his incumbency here, was a frequent visitor to England. After 1646 he seems to have gone there every year,

sometimes on account of his father's health, and sometimes on account of "weightie businesse." It was then, as it is now, the law of the Church of Scotland, that a minister cannot be absent more than a few weeks in the year from his parish without leave asked and obtained from the Presbytery of the bounds. Year after year Leighton appears asking for leave to go to England, usually to see his father. This is regularly given; and great kindness and consideration seem always to have been shown to him. His absence usually extended to three months." . . . After quoting the words of the Minute June 14, 1649, Mr Gordon continues, "Permission was given, and Leighton seems to have remained away till September. It is probable that his father's death occurred at this time, as on his next visit to London in March 1650, he obtained libertie to go on "weightie businesse." This "weightie businesse," doubtless, was the failure of the merchant in whose hands was placed the L.1000 which Leighton had inherited from his father, and about which he wrote to Mr Lightmaker on December 31, 1649, and February 4, 1650. In connexion with this see p. 483, for an extract from the Parochial Records, from which it would seem that Leighton had been put to inconvenience by the loss of the money."

1649, *May 31*.—(Mr Robert Lighton present.)

The Moderator having inquyred of everie brother severally, if they had red the Declaration, and observed the day of public thanksgiving, found that everie one had discharged thaimselfs cheerfullie.

June 14.—The which day, Mr Robert Lighton declared that his Father, being under seakness, had written for him, and thairfor desyred libertie to goe and visite him.

The Brethren judget his desyr reasonable, graunted the same, desyring him to returne with all possible diligence to his charge, and to provide some to supplie his plaice induring his absence; quhilk he promised to be cairfull off.

June 21.—Erle of Louthian chosen rewling elder to the Assemblie.

July 12.—At Glencorss Visitation, the people said they were abundantlie satisfied of their minister [Mr Robert Allison] in his life, and much edified by his doctrine, and that he had preached according to the exigence of the times, and particularlie against malignants and sectaries.

Sept. 6.—(Mr Robert Lighton present, first time since June.)

This day the Presbyterie appoynted everie brother to give in the names of all quho in their parishes had bene upon the lait unlawful Ingagement, and had not as yet nather satisfied nor supplicate.

Sept. 20.—Mr Robert Leighton excused for his absence last day (Sept. 13).

Nov. 8.—The Provenciall Assemblie of Lowthian and Tweeddale "requeists my Lord Lowthian to speak to the Committie of Estaitis, that ther Lordships may give ordour to their clerks to issue out commissiounes for tryall and burning of witches, gratis."

Nov. 29—Dec. 6.—The which day, exercised Mr Robert Leightoun, 2 Cor. i. 6-11, and was approven.

1650.

Jan. 24.—The which day Marjorie Paterson of the parioch of Newbottle (and others), confessing witches, had their depositions attested by the Moderatour.

Every minister ordained to see that his kirk was provided according to the Act of Parliament. Mr Hugh Campbell to speak to my Lord of Lothian for the settling of the stipend of Newbottle.

Feb. 7.—The which day, reported Mr James Robertsoun, that my Lord Lothian had provided the kirk of Newbottle with a stipend, according to the Act of Parliament, to wit, 4 chalders victuall, of wheat, bear, and oats, foure hundreth pounds of money, with 40 pounds for the elements, with 4 sowmes grass, when the minister shall demand it, with manse and gleib.

March 14.—The which day, Mr Robert Leightoun did show the Presbyterie that a weightie businesse did call for him to England, and obtained libertie from the Presbyterie to goe, upon condition he should take a course for the providing of his kirk till his return, which he told the Presbyterie he had alreadie done.

May 21.—Mr Robert Leightoun's name reappears at this date.

May 30.—This day, Mr Robert Carsan complained of Robert Walter his precentour, for malignant speeches that he should have vented in my Lord Lothian's family. Mr Robert therefore, and Mr John Sinclar, were ordained to try my Lady Lothian anent his speeches.

June 20.—This day, Mr John Sinclar reported that Mr Robert Carsan and he could learn nothing of the malignancy of Robert Walter, the precentour in Newtown, at Newbottle.

June 27.—This day, Robert Ker, having been 12 years in Germany, and having come to the country within thirteen dayes, and having his father dwelling in Newbotle, was ordained to be received to the covenant by Mr Robert Leightoun, after triall.

(One Andrew Alexander, signs a declaration, expressing his sorrow for having condemned set prayers, and the use of the Lord's Prayer, and admits that it may be lawfully used, both in public and private, and he "heartilie detests and abhorres the errorr of those who condemne the use therof as sinfull.")

"Moreover, forasmuch as the said Andrew declared he was scarcely satisfied that sett prayers were lawfull, and desired he were cleared from Scripture, Mr Robert Leightoun and Mr John Sinclar were ordained to conferre with him.")

Ther wes no meiting of the Brethren from 25 Julii 1650, untill the 15 day of Junij 1651, into which there was anything judicially done. The Brethren resolved to meet at Cockpen, and choose Commissioners to the Generall Assembly.)

1651.

June 22.—The meeting was held at Cockpen.

Nine members were present, including Mr Robert Lichton.

(One or two leaves wanting here, till Oct. 30, 1651.)

1651, Nov. 4.—Adjourned to January 6, and then to March 1652:—

Proceedings of the Synod.

No Presbytery Books except Linlithgow, because, through the calamities of the times, the meetings of Presbyteries had been very unfrequent. Long proceedings about differences in the Presbytery of Linlithgow. A committee, of which Robert Leighton was a member, appointed to consider what should be done by the Synod.

A committee appointed to consider "what is expedient to be done in relation to our Brethren prisoners in the Tower of London and about that city."

Committee for healing present ruptures in the Kirk, and Act of Synod thereanint.

A committee of which Robert Leighton was a member, appointed to present this Act to the brethren differing in judgment from its Provinciaill Assembly.

(Committee on Mr Edward Wright's processe appointed: Robert Leighton one of the members.)

Overtures anent the Brethren Prisoners in England.

The Committee appointed in relation to our brethren, prisoners in England, proposed—(1.) That a generall letter should be written to them, showing sympathie and fellow-feeling. (2.) "That a fitt man of the Synod be pitched upon, to be sent to London with commission to negotiat their liberation and freedome, by all possible and lawfull meanes, quho may take advice of the minister of St Andrews and Edinburgh, the Lord Waristounne, and Mr John Livingstounne, anent his carriage in that business, quho shall have 50 peeces (50 peeces = 600 merks) allowed toward his charges, to be payed by the Presbyteries of the Synod proportionally. (3.) That some be directed from the Synod to acquaint the Magistrats of Edinburgh, and the persons in nearest relation to the prisoners, with this resolution.

(Mr Robert Ker and the clerk to draw out the letters and commission, and a committee, of which Mr Robert Leighton was one, to acquant the Magistrats and nearest relations with the Synod's purpose). Proportions payable by the Presbyteries fixed.

Mr Robert Leighton is unanimously chosen and earnestly desired by the Synod to undertake the charge of repairing to London for negotiating the enlargement and fredome of our imprisoned brethren in England; quhilk he accepted. The commission being presented and read, was aproven; the tenor quhairof followeth.

The Provinciall Assembly taking to consideration the sadd condition of their brethren now prisoners in England, and the dutie incumbent to this Assembly in relation to them, found themselves obliged as to hold them up in prayer to God in privat and publick, so to use all lawfull meanes for their enlargement and libertie; and having found it expedient for that end, that one should be sent up to London, doe unanimously appoynt their reverend brother, Mr Robert Leightoun, minister at Newbottle: hereby giving him power and commission to repair to London for negotiating the freedome and enlargement of their said brethren; and doe appoint the Presbytrie of Dalkeith to take course for supplie of his place, that the people of his charge sustaine no prejudice during the time of his absence: lykewise the drawght of the letter to the brethren imprisoned, being presented and read, was approven, the tenor quhairof followeth:—

REVEREND AND DEARE BRETHREN,—

[4th November 1651].

Neither our condition nor yours will permitt us at this time fullie to expresse the thoughts of our hearts toward yow in your suffering, yett we thought it our dutie to give yow some testimony of our remembrance of yow; and therefore, being by the Lord's good providence mett here in our Provinciall Assembly, the brotherlie affection we carry to yow, and the Christiane sympathie we have with yow, hath put us to a resolution of assaying all possible and lawfull meanes of your enlargement; for this effect we have desired our reverend brother, Mr Robert Leightoun, to repair to London, giving power to negotiate in that matter, as God sall be pleased to blesse any meanes for that end,—there shall be no earthly thing more acceptable to us: for obtaining hereof we have appoynted prayers to be made throughout the churches of our bounds: in the meanwhyle assure yorselves our souls desire to God shall be for yow, that his consolation may abound in yow, and his strength support yow: to his rich grace we commend yow, and are in him

Your loving Brethren and most affectionat

THE MINISTERS AND ELDERS OF THE PROVINCIALL ASSEMBLY
OF Lothian, &c. in their name.

(A Fast appointed.)

1652, *March 8.*—Mr Robert Leightoun appointed by the Synod one of a committee "To consider of the marriage and fornication of our women with the English souldiers, and the baptizme of children gotten betwixt them in fornication; and whether ministers are to accompt the personnes so married of the number of their congregation; also how to cary in case of their suteing proclamation, and to present their thots anent these things to the Synod," &c. &c.

March 4.—Report: Mr Hew M·Kaile—Mr Robert Traill and he having moved the English Commissioner for freedome or maintenance to our brethren prisoners

in England, speciallie those who are in the Tower, that they found no hopes at all of the former, and but little for the latter.

The Synod nominats and appoints Messrs William Dalgliesh, George Lealie, Oliver Colt, Robert Ker, to concurre with the brethren of Edinburgh in dealing with Mr Leighton, to the intent of the commission given him for repairing to London, to negotiat for the brethren in prisone there.

Dalkeith, November 14.—In supplying Borthwick during the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr James Porteous, it was ordained, that (after six members who are named) it should be done by those who should have suppliet Mr Robert Lichton's place during his abod at England, if he went not away before that tyme.

(Few meetings of the Presbytery were held about this time.)

1652.

January 22.—No exercise, because of the English comissioners at Dalkeith, and the great confluence of soldiery, both of horse and foot.

The said day the brethren appoynted ther next day of meeting to be at Cokpen this day 20 days, fearing the insolencie of the souldiers at Dalkeith.

At Cokpen: There was no thing judicially downe, because there was bot few brether came ther, and therfore it wes resolvet that the place of meeting should be at Dalkeith againe. In respect they were credibly informed that they might als safely meet at Dalkeith as at Cokpen.

April 1.—An act of the Sessione of Borthwik laid on the table, showing that the heritors and elders had unanymouslie chosen Mr John Weir as their minister. The brethren having pondered the premees, approved of the same, and "appointed Messrs James Fairlie, Robert Lichton, to concurre with the heretors of Borthwick for his transportation from Leith to Borthwick, and for that effect to appear before the Presbytrie of Edinburgh.

April 15.—The quhilk day, reported Mr James Fairlie and Mr Robert Lichton, that they had been at the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, for the lousing of Mr Johne Weir from his charge he had at Leith, and that they had loused him from his charg ther without relation unto any place.

Weir having accepted this call to Borthwick: the call, among other things, says, "and that it will be your studie not to break, bot entertaine and preserve, the union and harmonie of this Presbyterie, quhairin they are so singularly happie in this distracted tyme."

At Inneresk Kirk, April 29.—The quhilk day, ther came an letter from Mr Robert Lichton, desyring the brethren to have an cair of suppliing his place during his abod in England, in respect he wes going to sie if he can obtaine any sort of libertie to these Ministers who wer keepet in the Tower and uther places.

The brethren condescendit to his desyr, and ordainit Mr James Robertsons to preach at Newbotle upon Sunday com 8 days, and after him the wholl brether to preach ther *per vices*, according to their standing, expressed in the Presbyterial Roll.

July 15.—Also it was informed by some of the brether, that Mr James Robertsons, at the marriag of the Erle of Lowthian's daughter, had both in the kirk prayet, and at the table in Newbotle Castell craved an blessing before supper, and given thanks also, Swinton being present, who is excommunicat; And therfor Mr James being posit if it wer so, as was alledget, *An.*: That if Swinton was in the kirk it was more than he knew of, for he did not sie him ther. As for his being at the table, it was an long tyme before he did perceave him, he being at an larg distance from him, and many betwixt them, as also it being in the evening. Bot quhen he perceaved him ther, he was much weightet then, as also now, for his imprudent and inconsiderat carriag. As for his giving of thanks, it was after Swinton's rysing from the table, uthers having downe the lyk befor, and taking the opportunitie at his absense, did give thanks.

The brethren having ponderat the premisses, and finding that he had not careit himself as it became an man of his place and age, ordainet him to be publicly rebuiket, and to be more circumspect in tyme to come; which, after his incalling, was accordingly down, and the same rebuik well acceptet of by the said Mr James.

(Leighton appears to have remained in England from May till about the end of November 1652.)

December 16.—A letter from Mr Robert Lichtone, presented be Mr Hew Campbell, quhairin he dimits his charge of his ministrie at Newbotle: Quhilk the Presbyterie refused to accept. Appoints the Moderator to writ to him, and to desyre him to returne to his charge.

December 30.—Ressavit from Mr Robert Lichtone ane letter, quhairin he divests his charge *de novo*, quhilk the Presbyterie refused to accept. Appoints the Moderator to writ to him.

1653.

Januar 13.—Appoints Mr James Robertsons to preach in Newbotle, and to speik to the Earl of Lauthian about Mr Lichtone and Mr Robert Alisone the next day.

Reported the Moderator that he had written to Mr Lichtone.

Januar 27.—Compeared Mr Robert Lichtone, and desyred to be lowsed from his charge.

Compeared Androw Brysone, in name of the towne of Edinburgh, shewing that the Councell of Edinburgh had given Mr Lichtone a call to be Principall of the Colledge; and his commissione being requyred, he undertook to produce it at the next meeting. Appoints the next meeting to be this day eight dayes, and then to give ane answer to both; but no exercise that day. Appoints Mr Robert Carsane

to preach in Newbotle, to mak publick intimation to the parishioners, that if they had any thing to say against the lowsing of their Minister, they might appear befor the Presbyterie the next day.

February 8.—Reported Mr Robert Carsane that he had preached in Newbotle, and made publick intimation, as was appointed the last day. The parochiners of Newbotle called, compeared not.

Ane letter presented be Androw Brysone from the Councell of Edinburgh, desyring that Mr Lichtone might be lowsed from his charge at Newbotle, and transported with all conveniencie to Edinburgh Colledge, to be Principall there; and ane Act of Councell lykewyse presenting the said Mr Lichtone to the said place. Mr Lichtone being posed, if he wold embrace the foresaid charge, answered, that he wes not yet fully resolved.

The quihilk day the brethren of the Presbyterie convened, according to the appointment of the day preceding, anent the desyre of our brother, Mr Robert Lichtone, to be lowsed from his ministrie at the kirk of Newbotle, by reason of the grtines of the congregations farre exceeding his strength for discharging the dewties thereof, especially the extreme weakness of his voice not being able to reache the halfe of them when they are convened, which hes long pressed him very sore, as he had formerly often expressed to us: And to give ane answer to the Commissioner from the Councell of Edinburgh, anent his call from them to be Principall of Edinburgh Colledge, that he may be released from his ministrie ther to that effect. And having ordained the parish of Newbotle to be warnit by public intimation from pulpit to heir and see quhat they could object against the said desyre and call. The Brethren this day having called the said parish, and they not compearing, nor any in their name, and having hard our said Brother renew his desyre, as also having red the letter and commissione from the Councell of Edinburgh, directed to us by Androw Bryson, thesaurer to the said toun, anent his foirsaid call, did, after mature deliberatione, unanimously conclude, that the said Mr Robert Lichton shall be lowsed, and by thir presents, doe actually lowse him from his ministrie at the said kirk of Newbotle, declaring the kirk thereof to be vacant, and transports him to that charge. And ordains publick intimation to be made heirof the next Lord's Day at the said kirk of Newbotle, by Mr Patricke Sibbald, minister at Pennicooke, and ordains ane extract heirof to be given to the said Androw Bryson, and to Robert Porteous, younger, in Newbattle.

Appoints Mr Patrick Sibbald to preach in Newbotle, and to convene the Session, and to desyre them to pitch with all conveniencie upon ane honest and able man.

(Mr Alexander Dickson, afterwards Professor of Hebrew in the University of Edinburgh, was admitted Leighton's successor on the 7th of October 1653.)

Mr Gordon has also made several extracts from the Session records of the parish during Leighton's incumbency at Newbattell. They do not contain anything of much interest; and the minutes are not written by Leighton himself, but the following extract may be given:—

EXTRACTS FROM THE SESSION RECORDS OF NEWBATTLE DURING THE INCUMBENCY OF MR ROBERT LEIGHTON. (SOME PAGES AT THE COMMENCEMENT ARE WANTING, AND THE EARLIEST EXTANT IS CONSIDERABLY TORN. THE FIRST ENTRY IS MARCH 12, 1643.)

1643, *March* 12.—The whilk day the Heritours of the parochine of Newbattell, with Minister and Elders, being convenit in the kirk thereof—viz., Mr Robert Lighthouse, Sir John Murray, Mark Cass of Cokpen, Thomas Megot of Maisterton, Mr Robert Preston, Robert Porteous, elder and younger, Mr Mark Ker, John Trent, James Ker, with uthers divers, condescendit and agreed, with ane consente, to pay to thair reader and schoolmaster, Williame Hamilton, the soume of tua hunder marks yearly, at tua times in the year proportionally, Witsonday and Martimes—viz., Be the Right Honourable William Earle of Lowthean fourtie pundis, be the toune of Newbattell fiftie marks, and the rest of the tua hunder marks to be payit out of landwart—viz., Fordell and Coatie twentie-fyve marks, Eisthousses eleivin markes, Westhousses sextein pundis, Southsyde seven pundis ten schillings, Murtoun fiftie shillings, Arniston for Newbyres ten marks, and the tuo milnes to pay the rest that wantis of the forsaid tuo hunder merks.

April 9.—Given for a lock to the gate of the kirkyard,

00-14-00

May.—(Arrangements connected with the communion. The commencement is torn away, which related to "preparations befoir," and "for provision of the elementes." This last by "John Trent and Archibald Broune." It then says) "Also for,"

The First Sabbath.

Thomas Megot,
Robert Prestoun,
Robert Porteous elder,
Robert Porteous younger,
Thomas Steill,
John Hutcheson.

For Doors.

John Borthwik.
James Ker.

The Second Sabbath.

Andrew Abernathie,
James Ramsay,
Samuell Davidson,
Johnne Trentt,
Thomas Russell,
George Huntar.

For Tixattis (Tickets).

Archibald Broune.
James Trentt.

Ther is also appointed be the session for the first dayes elementis, tuo gallonis of vyne and two dusson of breid.

Memorandum.—That after the communion there sall be ane accompt taken of the pooris money in the box, becaus this tuo year no accompt has been taken.

June 26.—The which day, all the collections and distributions from the 10th Oct. 1641 till his 26th June 1643, being all layit and comptit, thar remainit undistribut of good money in the poor's box 121 pundis. (See Cash Book.)

August 14.—The minister and elders of the parochin of Newbattell, considering the manie evils that follow upon the neglect of bringing up childring at school, and especialy and that it is not only ane maine cause of thair grosse rudness and incivility, bot of thair ungodlines and ignorance of the principillis of religion, and makis them also almost unteachabell, have ordained that all parents within the said paroch be careful, so soon as thair childring com to capabill yeiris, to send them to some schooll, that thay may learne at the leist to read, and that, whosoever sall be found within this paroch to fail heirin, sall be obliged to pay as give they did send thair childring to schooll according to the number of thame, or be utherwayes cens(ured) as the session sall think fitting.

Oct. 15.—It was related be the elders that searchit, that thair was tuo wes drinkin in James Erskine's in tym of divin service, and ordainis the said James Erskin to be sumoned against next Saboth to compeir befor the session.

Nov. 5.—The quhilk day, it was with universall consent, both of minister and elders, condescendit upon that thair sould be built befor the pulpet ane convenient seatt of timber for the reidar as is in uther kirkis: and the elders to sit at the tabill or boord befor the pulpett.

Nov. 12.—It was relatit that John Burrowman in Easthouses did carie his aill and small drink oft and divers tymes throw the parochin upon the Sabbath day, and thairfoir is to compeir befor the session the next Sabbath that he may be decernit to satisfie for the same.

1644, *Feb. 11.*—After dividing the parish into districts, and naming an elder for each, it is added—That everie ane be cairfull within thair owin boundis designit to visit frequently, as once in fyfteen dayes, and to inquyr about family exercise in every house, and the conversation of the people. Especially to tak ordour with cursing, swearing, or scolding, and excessive drinking—give any such disorder be fund among tham; and to be cairfull in visiting the seik, and sik as ar in want to give notice of thame to the minister and session.

March 13.—The which day, it was condescendit upon be the elderis and heritours, at thair meeting in the kirk of Newbattell, that thair sould be the soun of ane thousand pundis of stent imposit upon the heritours of the said parochin for repairing of the said Kirk.

March 17.—The which day, it was condescendit upon be the minister and the

wholl session, that Captain Andrew Abernethie sould have the roome and place whair Abraham Hereis' dask and seatt stood, to build and place tuo pews in. Also Patrik Eleis (Elice), now of Southayde, gave in his bill and petition to the session desyryng Alexander Lawson in Westhouses to remove out of that seat that belongit to him next to my Lord's Isle, on the west syd thair of. Patrik Eleis referrit himself to the arbitrimint of the session; bot Alexander Lawson declynit the session and appealit to the presbiterie.

The which day, it was condescendit at the meeting of elders and heritouris, that thair sould be the soume of ane thousand pundis of stent for the repairing of the Kirk of Newbattell imposit upon the heritours of the parochin of Newbattell.

March 26.—The heritours and elders being also convenit, being inquired whom they thought most fitt for collecting of the former soume, did appoynt Thomas Megot of Muirtoun collectour for the toun of Newbattell, and Robert Porteous younger, collectour for the gentilmen in landward.

June 16.—Appoynted to attend upon the committee in Edinburgh everie Monday, *vicissim tours* about, Thomas Megot, James Ramsay, Robert Porteous elder and younger, John Trent, Thomas Russell, and Johnne Hutchison.

(No meetings of Session held from December 1644 to May 1645.)

Eodem.—*Thair lent out of the pooris money to the Minister, with consent of the Session, 500 marks Scottis.*

(This entry is erased by a pen being drawn through it, the money having either been repaid, or perhaps not required.)

Mair to James Ramsay, 100 marks.

Mair to Thomas Russell in Newbattell, 100 marks, quhair of the annuelrent was payit till Candelmis 1646.

Mair to Sir John Murray, 300 marks.

(The next and only other entry in the book is dated 4th January 1646, so that during 1645 there were apparently only two meetings of session held). The foregoing minutes appear to be principally in the handwriting of William Hamilton.

Another volume commences in the handwriting of Mr James Aird.

March 17, 1646.—(On two fly-leaves at the beginning of the volume are the following entries):—

"A Catoluge of Bookes given by William Earle of Lothiane to the Parisch Kirk of Newbattell, to be ane abiding librarie for the use of the Ministers thereof successively.

"Also of such bookes as uthers well affected hath given for the increase of the same librarie."

(The catalogue has been torn away, but in the Presbytery Records there is a list of the books. On the other fly-leaf are the following entries):—

Record of Weescheles (vessels) and such like that pertains to the Parosch of NEWB.

1646, 29 *May*.—The whilk day, was given by Robert Porteous younger, a silver cup for service to the Kirk.

Likewise by Alexander Kaitnes, another of that same faschion.

Likewise by Patrick Ileis of Southsyde.

1647, *May* 2.—The whilk day, Sir John Murray was chosen ruling elder for the ensuing Synod.

May 16.—The whilk day was Patrick Ileis of Southsyd receaved by Mr James Fairlie from the place of public repentance, where he had sitten from the aforementioned day, and entred (continued) to sit without intermission in sackcloth.

(Leighton was absent from February till this time.)

1647, *Nov.* 21.—The whilk day Helen Smith was exhorted by the Minister, in presence of the Session, to have a care of herself and house, that she walked Christianlie. Because schoe was reported to have had ane unrulie and uncivill house, which could not be throughly provin.

1648, *Feb.* 27.—And ·Didhop and Isobell Watt were reseaved publicly for a scandall they had given by being out in a yaird together, which in some circumstances had some presumptions; yet because the Session could not knaw no more but that they were happily preveined from adulterie, did appoint them to acknowledge their scandall publicly.

March 27.—Bessie Lawsons and Marjorie Nicolsone humbled themselves on their knees before the Session for scolding, and were referred to the magistrat.

June 4.—Jon Clerk was punished by the civil magistrat for drunkenness.

1648, 17th *Sept.* is the last entry of the Session proceedings in this volume. No other volume is extant of its proceedings during Leighton's incumbency. His successor seems to have begun a new volume when he came in 1653. There is, however, one page containing short Sessional notices, extending from 8^d *Dec.* 1648 to *Sept.* 28, 1649, and another containing notices from May to July 1650.

On a fly-leaf is a "Counpt of charges given for the building of the Eastern loft, beginning the 21 of June 1646." Among other items is one of £2, for "mending the doore of the kirk and the loapping-on stone."

The Term of Mertemes 1650.

The quhilk day Robert Porteous did dischairg himself off the money quhilk he was dew to the schurch off Newbottell, and his debursment is all allowet. He restet off fre money—the soume off ane thousand merks Scotis quhitch was delyverit to Mr Lichtoun, minister thaire, for the quhitch he hes gevane his bond to pay interest; and now at this terme off Witsounday 1651, the said Mr Lichtoun hes deburset the half yeir's interest from Mertemes 1650 to Witsounday 1651, at dispositione off the

elders. And to testifie thir premisses, we the Elders underwretten hes subscriyvet with our hands.

THOMAS MEGOT, *Witness.*

ROBERT PORTEOUS Yonger.

JOHNE TRENT, *Witness.*

JOHNE EDMONDSTONE, *Witness.*

EXTRACTS FROM THE KIRK-SESSION ACCOUNTS OF NEWBATTLE.

There are full accounts of the collections and contributions of the Parish during the greater part of Leighton's incumbency, containing many interesting entries about payments for scholars, the expenses incurred during the great plague of 1645-6, the prices of various articles as well as of labour.

The first entry of the collections is 2 June 1644, and continued till Dec. 16, 1649: in the hand of Thomas Russell till Feb. 1646, and then of James Aird. The entries that follow are in another hand, of the collections and disbursements, mixed up with the Session records, from May 5, 1650, to July 21, 1650.

The distributions commence on 9th August 1641, when a compt and reckoning took place with John Hutcheson, thesaurer, and extend till May 21, 1649. There are also entries of the mortcloth from August 16, 1641, to Oct. 1648; and of the money given to them of the Westhouses under the visitation, 2d June 1646 to Nov. 1646.

From numerous entries, it seems that the rate of payment for scholars at school was ten shillings Scots per quarter, *i.e.*, somewhat less than one penny sterling per week. A few entries may be subjoined:—

1642.

		£	s.	d.
July 31	Given at command of Session for ane horse to the Minister,	0	18	00
28 August	Given to James Jonson, wright, on command of the minister, for mending the pulpett,	1	10	0
"	Mair to Nicoll Simpson for making and dressing of the grein cloath to the pulpett,	1	16	0
8 Sept.	Given to the Painter, at command of Session, for collouring the pulpett,	4	8	4
4 Sept.	Accompt of the pulpett cloath:—			
	Item, for ane ell and quarter of cloath at 3 markes the ell, is	£6	13	4
"	Item for 8 ell fustian at 16s. the ell,	6	8	0
"	Item for 8 ell and ane half silk fringes,	6	14	4
		£19	15	8

4 Sept.	That same day given by Minister to Androw Lun,	£3 0 0
14 Sept.	Given to James Jonson for ane footgang to serve for the communion,	00 12 00
16 October	Mair given out for pulpit cloath,	20 00 00
	Robert Cuthbertson beadle at this time.	
	William Hamilton schoolmaster of the parish.	
	There was also a schoolmaster in Stobhill, Thomas Smebeard; and another in Westhouses, David Prengell.	

1643.

28 May	Mair to Robert Porteous to buy ane cave, to keip our communion wyne in,	18 10 0
"	For carrying cave from Edinburgh,	0 6 0
24 Sept.	Given out of the collections of the poore's money, for ane Psalm-book to serve the kirk, and for binding the Bybill,	8 15 0
22 Octr.	Given for the Acts of the Assembly,	0 18 4
"	Mair for the Covenant,	0 4 0
"	Given at command of the Minister to ane gentilwoman in grit necessitie,	4 0 0
10 Decr.	Mair for the subscriyving of the Covenant, to the Reidar that subscriyvit for thes that could not subscriyve themselves,	1 10 4

1644.

10 March	To James Jonson, wryt, for making steps of timber about the pulpett,	8 15 0
17 March	Given to Robert Cuthbertson (the beadle), for working at the kirk four dayis,	1 4 0
17 March	Given to Robert Cuthbertson and ane boy for carrying the red out of the kirk,	0 8 0
	(Many "gentilmen from Ireland" and other strangers in necessity helped.)	
	For hanging a belstring,	0 12 0
	Drinksilver for 5 cairts in Easthouses for bringing hame timber to the kirk,	1 0 0
5 May	Given to ane Hungarian scholler,	2 18 4
14 July	Mair given be the baily out of his own purse to two poor women in necessity, at command of the minister,	0 16 8
18 Aug.	Given to a daft man,	0 4 0

2 κ 2

1645.

10 March	The whilk day taken out of the poor's box, at command of the minister, to pay for glas windows to the kirk, . . . £90 00 00 (The Wester loft seems to have been built about this time.)	
1 June	Mair to the two fishars wyffes (often entered), . . .	1 18 4
"	Mair to the Egiptians, . . .	0 16 8
8 Aug.	Distribut for John Gillies his wyff, and boy, that died first in the visitation, . . .	8 10 0
	(Frequent entries connected with this visitation of the Pest.)	
20 Aug.	Mair given to William Hamilton for his extraordinar pains in wryting, . . .	8 0 0
"	Mair given to James Gilchrist for making the prese in the Kirk for to keip the Buiks given to the Kirk be the richt Nobill William Earle of Lothiane, . . .	8 0 0
"	Mair to doctour for visiting James Watson's daughter, after her depairting, . . .	6 18 4
"	Mair for aill to the seik, . . .	1 18 4
"	Mair for 200 panther naillis for the prese to hold the buiks in, . . .	1 6 8
"	3 gallons aill, . . .	1 12 0
"	7 firlots meill, . . .	11 4 0
15 Decr.	Nyne gallons aill, 5 dusson breid, for those under visitation, . . .	6 16 0
"	Four gallons 4 pynts aill, . . .	2 8 0
"	Four dusson breed, . . .	1 12 0
"	Ane boll and 2 peks meill, . . .	6 16 0
28 Dec.	To Richard Brown, for making seven graves to John Cairn's house, . . .	4 0 0

(The Dalkeith communion cups seem to have been borrowed on Sacramental occasions previously to the year 1646: entries occur of gratuities to "Dalkeith-belman" for the loan.)

In connexion with the preceding extracts, it may be noticed that the printed copy of THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, Edinburgh 1643, which cost the Parish the sum of 4s., contains the signatures of the minister, heritors, and parishioners of Newbattle in October 1643, and is preserved in the Society's Museum, having been presented by Mr Robert Murray, bookseller, 13th March 1781.¹ The following facsimile of Leighton's signature, along with that of William, third Earl of

¹ See Proceedings, &c., vol. iv. p. 250.

Lothian, and of Sir John Murray, gentleman of his Majesty's Privy Chamber, and immediate younger brother of Sir Archibald Murray of Blackbarony, is here annexed.¹

Subscribers.

Lothian *R Leighton*
J Murray

The books which are referred to as presented to the Church are now of little importance, most of them having been rendered nearly useless from the effects of damp.

Of Leighton's subsequent history no details are required. He resigned his parochial charge when he became Principal of the University of Edinburgh, 17th of January 1653. This office he held till after the Restoration. Having been nominated to the See of Dunblane when Episcopacy was re-introduced, he proceeded to London in 1661, along with James Sharp, and other two of the newly designed Prelates, where they submitted to re-ordination. The Laird of Brodie was at that time in London, and from his Diary (now printing for the Spalding Club), we learn that he had several interviews with Sharp as well as Leighton, in the interval, while they, as Presbyterian ministers, were in what might be called a transition state. As this Diary may be completed, and thus be accessible at no distant period, I avoid extracting the passages referred to. The four bishops were consecrated at Westminster, 15th December 1661, and they returned to convey to the rest of their prelatial brethren in Scotland the same inherent virtues connected with apostolical succession which, it was held, they themselves had received by that ordinance.

Bishop Leighton's letters during the next thirteen or fourteen years show that he was by no means destitute of worldly wisdom and sagacity;

¹ In the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. iii. p. 281, without due consideration, I called him Sir John Murray of Philiphaugh and Cranstoun-Riddell.

but with all his earnest endeavours to conciliate matters, he found his duties neither a sinecure nor at all lucrative.

The following is a facsimile of Leighton's signature as Bishop of Dunblane and Dean of the Chapel Royal, to a charter granted by him as Dean to William Maxwell of Murreith, of the fishings of Culdooch, Kirkcudbright (in my own possession), dated at Edinburgh, 23d March 1666. It is the only such signature I have met with.

R. Dunblane, Decan^o sac^o Regij

A vacancy occurring in the See of Glasgow by the resignation of Alexander Burnet in December 1669, Leighton was appointed Commendator; but not having been formally translated for a considerable time, his official connexion with Dunblane still subsisted. In September 1674, however, he resigned his preferment in the Church and all public employment; and having retired to England, he died at London on the 25th of June 1684. His remains were deposited in the South Chancel of the Church of Horsted Keynes, in the county of Sussex, in which parish he had resided for several years with his sister and her son, Edward Lightmaker of Broadhurst. A plain marble slab bears this inscription:—

DEPOSITUM ROBERTI LEIGHTONI, ARCHIEPISCOPI GLASGUENSIS
APUD SCOTOS, QUI OBIIT XXV. DIE JUNII ANNO DNI. 1684.
ÆTATIS SUÆ 74.

In volume third of the "Bannatyne Miscellany," 1855, I inserted from the original MS. "An Account of the Foundation of the Leightonian Library. By Robert Douglas, Bishop of Dunblane," 1691, and other documents, accompanied with some notices of Leighton, a facsimile of one of his letters, and the above wood-cut signatures from the Solemn League and Covenant.

I have no wish to call in question the sincerity of the Bishop's piety

and heavenly-mindedness, but he felt himself constrained to act in concert with others in whom such characteristics were by no means remarkable. His Plan of Accommodation in 1672, devised with the sincere desire of bringing back the Ejected ministers, proved unacceptable to all parties; and there is some reason to imagine that the final resignation of his Episcopal functions was not altogether uninfluenced by feelings of mortified disappointment. This perhaps was a fortunate circumstance, since, so far as we know anything to the contrary, it may have enabled him, during his retirement from the turmoils and anxieties of public life, to revise and complete his invaluable Commentary on the First Epistle of Peter, and other writings, all of which were posthumous publications. Notwithstanding the many editions that have appeared of Bishop Leighton's Works, there is still need of a complete and carefully edited text, and this we have reason to believe is now in preparation by the Rev. WILLIAM WEST of Hawarden Parsonage, Chester.

MONDAY, 12th May 1862.

DAVID LAING, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

WILLIAM H. HENDERSON, Esq., Linlithgow, was balloted for, and elected a Fellow of the Society.

The following Donations were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors:—

Portions of Human Bones, Urns, part of Quern, and Stone vessels, Bronze Ring and Needle, Iron Implements, portions of coarse Pottery, &c., found in excavating in and near underground chambers at Cairn Conan, Forfarshire (see Communication, page 492);

Two red Clay Floor Tiles, 5 inches square, one covered with green, the other with yellow glaze, found in the Old Church of Finhaven, Forfarshire;

Oval-shaped Stone, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, pierced with a hole at one end, probably a sink-stone; found at Tyrie, Aberdeenshire;

Blue and white enamelled and inscribed Brass Cross, found on a Russian soldier at Inkermann;

Small Terra Cotta Hand Lamp, ornamented in relief with straight and wavy lines; found at Tarsus;

By ANDREW JERVISE, Esq., Brechin, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Fine grained greenish-coloured Stone, measuring 2 inches long, and $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch square on the sides, with a small hole pierced through one extremity, probably a touch-stone; it was found near the ruins of St Salvador's Chapel, Shapenshay, Orkney. The site was an ancient burial ground, and immediately beside it was a congeries of underground chambers called "Picts' Houses."

By DAVID BALFOUR, Esq. of Balfour and Trenaby, Orkney, F.S.A. Scot.

Small Flint Arrow Head, with barbs and stem, of blue flint. It was found at Hedderwick Hill, Dunbar. By Mr J. PRINGLE PARK, Gifford.

Two rudely formed Flakes or Arrow Heads of light-coloured flint, found at Pitfodels, Aberdeenshire. By Mr F. SMITH, Pitfodels.

Iron Implement, displaying a Scots Thistle, now partially broken, and beyond it a *fleur-de-lis* shaped blade; it measures 15 inches in length, and was probably a halbert head. It was found in Jed Forest above Jedburgh, and is figured in the annexed woodcut. By JOHN ALEX. SMITH, M.D., Sec. S.A. Scot.

Small Iron Key with four-looped ornamental handle. By Mr G. C. MACQUEEN, Coupar-Angus.

Flemish Stove Tile of Red Clay with a group of figures in low relief on one side. By WILLIAM DOUGLAS, Esq., R.S.A.

Twenty-five Copper Coins of Ceylon, of the 12th and 13th centuries, found in a cutting of the Great Southern of India Railway at Púndi, near Tanjore. The Kandyans, by whom they are frequently found in Ceylon, call them Dambedenia Challies. (For a full description, see Sir James Emerson Tennant's "Ceylon," fourth edition, vol. i. pp. 461 and 462; and Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., vol. iii. p. 110.) By J. T. MACLAGAN, Esq., Madras.



Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. XXIII. Part 1, Science. 4to. Dublin, 1856;

Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. III. Part 3, Vol. IV. Part 1, Vol. VI. Parts 3 and 4, and Vol. VII. 8vo. Dublin, 1839-1861. By the ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

Iron Axe Head found whilst trenching at Learagen, Rannoch; probably a battle-axe; it is well shown in the accompanying woodcut. By Mr JOHN CAMPBELL, Teacher, Kinloch.



Small Pocket Pistol with flint lock imperfect, and steel and brass mountings;

Three Great Questions concerning the Succession and Dangers of Popery fully examined. Edin. 1681; and other three Pamphlets against Popery. 1681.

By D. H. ROBERTSON, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, Vol. IV., No. 5. 8vo. Alnwick, 1862. By GEORGE TATE, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Vol. XII., being Vol. I. of new series. 8vo. Liverpool, 1861. By the HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

Thebes; its Tombs and their Tenants, Ancient and Present, including a Record of Excavations in the Necropolis. 8vo. London, 1862. By A. HENRY RHIND, Esq., Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot., the Author.

This volume gives full details of the Egyptian Antiquities presented to the Museum by the Author, A. Henry Rhind, Esq. of Sibster.

The SECRETARY wished to call the attention of the members to the claims which the "Gentleman's Magazine" had on the more general support of Archæologists, as being their chief organ of communication, and combining literary ability with copious illustrations at an expense which can scarcely be remunerative to the enterprising publisher of this long-established and valuable periodical.

Professor Simpson, Mr Milne-Home, and Mr Stuart adverted to the

present state of "Edin's Hall," a curious fort on the Lammermoors, near Dunse, and to an apprehension which had been expressed in that neighbourhood that the proprietor was about to sanction its demolition. With regard to the latter point, Mr W. F. SKENE said he was able to state that the proprietor had no such intention; and, at the request of the meeting, he undertook to communicate the wishes of the Society for its due preservation.

The following Communications were read:—

I.

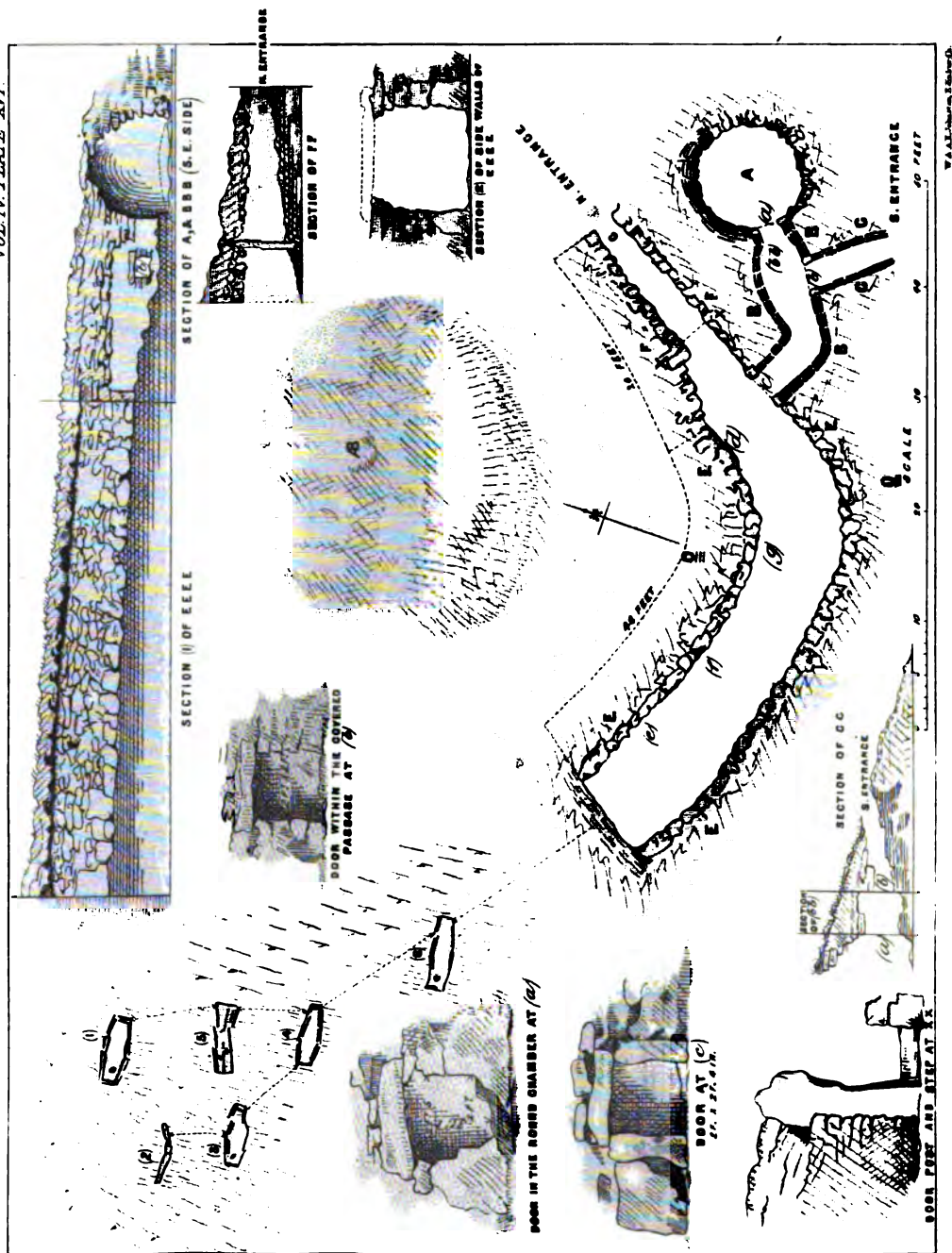
AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXCAVATION OF THE ROUND OR "BEE-HIVE" SHAPED HOUSE, AND OTHER UNDERGROUND CHAMBERS, AT WEST GRANGE OF CONAN, FORFARSHIRE. BY A. JERVISE, Esq., Brechin, Co. M. S. A. Scot. (Plate XVI.)

It was in the spring of 1859 that the "bee-hive" shaped house (if it may be so termed), and other underground chambers, were discovered in a field on the farm of West Grange of Conan, near Arbroath. As these chambers have now been excavated, I beg to submit the following account of them to the Society, accompanied by ground, elevation, and sectional drawings, together with such fragments of stone, bronze, iron, and pottery, as were found in and about the works, as well as some remains of skeletons from graves adjoining. The chambers are situated in a field about five miles north-west of the town of Arbroath, on the west side of the old Forfar road, and near the south-west extremity of the parish of St Vigeans. The substratum is composed of the Old Red Sandstone, which prevails in this district of Angus, dipping towards the south-east, and so close is the rock to the surface, that in some places it forms the face of the field.

The chambers occupy the south-east slope of the highest point of the field, from which there is a singularly extensive, varied, and interesting prospect, being from 400 to 500 feet above the level of the sea. In clear weather the coast of the shires of Haddington and Berwick may be seen, with the promontory of St Abb's Head in the extreme distance. In the middle distance lies the fertile plains and cultivated hills of the East Neuk of Fife, with the stately ruins of the cathedral, and the modern buildings of the interesting old city of St Andrews. In the more imme-

GROUND, ELEVATION, AND SECTIONAL DRAWINGS, OF THE BEEHIVE HOUSE
AND UNDERGROUND CHAMBERS, AT WEST GRANGE OF CONAN, FORFARSHIRE.

VOL. IV. PLATE XVI.



W. A. L. Ashmole, Esq. del.

diate foreground to the westward, washed by the German Ocean and the River Tay, are the Links of Barry and Carnoustie, the reputed scene of a conflict between the Scots and the Danes. Directly south, standing in bold relief against the sea and sky, rise the picturesque ruins of the Abbey of Arbroath, its modern church spires, numerous "lang lums," or steam-mill chimneys, and its dwelling-houses. To the east of Arbroath are the remarkable marine caves, which are so curiously described by an old minister of Murroes,¹ and the promontory of the Redhead, the so-called "*Rubrum promontorium*" of the Romans, betwixt which and the underground chambers are the sites of several old places of worship, and some reputed scenes of early strife. Among the former is the strangely situated and Romanesque church of St Vigeanus, with its sculptured stones; and among the latter the doubtful but not improbable battle-field of "Druim-derg-Blathmig" (? Kinblethmont). In the distance on the south-west are seen the hills near Dunkeld, and some other of the Perthshire mountains; nearer the remarkable heights of the Law of Dundee and the Hill of Laws, the summits of both of which, more particularly the latter, possess antiquarian peculiarities of no common kind. On the north are the famous hill forts of Caterthun, and the old passes of Glenesk and Cairn-o'-Mount; and on the east the Grampian range nearly as far as Aberdeen, including Fordoun, the ancient seat of St Palladius. Beyond Fordoun is Redykes, a reputed scene of the battle of the Grampians.

Such is an epitome of some of the more remarkable points which present themselves to the spectator in looking from the site of the underground works; and although the mention of these is in no way calculated to elucidate the history of the chambers, it may not be altogether uninteresting to those unacquainted with the district in which they are situated.

It ought to be stated that the discovery of these subterranean buildings was purely accidental, and arose from the lifting of a large stone which obstructed field operations. On removing the boulder, which was the top or centre stone of the round or "bee-hive" shaped house, a vacuum was observed. This induced further search on the part of the farmer and his servants, and the report of these in the newspapers suggested that measures should be taken to have the works fully excavated and explored. This was determined upon in the spring of 1860, when, by

¹ Edward's Description of the County of Angus, 1678.

request of my friend Mr Stuart, the Secretary to the Society, I agreed to superintend the business, in which I received valuable assistance from Mr David Lindsay, son of the farmer.

Workmen (some of whom were kindly sent for the day by Mr Pierson of the Guynd) were first employed in the excavations on the 27th of April 1860, when by previous arrangement Messrs John Stuart, Joseph Robertson, and Robert Chambers came from Edinburgh, accompanied by Mr Macdonald, town-clerk of Arbroath, and several others.¹ Owing to the scarcity of labourers, and immediate attention to my own official duties being required, the excavations were postponed for a time. They were finally resumed, and finished in the following spring, when, after a vast deal of labour, and no small expense, the chambers were cleared of stones and rubbish, and a good part of the adjoining ground trenched over, the latter of which expedients led to the discovery of the graves, the rudely paved circle, as well as the broken bronze ring, &c., which will be afterwards adverted to.

On clearing the round or "bee-hive house," it was found that the bottom was formed of the solid rock, out of which it had been excavated to the depth of several inches on the north. On the south it was built of rude undressed stones, and, as was the case with the whole of the *built* portion of the work, it was constructed in what is commonly called the Cyclopean style of masonry, and without the least indication of lime having been used in its composition, the interstices being filled with earth and small stones. The stones used in the building of the round-house, as indeed throughout the whole, were a mixture of the Old Red Sandstone and of the coarse boulders common to the district, most of which bore the appearance of having been "water-worn." This chamber (marked A on the plan, Plate XVI.), which converges towards the top, is about 7 feet 6 inches high; and although not quite circular, it averages about 10 feet in diameter at the bottom or floor.

From the west wall of the round house, raised about a foot from the floor, entering at the grotesquely-shaped door (*a*) (see Plate XVI.),—the lower portion of the sides and sill of which are composed of the rock,—is the passage B, the bottom of which is wholly, and the sides mostly, cut

¹ In Proceedings, vol. iii., pp. 465–471, a notice of the works will be found, by Mr Stuart, which was read to the Society after the visit here mentioned.

out of the rock, and in the irregular manner indicated by the plan. This passage varies both in height and breadth, and at about 12 feet from the entrance, it takes a sudden curve towards the north-west. It is covered with flag-stones, and leads by the carefully constructed door (c) to the passages E and F.

The long passage E, so far as can be ascertained from the present state of the walls, averages about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height; and from the middle of the door (c) to the extremity on the north-west, it is about 46 feet long. As indicated by the drawing, the passage varies in width from $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet at the north-west point, to $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet at the middle of door (c), its greatest width ($8\frac{1}{2}$ feet) being about 6 feet from the end. Like passage B, the bottom is wholly, and the end mostly, formed by the natural rock. The floor is uneven, and has a fall towards the entrance (c) of about 3 feet. The walls converge slightly, as shown in section (2) of E (see Plate XVI.)

Passage F is about 20 feet long, ascends abruptly from the entrance (c) towards the surface, to the height of about three feet, where at G there appears to have been a direct entrance to the galleries E and F. This entrance could not have been more than 18 inches high, and apparently $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. The passage is partly formed out of the rock, the rest "being made up," as it is termed, of earth and stones. At X there stood a rude undressed boulder of about 5 feet in height, which projected from the north wall into the passage, having very much the appearance of a door-post. (See Plate XVI.) It was strongly wedged into the wall by stones, and probably with the view of making it more secure, the foot of it was strengthened on the north-east by a stone which stretched from wall to wall, forming a sort of step of about 6 inches in height.

Passage C, which is situated on the south side of B, appears to have been another entrance to the chambers. It is covered by undressed flag-stones, with the sides partly, and the bottom wholly scooped out of the natural rock, the latter being somewhat in the stair-step form, as indicated in the drawing. The south aperture or opening measures about 27 by 22 inches, and the inner door or entrance (b) (see Plate XVI.) is about 2 feet square.

With the exception of the round-house, and the passages B and C, which, as already stated, are covered by rude freestone flags, no covers were found upon the rest of the work, except at (d), where there was a

single flag in a half-fallen state, owing, apparently, to a part of the wall having given way. This stone was about 6 inches thick, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, and nearly 5 feet long. Under the north end of it were found the pieces of pottery now exhibited, also the scooped-out stone vessel, and part of a quern or hand-mill. The pieces of pottery or fragments of urns indicate the existence of several distinct vessels; and a quantity of clammy or damp earth, mixed with particles of bones, was found adhering to the yellow-coloured pieces of pottery (which, by the by, reminds one of a Roman amphora), as well as lying beside them. Quantities of wood, charcoal, and calcined bones, apparently those of animals, and some horses teeth pretty entire, as well as bits of rib, leg and other bones, were found in various parts of passage E, particularly at the point marked (f) in the drawing. At (e), the curious bronze needle, with eye at one extremity, and measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, was found among the rubbish.

The covers of passages E and F being gone, the trenches were filled with an immense quantity of rubbish and loose stones, which rendered the clearing both tedious and difficult. One or two of the covers were got among the rubbish, the rest, doubtless, had been taken away, and used for some utilitarian purpose; but as the side walls had suffered comparatively little by their removal, they must have been lifted with considerable care. It is probable, that if these chambers had contained anything of antiquarian value, it had been found when the covers were removed; for apart from the fragments now exhibited and noticed, nothing of any moment was got in the course of the late excavations.

There is no appearance of a well near the works, unless the round-house had been used for that purpose, of which, however, there is now no evidence; and a sufficiency of water (as is yet to be seen) could have been obtained from a hollow in the field, immediately below the south entrance to the chambers.

On trenching that portion of the field marked AB, about twenty feet north-east of passages E and F, and within a few inches of the surface, the soil was found to have been excavated to the depth of some inches; it was about twenty yards in circumference, nearly circular in form, and was laid with rude flagstones. The paving was unequal, and much broken; and among the flags at AB were found the portion of a bronze ring or armlet, the upper stone of a quern, and a number of other stone vessels, as well

as the two small perforated pieces of lead, resembling weights, sinkers, or plummets. The vessels were mostly in a very rude, if not in an unfinished state. All of them bear marks of the chisel; but whether they have any claim to antiquity, it is possibly more difficult to say. On the east side of the circle are two or three trenches filled with earth and stones, somewhat resembling drains. Most of the pieces of the corroded iron implements (like knives or spear-heads, also presented with the other relics to the Museum) were got here, and some pieces in E.

North-west of passage E were found a cluster of coffins, composed of rude stone slabs, which were severally disposed as shown in the plan. The coffins Nos. (1) and (5) contained human skulls, which lay near the west end, and other portions of decayed bones. Grave (1), which was about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, by about 17 inches at the broadest point, had much the shape of the wooden coffins of modern times: the sides were composed of three unequally-sized flagstones, with one at the head and one at the foot—the rock forming the bottom. With the exception of (5), the other coffins were similarly constructed, and shaped pretty much like No. (1). Near the head of (3) lay a small clear pebble, and a little farther down was found the bone of the lower jaw. About the middle of (5), which was the nearest of any to the surface, there was a small dark-green heart-shaped pebble, and another of nearly the same colour, but of a common form; also two brownish-coloured pebbles, and the fragment of a ring of cannel coal or ebony. This grave was differently constructed from the rest, and partook more of a square form, and, like (3), it had a top or lid of thin flagstones. The lids of the other four were gone, as well as the north side and ends of (2), through which the plough appears to have passed frequently, although the grave was not previously noticed. The common-shaped pebbles herewith sent were found scattered in the graves (1), (3), and (6).

It were idle to conjecture regarding either the age, or the people, to which these singular works belonged. The spot was uncultivated, and clad with whins and broom until a recent period. Local tradition says, that in remote times there was a building called "Gregory's Castle," and that the stones of it were used to erect some of the neighbouring old mansion-houses. So far as known, none of the ancient proprietors of the district bore that name; neither did any of the old churchmen of

the shire, with the exception of Gregory, who was the first archdeacon of the Cathedral Church of Brechin, 1202–18, then bishop of that see, and died in 1246.¹ But here conjecture must end; for, notwithstanding that the bishops of Brechin had considerable interest in the immediate neighbourhood of Conan, both secular and ecclesiastical, it cannot be identified, so far as I am aware, with the lands now known by that name. It is also matter of record that a family assumed the surname of Conan, and was designed from these lands in the time of William the Lion, and subsequently; also that King Alexander II. gave the monks of Arbroath a grant of the right of free forestry over the lands of Dumberach and Conan; and that King Robert the Bruce subsequently gave them the park of Conan, and Dumbarach in warrenry.² It need scarcely be added, that, down to the time of the Reformation, Conan was held under the superiority of the Abbot and Convent of Arbroath. From that period until the forfeiture of 1716, the lands belonged first to the noble family of Hamilton, and next to that of Panmure. Since 1716 Conan has had several possessors, and West Grange now belongs to Dr Crichton.

In the hollow towards the south-east of the subterranean chambers, and about half a mile distant, are the ruins of an old place of worship, the reputed cell of St Vigean, who, according to Boyce, flourished during the tenth century. Near it are the remains of a so-called Druidical circle. On the north-west is the hill of Cairn Conan, the *cairn* upon the summit of which is clearly artificial,—probably sepulchral,—and there the court of the barony was held in old times. To the south-west is a huge monolith, called the “Cauld Stane o’ Crofts.” It stands upon the boundary of the parishes of St Vigeans and Carmyllie; and, in common with many such relics, its origin is attributed to a native amazon, who, while carrying it (as tradition says) from the sea-shore in her apron to the county town of Forfar, the string of the apron broke at the place where the stone now stands! “Crofts” is the name of the farm, and the monolith is also called the “Harestone,” a name which, taken into account with the fact of its being upon the boundary of the parishes of St Vigeans and Carmyllie, may be considered as significant of its use,

¹ Regist. Episc. Brechin., vol. ii. p. 256, &c.

² Regist. Vet. de Aberbrothoc, pp. 40, 162; 76; 220.

URN, SKULL, FLINT FLAKES, & BRONZE PIN, FOUND IN STONE CIRCLES, TORMORE.

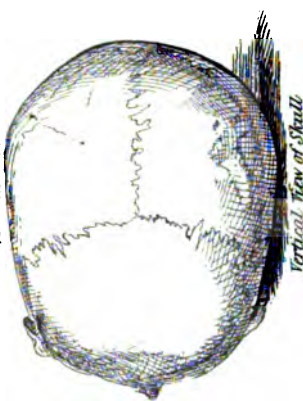
Found in Nat. N^o 2. 7' high

4 1/2 Nat. Size

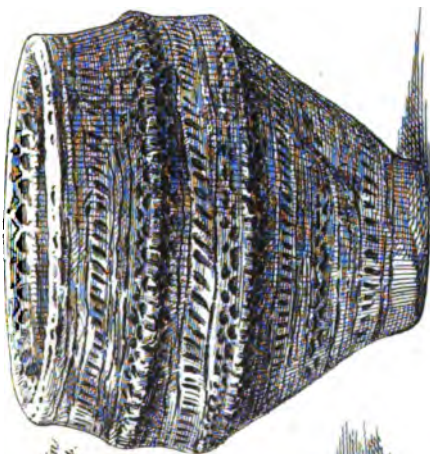


Natural Size

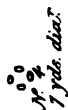
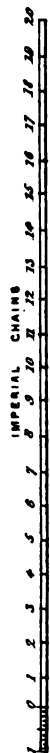
1/4 Nat. Size



Lateral View of Skull



Grave

N^o 3 Inner dia. 12 yds
Outward do 15'N^o 4 1 yds. dia.N^o 1 14 yds. dia.N^o 2 16 yds. dia.N^o 3 13 yds. dia.N^o 9
single stoneN^o 10 22 1/2
Chains WestN^o 7 single stone

W. & A. Johnston.

PLAN OF THE STONE CIRCLES ON MAUCHRIE MOOR, TORMORE, ISLAND OF ARRAN.

since, as shown by Borlase, the word *Harz* means a bound, a limit, a hindrance, derived from Armoric, as "*men-hars*, a bound-stone."¹

It ought to be added, that, since the excavation of these chambers, they have been visited by a vast number of people of all classes, and from many distant parts of the country. Still, I am sorry to say, that, like too many objects of antiquity in this country, they have not passed undisturbed; indeed, the hands of the mischievous have been so busy in throwing down and breaking the walls of the long passages, that, with the view of preventing further injury, it has been deemed advisable to fill up the passages, and close the entrance to the round-house. This, however, is the less to be regretted, since the works have been thoroughly excavated and searched, and accurate drawings made of the chambers. There were accidental scratches upon some of the stone, but no Runes or other significant markings.

Mr Stuart noticed the similarity of the remains found in connexion with *Raths* in Ireland, and thought it probable that a fort had originally been placed on the Hill of Conan.

II.

AN ACCOUNT OF EXCAVATIONS WITHIN THE STONE CIRCLES OF ARRAN. BY JAMES BRYCE, M.A., LL.D., F.G.S. (Plate XVII.)

Many stone circles and single standing-stones are found in Arran. Not a few are known to have been removed to make way for agricultural improvements; and many may have disappeared, of whose existence and removal no record has come down to us. The circles which remain are situated on the west side of the island, in a tract offering no temptations to the inroads of the farmer, and are still in a tolerably perfect state. The monoliths are found in wild and cultivated tracts alike; but as they occupy little space, and are looked on with something of the veneration attaching to "ancient land-marks," by a people which has not been displaced for many ages, they have been permitted to stand undisturbed, and still form a striking feature in many Arran landscapes.

No descriptive account of these stone circles having, so far as I was

¹ Cornish-English Vocabulary, p. 436.



aware, been ever published, and as I was desirous to place such an account on permanent record, lest, in process of time, they should be swept away, I made a careful survey of them in the summer of 1860.¹ That examination very much increased my interest in this singular assemblage of ancient monuments, and in the general question of the origin and purpose of such works. In examining all that had been written about them, I was not able to satisfy myself that there was undoubted evidence of any relics having been found at them which could throw any light on their original purpose, or the uses to which they may have been applied. The few authentic cases which are on record of such circles being opened, and which are mentioned in the appendix to the preface of Mr Stuart's magnificent work on the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," led me to suppose that the result would probably be the same as in those cases. This I was anxious to determine, in order to throw additional light upon a question which could not be regarded as finally settled. Besides, the case of Arran might be peculiar. Professor Daniel Wilson has remarked, that the "uniformity of the Scottish monolithic groups is not sufficiently marked to prove a common origin for all; the differences are so striking, that we look in vain for evidence of uniformity of faith or object in their builders The huge columns are simply evidence that there prevailed alike in Europe and Asia in a remote time, a remarkable phase of the human mind, the influence of which has long since disappeared The varieties apparent in their grouping and structure are such as may well justify the conclusion, that instead of being the temples of a common faith [the Druidical], they are more probably the ruins of a variety of edifices designed for diverse purposes—perhaps for the rites of rival creeds." (*Archæology*, pp. 110–112.) Discarding the Druidical theory, and alike dissatisfied with that which took its place, namely the Scandinavian origin of these works, and their erection for purposes of worship, Dr Wilson considers that this much at

¹ The stone circles are noticed in "Headrick's Arran," in the "Statistical Account" of the island, and with somewhat greater minuteness by Mr John Macarthur, in a paper on some of the Antiquities of Arran, in the "Edin. New Phil. Journal," vol. ix. N.S., p. 59. I made the survey above referred to with the view of adding a chapter on the antiquities of the island to the next edition of my little work on "The Geology and Botany of Arran."

least is certain, "that the latest, if not the only, unquestionable evidence of their use which we possess is not as religious temples, but as courts of law and battle rings, wherein the duel or judicial combat was fought, though this, doubtless, had its origin in the invariable union of the priestly and judicial offices in a primitive state of society" (p. 113). Yet it cannot be doubted that some of them are sepulchral monuments; and in regard to the crowned cairn, the crowned or encircled mound, and the cromlech, which bear a close resemblance to the stone circle, as Dr Wilson has himself shown, it is clear that their original purpose and use was as a place of sepulture.

Farther investigation into a subject confessedly so obscure seeming thus highly desirable, I placed the nature and importance of the inquiry before the Duke of Hamilton, and requested permission to make a series of excavations within and around the stone circles and monoliths of Arran. His Grace not only at once most kindly acceded to the request, but expressed a wish that the operations should be conducted at his expense. His Grace also placed me in communication with his agent in Arran, James Paterson, Esq. of Whitehouse, Lamlash. In Mr Paterson I had a most able and enthusiastic coadjutor; and to his activity and judicious arrangements not a little of the success and rapid conduct of the excavations is due. From Mr Stuart, the learned Secretary of this Society, and Mr John Buchanan of Glasgow, I obtained some useful hints on the best mode of proceeding. But before entering on an account of the excavations, it will be necessary to describe the present state and external appearance of the circles.

Descriptive Notices.

The Stone circles to which the following observations refer, and which form the only group now remaining in Arran, are situated on Mauchrie Moor, in the townland of Tormore, which is said to derive its name from them. They are half a mile to a mile from the west shore of the island, and somewhat less from the banks of Mauchrie Water. Their relative positions will be best understood from the annexed plan (Plate XVII.) The principal circles are on the eastern part of the moor, where it falls north and north-east towards Mauchrie Water; two of these consist of tall upright sandstone slabs, three of large granite blocks. Westwards the crest

of the moor is surmounted by three incomplete circles of upright slabs of sandstone, nearly two hundred yards apart; and to the west of the most northern of these, on the western slope, is the largest circle of the whole group, enclosed by great blocks of granite. Six of the circles are tolerably perfect, one very incomplete, and two have but a single stone now standing. There is, besides these, a small enclosed cell open to the day, apparently once fitted with a lid or covering stone. There are also indications of the remains of other circles and of mounds to the south of the eastern group, but so imperfect that no positive conclusion can be formed regarding them.

I shall now briefly describe the structure and dimensions of these groups, referring to each by its number on the accompanying plan.—The most eastern of the group (No. 1), is a single circle of granite blocks, having a diameter of fourteen yards; two of the stones are entire, and stand about five feet high, the rest merely protruding from the mossy surface of the moor.

The second (No. 2) is a single circle of tall sandstone slabs, three of which, from W. to N.E., are perfect and upright, but the rest of the circumference is sufficiently defined by the bases of the other stones remaining in the soil. The diameter of this circle is 15 yards. There seem to have been originally in all seven or eight stones. The tallest, that on the west side, is 16 or 18 feet high, 3 feet 6 inches broad, and 1 foot 10 inches thick. The next, that on the north-west, is about 15 feet high, 3 feet broad, and 1 foot 2 inches thick. The third, on the north-east, is 12 feet high, of irregular breadth, but at the broadest part about 4 feet broad, and 11 inches thick. This stone is broader upwards; the two others taper, but not to a point. Within the circle, towards the east side, there lie two large stones, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter and 11 inches thick, flat on both sides, one of them being perforated as if for the admission of a shaft. The circumference of the perforation has a series of regular grooves, and both have been plainly cut from a fallen pillar, or one upset on purpose, and prepared for mill-stones, but never removed. This destruction is of course the work of modern times.

The next circle (No. 3), is nearly of the same dimensions, being about thirteen yards in diameter. Along the circumference five stones are still distinctly seen, but one only is entire and upright; it is about fourteen feet in height, and the other dimensions are about the same as those of the

stones in the last circle. A little to the west of the centre there lies a large square stone crossed by five grooves, of which three are six or seven inches deep, and the others somewhat shallower. A village antiquary, who paid us a visit on the first day of our excavations, offered the suggestion that these grooves may have been the channels for carrying off the blood of the victims sacrificed upon a central altar by the Druid priests, who practised here their horrid rites! The dark-red blotches peculiar to the Arran Old-Reds lent some plausibility to this conjecture.

All the stones of both circles are of dark-coloured close-grained sandstone of the Old Red system, whose line of junction with the Carboniferous formation runs nearly in the line of Mauchrie water. One can hardly see, however, how masses of such size could have been taken from the bed of this stream, the only place where the rocks are exposed, without an extent of quarrying which seems to imply the use of iron tools; they were more probably severed from the huge sheets of sandstone which crop out on the adjoining shore. But the sandstone on the nearest part of the shore is not like that of which these stones consist; it resembles more the chocolate-coloured rock of the Old Red formation in the bed of the lower part of the river, and of the shore towards Auchincarr, north of Mauchrie Water-foot. But if we look to a distant origin, and transport over a rough country, the weight of many of the stones forms a great difficulty. Estimating at six feet the length sunk in the ground—and judging from the excavations which I made, I consider this not too much—and taking the specific gravity at 2600, the weight of the largest slab will be nearly ten tons, and of the others from six to eight tons; yet I was unable to discover in the immediate neighbourhood any outcrop of the sandstone rock from which the slabs could have been taken. All the stones have plainly undergone a certain amount of coarse “dressing” after removal from their native bed; but with what tools it is impossible to say.

The next circle (No. 4), is situated to the south of that last named. It is formed by four blocks of coarse-grained granite, apparently a little shaped and flattened, about three feet high, and standing nearly on the four cardinal points; but the stones are not exactly equidistant, nor indeed is the figure quite a circle; it is elliptical rather, and the longer axis, which is directed north and south, is about seven yards in length.

The four circles now described are on that part of the surface of the moor which is covered with peat-moss, and peat is cut from banks which are fast approaching the bases of the stones. This, however, will not affect the stability of the pillared stones, as the peat is only eighteen inches to thirty inches deep, and the pillars have a firm hold in the hard-red till below.

The fifth circle, a little to the west of No. 4, is upon higher ground, dry and gravelly, at the head of a field of arable land reclaimed from the moor; a few dozen yards north of it there is a humble farm-house. This circle has remarkable features, which have led to its frequent mention. It is alluded to under the name of "Siudhe choir Fhionn," or "Fingal's Cauldron Seat," tradition assigning to the encircling stones the purpose of supporting the cauldron of the giant. It consists of a double circle of stones; the outer circle having fourteen, and the inner eight; the diameter of the inner circle is eleven yards, the breadth of the ring between the two circles is from five to seven feet. The irregularity being probably caused by some of the stones having been shifted. The largest stones are in the inner row; one is four feet high, and three others very little less; the greater number of the outer row are smaller than any in the inner; those of the inner row are from three to four yards apart. All the stones are granite blocks; boulders, in fact, gathered from the surface of the adjoining moorland, which, like most parts of the island, is strewn with the ice-borne spoils of the granite nucleus to the north. A block, on the south-east side of the outer circle, has a ledge perforated by a round hole, which is well worn on the edges, and said to have been formed for the purpose of fastening the favourite dog Bran of the giant aforementioned.¹

A little farther west, under a bank by the side of a peat-road, there is an enclosure like an open raised grave (No. 6), formed by five slabs of sandstone, placed with their edges in the ground, and standing two or three feet above the surface, so even all round that a large slab may once have fitted on as a lid. The enclosure is six feet east and west, by four feet broad; two stones form the east side, one stone each of the other sides.

Still further west, and on the crest of the moor, here gravelly and heath-clad, are the remains of two other circles (Nos. 7 and 8). The one

¹ Statistical Survey.

to the N.W. is marked by a single upright slab of sandstone, five and a-half feet high, and very conspicuous, from the ground falling away on three sides; some other stones projecting amid the heather seem to indicate the original circumference. About one hundred and eighty yards south of this stone is another upright sandstone slab of the same size, with several smaller near it, apparently fragments of larger ones, all indicating the former existence here of a complete circle; the centre of which, however, it is difficult now to determine. Still farther W. is a monolith without indication of any other stones (No. 9).

Some way down the western slope of the moor, and close to a farmhouse, is another large granite circle (No. 10), twenty-one yards in diameter, formed by a single and complete row of stones, three or four feet high. Their forms are rounded, or but slightly angular, like those which may now be seen to strew the adjoining tracts, and, like the blocks in the other granite circles, they do not seem to have undergone any process of dressing, but to have been rolled into their places as they were found upon the moor. The process of collecting them would require no great time or labour, since none of them pass the weight of four tons, and most of them are very much under this weight; unless, indeed, the country was covered with forest, which is most probable from several considerations, chiefly that many trunks of trees are found imbedded in the peat on the moor.

Several stone circles are known to have existed in other parts of Arran, but nowhere else do they occur in groups, as those now noticed. I have been able to find but one still remaining entire. It occupies a platform, a little elevated above the road, precisely at the summit level between Brodick and Lamlash, and consists of a single row of granite blocks. A few yards south of it there is an upright stone of coarse conglomerate, nearly four feet high, and others near it now prostrate, all apparently portions of a former circle; but of this it is impossible to speak with certainty.

We are told by Headrick, in his "History of Arran," that a large circle formerly existed near the mouth of Glen-Shirag, where it opens on the plain of Brodick, but that it was "removed in 1813, to make way for the operations of the plough." It has also been stated, and upon authority which seems sufficient, that up till 1836 a double circle of tall standing

stones existed on the farm of South Sannox, fronting the opening of Glen Sannox, one of the finest and most picturesque situations imaginable, and that in that year they were removed to form a fence. A single pillar in front of South Sannox House is all that now remains. The gentleman who now holds that farm maintains, however, that no such circle existed there—nothing but a single stone, raised about the date I have named, and placed in its present upright position.

The localities of the monoliths it would be tedious to specify; and there are no means of determining whether they were always single, or are but the remains of circles.

The Excavations.

The excavations within the circles have now to be described; they occupied three days.

On the morning of the 24th May 1861, Mr Paterson and I met by agreement at Shiakin, and proceeded to the ground. Nine men, fully equipped, were already there; they were fresh for the work, having been sent across from Lamlash by Mr Paterson the day before, under the direction of the chief hedger, whose intelligence and zeal were of the greatest use to us during the whole of the operations. I determined to break ground first in the more eastern of the two circles of upright stones, that already described as No. 2. There being here three points undoubtedly on the circumference, I drew two chords, bisected them, and raised perpendiculars; this at once gave the position of the centre, and here an opening was made. At the same time an excavation was begun at the base of the south-west pillar, and carried to a considerable depth and distance inwards, along a radius; the base of a pillar or the centre of the circle being the spots most likely to receive any object valued or venerated. In the trench proceeding from the base of the pillar nothing was found; at the centre we were more successful. And here I may mention, for the guidance of those who may conduct such an inquiry, that, except in a peaty or gravelly soil, the ground *can be felt* to a considerable depth by means of a crowbar, or strong pole armed with a sharp iron facing, and thus much digging be saved, and the right direction given to it, after a certain amount of surface has been cleared off. In this way, after the stratum of solid peat, here fifteen inches deep, had been

removed, and the substratum of till laid bare, the ground was sounded, and we became aware that we were over a flat stone of considerable size. The interest of the inquiry now rapidly increased, and when, at the depth of two feet from the surface, a large slab became visible in its full dimensions of 4 feet 2 inches by 3 feet 9 inches, this interest was wound to the highest pitch, even the least enthusiastic being strongly excited.

Our efforts were now directed to raise the slab, which, being fully thirteen inches thick, was of great weight. But being a large party, and furnished with strong ropes, we effected this with no great difficulty, and disclosed a cist with an urn, but neither skeleton nor bone. The "ashes of the urn," a handful of black earth at the bottom, were regarded as all that remained of the great chief in whose honour, and for whose last resting-place, these huge monuments had been reared. The moment of this discovery was one of profound interest; and it was pleasant to notice how, when I appealed to the intellect and feelings of the men, by explaining the nature and circumstances of the old mode of sepulture and cremation, and the special importance of the inquiry to antiquarians, their interest was excited, and their zeal redoubled. The cist was found to be 2 feet 2 inches deep, 1 foot 10 inches broad, 2 feet 11 inches long on the east side, on the west 4 inches more; it lay N.N.E. and S.S.W.; the floor consisted of the hard natural till, not of stone; the upper edges of the stones were all on the same level, so that the huge lid fitted nicely on to it; all the stones and lid were of sandstone. The urn lay near the N.W. corner, half inclined over to S.S.W., and contained only some soft black earth. It is in excellent preservation, but of rude construction. In the bottom of the cist, lying loosely about in the black earth, four flint arrow-heads of rude construction were found.

Our next attempt was made within the circle No. 3 (see plan). Striking here the centre as before, we passed through fifteen inches of compact peat-earth, then through three feet three inches of red sand with stones, in which a flint arrow-head was found, and then touched a large flat stone, which proved to be the lid of another cist. It was in the form of a truncated triangle, and was protected all round its outer edge by a series of smaller stones, eight in number, resting partly on the slab itself, and partly on the earth beyond. It occurred to Mr Paterson and myself that either of two reasons might be assigned for such a construction,—more effec-

tually to prevent sand, &c., from entering the cist by the edge of the lid; or that the stones might distribute the pressure, on the principle of the "safe-lintel," and so diminish the chance of collapse of the sides of the cist. The cist was 1 foot 5 inches deep, 1 foot 3 inches broad, 2 feet 10 inches long; the upper surface 4 feet 6 inches from the surface of the moor. The direction of the length was nearly the same as in the former case, being a little more to the north, or almost north-east and south-west. Close to the south-east side there stood an urn in an upright position, lined inside with black matter, and having black dust in the bottom. On lifting it the bottom parted off, and the rest has since gone into fragments; it is of ruder construction than the other. Two flint arrow-heads were found in the cist, and also a fragment of granite, once a component part of the soil above. Having replaced the lid and the eight edge stones, we continued the opening about three feet southwards on a radius of the circle, and came laterally against another cist at a higher level. The upper surface of the lid was only 1 foot 8 inches from the surface, and, as it was 13 inches thick, the upper edge of the cist was but 2 feet 9 inches from the surface. The slab forming the lid was 4 feet 1 inch by 4 feet. No sooner was the northern edge of the lid so slightly elevated as to give a glimpse of the interior, than the interest of the party was again raised to the highest pitch. A white object like a blanched human skull loomed out from the deep obscurity of the cist. We had come at last to a veritable human grave. I was pleased to see the interest of the men; they relieved one another at the ropes that they might go down and catch an early glimpse into the dark recess.

The skull proved to be a very perfect one, with most of the teeth entire. It lay at the south end, some long bones at the north end, of the cist; the upper jaw was partly decayed, the lower was only traceable on the floor in outline. The cist lay N.N.E. and S.S.W.; the length was 3 feet, the depth 2 feet, and breadth 1 foot 4 inches. As in the other cases, the floor was found to be formed of the natural soil, and not of a stone slab or pavement. The side stones of the cist were not quite parallel, the west side having a slight lean inwards, so that the width at the bottom was greater than at the top. It was also narrower at the north end than at the south, the slab forming the north end being shorter.

Two flint arrow-heads were found in the cist, of the same rude forms as in the other cases. The slabs forming the lid and sides were, as in the other cases, all of sandstone, those of the sides plainly subjected to a slight degree of dressing.

We now made a trial of the double granite circle on the high gravelly ground, No. 5 in the plan. Under the thin sward we found a complete floor of stones, of various sizes, mostly small, but placed without any such arrangement as would be found in a pavement, and immediately below this, at less than a foot from the surface, two flat slabs on edge, in a direction nearly north and south, both a little inclined inwards at the top, in all respects like the two sides of a cist; but we could find no trace of either of the ends. Accustomed now to the appearances, Mr Paterson and I agreed that this was originally a cist, probably placed so near the surface on account of the difficult character of the ground; and that the interior of the circles had in all probability been disturbed, more than once, before the examination made by us.

I next had the small enclosure open to the day, marked No. 6, dug over to the depth of more than three feet, but found no trace of cist, or remains of any kind, except a fragment of a flint arrow-head, like a small piece that might have been chipped off a larger one.

At the western base of the single standing-stone, on the northern crest of the moor, I had a deep opening made, being unable to determine the centre, from the imperfect definition of the circumference, but no remains of any kind were found, nor did the ground appear to have been before disturbed. But the position of the centre in such a case is very uncertain. This concluded the labours of our first day—it was bright and warm, and our operations were prolonged late into the evening.

Our next examination was made on the 26th September; the force and its organisation being the same as on the previous occasion. His Grace the Duke of Hamilton honoured us with his presence during the greater part of the day, remaining on the ground with us till nightfall, and aiding us by his advice. The day was one of the most brilliant and genial of the season. The atmosphere had that unusual transparency, ominous of change, which gives magical effects to a landscape. The granite peaks of the Goatfell group were defined against the deep azure of the north-

eastern sky with wondrous distinctness,—they seemed close at hand, and lifted up into the clear air far beyond their usual height.¹

As in the excavations within the second circle of standing-stones (No. 3 in the plan) a cist had been found to one side of the centre, so now I was desirous of discovering whether a similar arrangement existed within the other circle of upright stones (No. 2); that is, whether this other circle, already found to have a central cist, had also a cist removed from its centre. The result showed that it was so; for to the north of the centre, between it and the north-east upright stone, a cist was exposed to view at a depth from the surface of 3 feet 1 inch; it was 3 feet 3 inches long, 1 foot 11 inches broad, and 1 foot 9 inches deep. The slab which served as lid, was 4 feet 6 inches long, 3 feet 8 inches broad at one end, and 2 feet 4 inches at the other. All the stones were sandstone, and the floor, as in the other cases, was the natural soil; the direction of the length was, as in the others, about N.N.E. The floor was a little lower towards the north-west corner, and here there was a pool of water. It is remarkable that nothing whatever was found in the cist—neither bone, urn, nor arrow-head—no object whatever could be discovered; yet such objects as we had before found could not have disappeared by decomposition, and we could not detect the slightest sign of any earlier intruders. The conclusion which seems warranted by these facts is, that the cist had been prepared as a place of sepulture, along with the others, but never used.

Another excavation was made in this circle to the south of the centre, with a branch from it running west, but nothing was found. It appears, therefore, very unlikely that the practice was to form a series of cists around the central one. If such had been the arrangement, there is great probability we should have come upon some of the cists in this excavation.

Satisfied thus far with the result of the inquiry as regarded the circles of upright stones, I was anxious to determine whether a like arrangement existed in the case of the circles of granite blocks. The cist at the

¹ By invitation of the Duke of Hamilton, the Rev. Duncan Taylor of Brodick, Major Finlay of Easterhill, and Mr Hering, the well-known landscape painter, were with us. The cunning pencil of the artist was often employed upon the singular groupings of our party amid the strange old monuments.

centre seems clearly to indicate the purpose for which the circumference was reared; and if the central cist exist within the granite blocks, the purpose will seem to be the same for both. The excavation at the double granite circle was unsatisfactory; there seems no chance of any distinct response ever being obtained from it. But two granite circles remained to be tried, and to these our attention was now turned. The larger and more eastern one, the most eastern of the whole group (No. 1), yielded nothing; the centre was first tried, and then a trench was run towards the north-east, in both cases without result, though the usual depth was reached. In the other granite circle—that lying due east of the farmhouse, south of circle No. 3, and marked No. 4 on the plan—we were more successful. Striking the centre, and excavating there, a cist was discovered at the depth of 3 feet 4 inches, covered as before by a slab of stone 6 inches thick, 4 feet 6 inches long, 3 feet broad at one end, and 2 feet at the other. The dimensions of the cist were found to be the same as in the other cases, the length being 3 feet, depth 2 feet, and breadth 1 foot 4 inches; the length being in this, as in the other cases, almost exactly in the direction N.N.E., and S.S.W. The cist was the most perfect we had seen, the four slabs perfectly upright, the sides quite parallel, and the stones all nicely fitting. The fragments of an urn lay in the north-west corner; it had been laid upon one side, inclining towards the south-east; under it there were some bone fragments; and three arrow heads or flint implements of the rudest forms were lying about on the floor of the cist.

Thus, then, we find the circle of granite blocks yielding us the very same results as the pillared circumference of huge sandstone slabs; the stones have in both cases been disposed in reference to the central cist.

Our last excavation was made at the more southern of the two imperfect circles which occupy the crest of the moor (No. 8 in the plan). Two stones only remain, but several others lie about; and from these two being close together, and the others wholly out of position with respect to them, the course of the circumference and situation of the centre are mere matters of conjecture. A trench was opened to the east of the stones across the supposed position of the centre, and also at the east base of the stones, and continued to a depth of nearly 3 feet, but no remains of any kind were found. At a little distance down we did in-

deed come on a large slab of the same truncated triangular form as the cist-lids before found ; but under it there was only a broad slightly hollow space, coated thinly over with dark earth, under which was a dense mixture of earth and stones, into which we went a little way without result. This slab lay close to the base of the southern stone. It was nearer the surface than any of the cist-lids found by us, and was doubtless but a fragment of a once upright sandstone pillar. The cutting at the supposed centre showed a thin layer of peat, and a fine red till, which had no appearance of having been before disturbed.

This digging concluded our second day's work. The large granite circle, the most western of the group (No. 10), was the only one that remained untouched by us. Time did not permit that it should be now attempted, as it was already night-fall ; but we did not in the mean time propose to return to it, as it seemed highly probable, from the tossed appearance of the interior, that it had been long ago opened in more than one place, doubtless in the hope of finding treasure concealed here, as being a place round which there hung a certain amount of sanctity.

Our third and last day's work was directed to the circles on the east side of the island.¹ I have already mentioned the circle near the entrance to Glen Shirag, said to have been removed in 1813. An attempt was first made upon it. Its site was pointed out to us as having been in a field between the farm-house and the church ; but after several hours' search, in the usual way, within the conjectural limits, the place was abandoned as hopeless. While this inquiry was going on, a part of our force was employed to open a grave-like mound placed up against the back of a hedge in an adjoining hollow. The tradition regarding it, as preserved by the village patriarch, is to the effect that the rightful heir of the Fullarton property was murdered about 200 years ago by another claimant, and buried in this spot ; the property thus usurped ever since remaining in the line of the usurper, to the exclusion of himself, the patriarch aforesaid, and the other rightful heirs ! Unfortunately this romance was dealt with as unscrupulously by us as was the Druidical

¹ We had the pleasure on this occasion of enjoying, during most of the day, the company of the eminent physiologist, Dr Carpenter, who was just then closing a residence of several months in Arran. In the afternoon we were joined by Mr Campbell, younger of Islay, author of "Legends of the West Highlands."

theory. A thorough examination of the mound produced no evidence that the victim of this dark plot was interred beneath.

Our whole force was now transferred to the summit level of the road between Brodick and Lamish, where a circle of granite blocks, boulders from the northern mountains, exists, as already mentioned, with an eccentric upright stone of conglomerate sandstone. Excavating at the centre we found a small cist at less than a foot in depth, and lying about north-east. It was covered by a small lid, and the dimensions were 2 feet 2 inches in length, 10½ inches in depth, and 11 inches in width. Inside there were several bone fragments and black earth. A flint implement was found in the stony soil above, and three other flint fragments, but nothing of this kind in the cist itself. This was of a much ruder structure than any we had before seen; it was cut out of the solid sandstone rock, but with little care or exactness; the sides, however, were nearly perpendicular. The difficulty of excavating without iron tools may account for the smaller size and ruder form of this cist. No other cist was found, nor remains of any kind, though a trial was made at several points round the centre. A deep opening was also made on both sides of the upright stone, but nothing was met with worthy of being recorded. The place altogether was very unpromising, and we penetrated only to a small depth. From our previous experience, Mr Paterson and myself were now able to decide pretty early as to the chances of success.

I had intended to close the proceedings of this our last day by excavating at the base of one or two of the monoliths, those on the farm of East-Mayish, and that by the wayside near Invercloy; but the afternoon turned out very unfavourable. Our operations at the summit-level were not half completed when the storm that had been threatening all forenoon burst upon us with extreme violence. Exposed in this elevated spot to the full fury of the south wind and force of the pelting rain, our men could hardly keep their footing, yet did they work away bravely till I had fully explored the rude cist, and satisfied myself that there was no hope from the monolith. We were thus compelled to abandon all further researches on this occasion; but I hope to have another opportunity of completing the inquiry by an examination of the monoliths. It would be very interesting to determine whether

they are true monoliths, or but the remains of circles; and if true monoliths, for what object they were erected. If they are monumental, remains like those of the stone circles would certainly be met with; and if commemorative of a battle, there would probably be bones and fragments of weapons. The non-existence of remains of any kind would show that the monolith was simply indicative of a boundary, or commemorative of a treaty of amity,—that neither party “would pass this pillar for harm” to the other, as in Gen. xxxi. 51, 52.—I may perhaps be permitted to lay before the Society the results of a future inquiry, if it should seem desirable that such should be instituted,—sanction being had from the proper quarter authorising the researches; and these might be extended to the mounds, cairns, &c., of the southern part of the island, regarding which we at present possess but casual notices in the works already quoted, and in newspaper paragraphs.¹

The Objects found (see Plate XVII.)

The objects already mentioned as found during the excavations are,—numerous flint implements of rude workmanship; several urns, and a skull with other bones, both human and of one of the lower animals. Besides these there was found, in the cist at the centre of the granite circle, No. 4, a pointed conical object about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with a polished surface, resembling the pin of a brooch or bracelet. The end section had the dark granular appearance of an altered metal; and it was supposed by us to be a metallic object, and of course highly valued,

¹ Since this paper was read to the Society, an interesting case has been mentioned to me by Mr Reid of the Union Bank, Glasgow. He was on a tour round Arran with the present Master of the Mint about fifteen years ago, when they came upon a cairn raised over a series of cists placed together, level with the surface of the ground. Two of the cists were empty and partly broken up, and their lids had been removed: a third had the lid turned over, and contained many bones. Besides these, there seemed to be several others still concealed beneath a part of the cairn which had never been disturbed. This cairn was known as the “White Cairn,” and lay between the village of Lag and the sea. The cairn is now obliterated, but four standing stones remain.—The lately published work on the Antiquities of Arran, by Mr John Macarthur, contains an account of all that was known regarding the various sepulchral remains of the island, before the date of the researches described in the present paper.

as the solitary witness for an advanced age. On being carefully examined, and compared with similar objects in the Society's museum, it was found to be a bronze pin,¹ much altered in structure. This object, specimens of all the varieties of the flint implements, the perfect urn, the skull and other bones, are now presented to the Society. It was the desire of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, who is a member of this Society, that they should be preserved in a national collection; and whatever value may be attached to them as illustrating an obscure question, that they should take their place amid the other monuments of the olden time in Scotland. A photograph of the perfect urn, which I have had taken by Mr M'Nab of Glasgow on a large scale, and which is very well executed, is also presented to the Society. Drawings of the urn, bronze pin, and flint flakes are given on Plate XVII.

It is needless to speculate upon the origin of the flint implements. Wherever or by whomsoever shaped thus into armatures, the stone itself is not found in any of the rocks of Arran, nor loose upon its shores. Jasper, hornstone, pitchstone, obsidian, and porcellanite, are found among its igneous products, but flint is not met with nearer than on the opposite coast of Antrim, where it forms beds in the chalk; and thence the rude stone may have been derived, as Cantire and the islands had intercourse with the north of Ireland from the very earliest times. But this is part of a very wide question, and need not be here dwelt upon.

The urns found in the cists are of the earliest forms, fashioned by the hand before the potter's wheel had come into use, and probably sun-dried. The mode of formation is shown by the irregular form. The mouth is round, tolerably accurate, but by no means perfectly so, as is more evident in the photograph than in the original. In the body of the urn, especially under the lower band, the irregularity is very perceptible,—the profile being slightly concave in some views, and convex in others. The lines drawn round the neck and body, separating the bands of ornament, are drawn without any attention to accuracy, but continued round, and united where they terminate. The ornamental markings are made by sloping lines, neither exactly parallel nor straight; and seem to have been marked on the soft clay by a bit of twig, the streak coming off light

¹ It was tested by Dr Stevenson Macadam, Lecturer on Chemistry, Edin.—*Ed.*

towards the lower part; the two rows of alternate dabs with the thick end of the twig. The other urn, which was taken out in fragments, is similarly ornamented, and has apparently a form equally irregular. The inference drawn from the character of these urns is thus in harmony with the other evidence for the high antiquity of these singular works.

Looking at the urn with the eye of an artist, my friend Mr J. A. Hutchison has remarked, "that the form is the simplest that at first occurs to the mind to imitate—the ovoid. Varieties of this form are seen in many natural objects, as the egg, poppy seed-vessel, acorn, acorn-cup, and many fruits; and what the eye was familiar with, the hand would most readily attempt to fashion. The ornamental markings seem suggested by wicker-work or plaited rushes, as we see them made in toy caps and baskets by children. The bands round the middle resemble the over-and-over plait used in basket-work to give firmness to the whole. The sloping lines resemble the single rushes or wands side by side; the rows of alternate lines resemble the rushes or wands again twined together in a common plait." Some remarks bearing on this subject will be found in Dr Wilson's work already referred to, p. 290. The urn is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, 7 inches in diameter at the mouth, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the bottom. The circumference at the lower band is 25 inches; at the upper 24 inches.

The nature of the human remains found in the cists is of great importance in this inquiry. Of what race or type of head, of what sex and age, of what bodily proportions—those of a warrior chief or a tender female—was the individual to whom they belonged? These are questions which must have a direct bearing on the purpose for which these huge works were erected. Anxious to have the opinion of the highest authority upon these questions, I submitted the entire of the remains for inspection to Dr Allen Thomson, Professor of Anatomy in the University of Glasgow. After a careful examination of them, Dr Thomson has most kindly drawn up for me the following report. Before giving it, however, I may remark, for the sake of some who may not be conversant with this branch of archæology, and may feel surprise at the small length of the cists, that these were not used for sepulture in the manner practised in later ages. They were not intended as depositories of the body in an extended position. When cremation and the urn were not

employed, the body was interred in a contracted position, so that there was ample room in cists of the dimensions already given. In such cists, the body has been laid on its side in a bent position, the limbs being also bent; and sometimes in a sitting posture, with the arms used in battle lying on either side, ready to be grasped again when the dry bones should be clothed with muscle, and the reanimated body should start into new life. (See *Wilson's Archæology of Scotland*.)

The following is Dr Thomson's report:—

"I regret that my report upon the bones submitted to me must be very imperfect, from the fragmentary nature and extreme fragility, owing to decomposition, of all of them, and even the considerable alteration of form which some of them have undergone.

"They consist chiefly of the following parts, which I number for the sake of reference in my subsequent remarks:—

"1. The greater part of the cranium of a human skull, with various small detached fragments of the same.

"2. A part of the upper jaw, most probably belonging to the same skull, containing two molar teeth in their places, and a number of detached human teeth, which, with those contained in the fragment of jaw, form nearly a complete set.

"3. Some portions of ribs.

"4. The shaft-parts of two long bones, probably human thigh bones.

"5. The shaft-part of another long bone, probably that of an animal; not determined with certainty.

"6. Two small portions of the lower jaw of a carnivorous animal.

"1. *Human skull*.—The cranial portion of skull, supposing the fragment of upper jaw and the separate teeth to belong to it, may be that of a young person, probably under twenty-two years of age, either of a young man of rather slender stature, or of a female. It is of the brachycephalic form, broad across the parietal protuberances, and proportionally narrow, but yet of fair dimensions across the frontal part, and resembling much in form the cranium described by Prof. Wilson (*Archæology of Scotland*, p. 170), as having been found in 1833, in a stone cist below the foundations of the old steeple of Montrose. The subjoined outline sketch, with some measurements, may give a sufficient idea of its general form and dimensions (see Plate XVII.) It must be mentioned, however, that

the greater part of the occipital bone, and middle part of the sphenoid and temporal bones, were entirely wanting, and that the remaining parts of the basis were much broken and decayed, the deficiency being greatest on the right side, that not represented in the profile sketch. Both mastoid processes were broken away, and on the right side the molar and temporal bones entirely lost, so as to prevent me from giving some of the usual measurements.

"Near the parietal protuberances, more especially on the left side, the decomposition of the bone had brought out the appearance of radiation of bony spicula from the protuberance, which belongs to an earlier period of life in the natural state of the bones.

"The following are the measurements of the skull:—

"Greatest antero-posterior diameter, 7"; greatest transverse diameter, 5.7"; greatest transverse diameter 2" behind line of forehead, 4.65"; greatest horizontal circumference, 20.4"; arch over the top of the head from root of the nose to the supposed places of the occipital protuberance, 11.75"¹; distance from meatus auditorius ext. to vertex of head, 4"; distance from meatus auditorius ext. to root of nose, 4.1".

"2. *Teeth*.—The teeth, including those in the fragment of upper jaw, form nearly a complete set of the teeth belonging to a youthful person arrived nearly at maturity. Only the incisors and the anterior true molars presented obvious marks of the crowns having been worn down by use; the canines showed very slight indications of wearing, and the bicuspid and middle molars scarcely any. In most of these teeth, the enamel, though extremely brittle, was entire; but the bone or dentine part, though still entire in most of them, was so fragile, that it was liable to crumble into powder or small fragments, unless handled in a very delicate manner. This part of the tooth was also of a dark brown colour, as if it had been partially charred. In the posterior molars (or wisdom-teeth), what remained of the osseous body of the teeth crumbled entirely away under handling, so as to leave only the shells of enamel; but what remained of the bony core, when I first received the specimens, led me to believe they were half grown, as they projected about a quarter of an

¹ Length of frontal arch, or bone, from nasal to coronal sutures, 4, $\frac{3}{8}$ inches; length of parietal arch to lambdoidal suture, 5 inches.—*Ed.*

inch beyond the bottom of the enamel, and that they had therefore either passed through the gum or were about to do so.

"There are wanting to complete the set of teeth—one upper and one lower canine, two middle lower incisor, one anterior and two posterior lower molar teeth.

"3. *Ribs*.—Some of the smaller fragments of bone, of the form of ribs, might pass for those of a human skeleton; two of the largest, however, three or four inches in length, presented a thick median ridge on the concave surface, which caused them to resemble rather the ribs of an aquatic mammal or some other animal. At the same time it is right to remark, that as the disintegration or splitting up of the bones had produced a considerable swelling in some portions, it is possible that, notwithstanding the ridge mentioned, they may have been human bones.

"4. *Long Bones*.—Two subcylindrical portions of long bones may most probably be the shaft-portions of two human thigh-bones, such as would correspond with the other parts of the skeleton to which I conjecture the skull must have belonged. They are between 10 and 11 inches long, much loosened in texture from decay, especially towards the ends, about an inch in diameter at the middle and thicker towards the ends. One of them, however, is smaller than the other, somewhat flattened in the middle and tapering at one end, but still bearing such a resemblance to the other long bone, that we may suppose these changes of form to have been the effect of interstitial loss of substance from decomposition.

"5. *Undetermined Long Bone*.—The third fragment of a long bone, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter at the larger end, and tapering to $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of an inch at the other, I am still at a loss to determine. Allowing for a considerable change of form, from the causes already referred to, it might possibly be a human tibia; but I must confess that I do not think this view the most probable; and from the distinctness of the grooves and ridges still remaining on one side, I think it must be one of the bones of the lower limb of an animal, and most probably a carnivorous animal. Dr Cleland suggests the tibia of a seal, and I acknowledge that it shows some analogy to that bone of a seal of large size; but a closer examination and comparison are necessary for the more accurate determination of the nature of this fragment.

"6. *Portions of Animal's Under Jaw.*—I am also unwilling at present to express a very decided opinion with respect to the two fragments of an animal's under jaw. They consist of a part of the alveolar ridge and body of the lower jaw, including the base, belonging to that part which lies between the canine and the true molar teeth. One of the fragments is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long, the other nearly 1 inch. Both are about the same depth, viz., $\frac{3}{4}$ ths to 1 inch, and they seem to belong to the opposite sides of the same jaw. They contain, implanted in the alveolar ridge, the remains of the roots of teeth, in one five, and in the other three, all of which, with one exception, would correspond to the pairs of fangs belonging to the premolar teeth of a dog or possibly of a seal. The fifth root, implanted in the edge of the largest fragment, resembles most (so far as I have yet been able to ascertain) the front root of the anterior true molar of a dog of moderate size. The whole of the fangs are too much altered by decomposition (being split up into fibres to a considerable extent) to enable me to form any decided conclusion from the teeth themselves."

It being Dr Thomson's wish that the doubtful bones should be examined by a comparative anatomist in Edinburgh, recourse was had to the highest authority in that city, Professor Goodsir of the Edinburgh University. He has very kindly taken this trouble, and the bones have also been seen by Dr Struthers and Mr Turner. They are all of opinion that the long bones (No. 5) are portions of deer's horns; but they can pronounce no opinion on the portions of animal's under jaw (No. 6), on account of the fragments being so small, and so much decayed.

The black earth of the urns has been examined for me by Dr Thomas Anderson, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Glasgow. He has most kindly supplied the following report on the subject:—

"I have examined the dust from the Arran urns, and find it to contain a large number of fragments of bone, most of them extremely minute. When these are separated the residue has all the characters of an ordinary soil, and contains a number of small pebbles and much sand, but no trace of animal matter. The bones, after separating the earthy matter as completely as possible by carefully scraping the surface, had the following composition:—

" Water,	2.62
Organic matter,	8.57
Phosphates,	84.11
Carbonate of lime,	8.41
Siliceous matter,	6.29
	<hr/>
	100.00

" A careful experiment showed the entire absence of nitrogen, and this is important, because it proves that the small quantity of organic matter found was not of animal origin; and I believe it to be due to a little soil which could not be separated from the bones, and to which also the siliceous matter obtained in the analysis belongs. From the analysis above given, I think there can be little doubt that the bones have been burned, and that the earthy matter found in the urns was merely part of the soil introduced along with them, when they were gathered from the spot in which the ceremony of incremation was performed.

" I am not aware that any attention has been directed to the nature of the urns found in ancient burial places, and the mode in which they were made; but it is clear, from a short examination I have made of the fragments now sent, that the process must have been very different from that used by modern potters. The clay has not been brought into a uniform plastic mass, but looks as if it had been in the form of a number of small pellets attached to one another, and among these are numerous small stones,—not pebbles, but angular fragments of sandstone and of a hard siliceous rock. These have probably been used to prevent the urn cracking during the process of drying and burning. The latter process has unquestionably been performed with great caution, and continued only for a short time, for the external surface only is burned, and the interior appears scarcely to have been heated, for it still contains upwards of 7 per cent. of the water of combination of the clay, which would have been expelled had the urn been strongly heated throughout."

It has been stated in this paper that the urn was probably sun-dried; but it will be seen by the above report that it has been subjected to artificial heat, though in a slight degree. Dr Anderson grounds this conclusion on the red colour of the surface produced by peroxidation of the iron; and the opinion of so distinguished a chemist is of course decisive.

General Remarks.

Before concluding this account of the excavations, I shall briefly recapitulate the results, and state the inferences which seem legitimately deducible from them.

1. Whatever may have been the state of civilisation among the constructors of these works, a certain sense of harmony or fitness, of the congruity of things, must have existed in their minds; for though there are so many circles in close proximity, there is no mixture of dissimilar stones; they are either all of sandstone, or all of granite.

2. They must have been capable of using mechanical appliances of great power; since such were needed for the transport and erection of the huge pillared stones, and even of the granite boulders, though these are of smaller weight and of less distant origin.

3. Archaeologists generally subdivide the prehistoric period in our islands into the stone and bronze periods. If this classification be correct, and if it be conceded that there is human progress in every period, then the use of rude flint implements, and of implements of bronze, ought to be separated by a wide interval of time; and only flint implements of the most perfect forms, if any, ought to be found associated with those of bronze. But in the present case the flint implements, though of the rudest forms, are associated with an article of bronze. It seems to follow that the received classification ought to be modified;—that, in fact, flint and bronze have co-existed, have been in use together, and that at least, on the view most favourable to the theory, the two periods have deeply interlaced with one another; probably more deeply in an isolated situation such as Arran, than on the adjoining continent of Britain, where improvements in processes of art would spread more rapidly. It is highly desirable that instances of such association should be multiplied, as by them the theory must stand or fall.

4. All the cists have their greatest length between N. and N.N.E.; and their construction may therefore be inferred to have been anterior to the earlier Christian times in this country, when a superstitious regard began to be cherished for a direction pointing east. I have given the direction in all cases by allowing for the present amount of Variation, 24° ; and it certainly seems strange that the directions should so agree

towards a north point—they lie roughly N. and S., being all a little E. of N. We cannot, however, refer this to any past configuration of the heavenly bodies as affected by precession—to speak of a past amount of variation would of course be absurd, while the direction has clearly no sort of reference to the inclination of the surface of the ground. Shall we rather say, then, that the direction was roughly taken north and south, that it had reference to the mid-day sun, or to a native home of the race, to which the constructors belonged, amid the wilds of the north?

5. The skull and bones do not furnish us with information of a very definite kind; and the absence of the rest of the skeleton is not easily accounted for. There was no trace on the floor of the cist of such an amount of matter as the decomposition of the other bones would have left; but it is conceivable that, if once decomposed, the matter may have been removed or absorbed by the soil through the floor or spaces between the stones, during successive floodings of the cist with water from the soil above. The skull is of the old British type, and so far is in favour of a high antiquity for these works; it seems to be that of a young female, or of a slender male just arrived at maturity; perhaps the "daughter of the tribe," or the future chief, who, it was hoped, would one day lead in the field of battle and the chase. Had it belonged to an aged or powerful male, we should have had much stronger evidence for regarding the circumference of huge pillared stones as reared in honour of a great chief or warrior, as the most distinguished monument of the group.

6. When it is considered that the centre of each circle is marked by a cist, and that this arrangement exists in the case both of the pillared stones and of the granite circles, as well those conspicuous ones at Tormore as in the singular little cist with its encircling blocks at the summit level of the Lamash Road, it seems natural to conclude that the circumference has been reared in all the cases in reference to the central cist; and hence that these stone circles were erected as places of ordinary sepulture. Their limited total area is no objection to this conclusion, as we know that the sites of many circles, which have existed to a late time, are not now to be found. The circles may have been applied later to other purposes, as places of worship, as scenes of "judicial combat," or places of meeting on great public occasions; but they seem evidently to have been designed, in the first instance, by their constructors, as sepul-

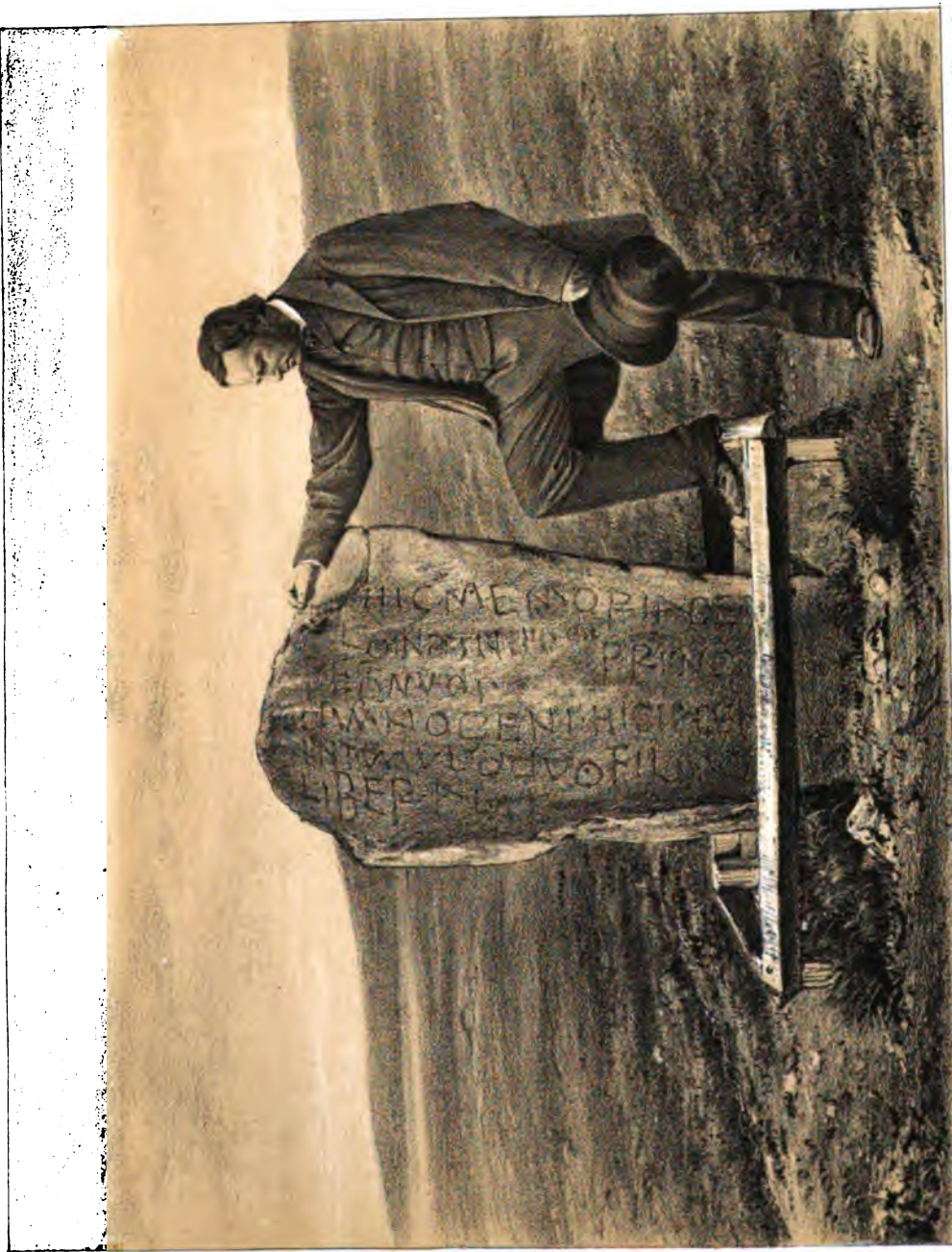
chral monuments, marking off the sacred precincts where lay the ashes or the bones of the dead. Any other supposition seems unwarranted by the facts. The reasoning, it is true, might be reversed; it might be argued that the circles were reared for religious or judicial purposes, and afterwards adopted for sepulture, as venerated places. But it would of course be necessary to produce evidence of such an original purpose in the present case—whereas none exists. There is no reason to believe that the Druidical priests, or any rites of that worship, had at any time a footing in Scotland; and in fact the Druidical theory, in regard to such works in North Britain, has been long ago abandoned by archæologists. As regards England, Brittany, and other districts where remains considered to be truly Druidical exist, the soundness of the mode of reasoning just indicated would be tested by a careful examination inside the circles, on the plan described in the present paper. To what extent such examination may have been made, I have no means of knowing. Within Stonehenge a trial has, I believe, failed to discover any human remains. Such are, however, found abundantly in the barrows and other earth-works on the adjoining plain.

I consider, therefore, on the various grounds here set forth, that a strong case has been made out for regarding the Arran circles as originally constructed for places of sepulture.

III.

ADDITIONAL NOTES IN REFERENCE TO THE INSCRIBED STONE FOUND NEAR YARROW KIRK, SELKIRKSHIRE. By JOHN ALEX. SMITH, M.D., Sec. S.A. Scot. (Plate XVIII.)

In July 1857 I brought under the notice of the Society the inscribed stone, found near Yarrow Kirk, with its rudely cut Latin inscription, and gave details of its general appearance and the history of its discovery. (This communication is printed in the Society's Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 484.) The Inscribed Stone (of which a drawing, from a photograph kindly taken for me by my friend Mr J. Smith, jun., Darnick, is given in Plate XVIII.), is a large rough or unhewn slab of grey-wacke, somewhat triangular in shape, about seven feet in length, by



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1. The first step in the process of identifying a problem is to recognize that a problem exists. This is often done by comparing current performance with a desired state or goal. If there is a discrepancy, a problem is identified.

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three feet at its greatest breadth, from which it tapers downwards towards the pointed extremity; measuring two feet across at the surface of the ground, and five feet in height, from the point being now buried to a depth of about two feet; it is about three inches in thickness at its upper part, and increases to a foot at the surface of the ground. The stone displays a rude inscription on one side, the other showing no traces of letters, or ornamental sculpture of any kind. I may remind the Society, it was discovered upwards of fifty years ago, when the waste moor on the farm of Whitehope, known by the rather strange name of Annan Street, was first brought under tillage. The locality had long been remarkable for the presence of two large unhewn standing stones, near which various cists and sepulchral remains were found; a large cairn, under which the remains of bones were observed, having been formerly removed from the base of the larger standing stone; over the whole moor, indeed, sepulchral remains have been found.

Some time after reading this communication, my attention was called to the exact correspondence in the history and place of discovery of what at first sight appeared to be another stone, stated to have been covered with incised ornaments, and described as having been discovered in a similar manner, and at the same place, as the Inscribed Stone just referred to.

The object of the following notes is an attempt to show that these two apparently distinct and separate sculptured stones are in fact but one and the same. Dr Daniel Wilson designates this second stone, with its incised ornaments, the "Annan Street Stone," and gives a figure of it in his interesting "Prehistoric Annals,"¹ in the chapter on the "Archaic or Bronze Period." After noticing the sculptured markings and concentric circles on various stones, he says:—

"Of the same class, also, is another slab figured here, the drawing of which was made by George Scott, the friend of Mungo Park, who accompanied him to Africa, and died there. It was forwarded to the Society of Antiquaries by Sir Walter Scott in 1828, who described the original as a rough sandstone, about six feet long by perhaps two and a half broad, which was raised by the plough at a place called Annan Street, upon the farm of Wheathope. The drawing is designated, probably by the original draftsman,—'A Druid stone found at Annan Street, figured with the sun and moon.' Little doubt can be entertained that it had formed the cover

¹ Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, 8vo, Edin. 1851. p. 334.

of a cist, though few probably will now be inclined to attempt a solution of the enigmatic devices rudely traced on its surface. The spot where it was found is about half a mile from the church at Yarrow, and close by there are two large stones, about 120 yards apart, which are believed to mark the scene of the memorable struggle that has given 'The dowie houns of Yarrow' so touching a place in the beautiful legendary poetry of Scotland."

On examining the letters and papers of the Society, the China-ink sketch (now exhibited) was found—and is the original from which Professor Daniel Wilson's figure was taken. The latter, I may state, is a good copy, with a slight difference merely in the shading which gives the appearance of a fractured-like extremity to the stone, being a little darker or stronger marked, perhaps, than in the original; and an impression of it, for which I am indebted to Professor Wilson, is annexed.



"ANNAN STREET STONE.—*Prehist. Annals.*"

(A) A portion has been broken off at this corner since the drawing was made, but is still preserved.)

With this drawing the following detailed MS. account was found:—

"Memoranda received by me from Sir Walter Scott, in regard to the drawing in Indian ink upon the other side.

"*Edinburgh, 9th March 1828*

(Signed) "E. W. A. DRUMMOND HAY."

"The drawing was made by (? George) Scott, who accompanied Mungo Park to Africa, and died there.

"The original is a rough sandstone about six feet long, by perhaps two and a half

feet broad, which was raised by the plough at a place called Annan Street, upon the farm of Wheathope, belonging to his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch.

"The place is about half a mile from the church of Yarrow, and is said at some remote period to have been the site of an ecclesiastical building. There are two large fragments of rock at the distance of about 120 yards from each other. Here the memorable duel is said to have taken place, which gave occasion to Hamilton's ballad of 'Busk ye, busk ye, my bonny, bonny bride;' and other ballads on the same subject. The common tradition is, that both the knights, whose names are reported to have been Scott, fell in the duel.

"Sir Walter Scott had the good fortune of preserving this curious relic of antiquity, which, from circumstances which he does not think worthy (of) record, he had accidentally discovered was about to be blown up with gunpowder some years ago."

This paper is marked on the back :—

"Notice by Sir Walter Scott of an anciently Inscribed Stone found at Annan Street, of which a drawing is annexed."

These memoranda, by Mr Hay, after a conversation with Sir Walter Scott, formed the subject of a communication on the 24th March 1828, when the Indian-ink sketch was presented by him from Sir Walter Scott to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The sketch has written on it the following descriptive title :—

"Selkirkshire,

"Dryid stone found at Annan Street, figured with ye sun and moon."

This title however, instead of being in the handwriting of the original draftsman, according to Dr Wilson's idea, is undoubtedly in the handwriting of Sir Walter Scott himself; and I may state that my friend Mr David Laing quite agrees with me on this point.

In the third volume of the second edition of the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," published in 1803, page 73, Sir Walter Scott, with his well-known fondness for giving to any floating tradition or song a local habitation and a name, fixes upon this locality of Annan Street, with its standing stones, as the scene of the tragedy described in the old ballad of the "Dowie Dens of Yarrow," which is supposed to have suggested to Hamilton of Bangour his much admired ballad, "Busk ye, busk ye, my bonny, bonny bride." In Sir Walter's introductory notes to this ballad he says :—

"The name of the murderer is said to have been Annan, and the place of combat is still called Annan's Treat. It is a low moor, on the banks of the Yarrow, lying

to the west of Yarrow Kirk. Two tall unhewn masses of stone are erected, about eighty yards distant from each other; and the least child that can herd a cow will tell the passenger that here lie 'the two lords who were slain in single combat.'"

In my former communication I referred to the curious change which Sir Walter makes in the name of the place, from Annan Street to Annan's Treat; connecting it with the supposed combat, for which I need scarcely say there seems to be no authority whatever.

In the next edition of the *Minstrelsy*, the third, published in 1806, Sir Walter gives the following addition to these introductory notes on the "Dowie Dens of Yarrow:"—

"In ploughing Annan's Treat, a huge monumental stone, with an inscription, was discovered, but being rather scratched than engraved, and the lines being run through each other, it is only possible to read one or two Latin words. It probably records the event of the combat. The person slain was the male ancestor of the present Lord Napier." (*Border Minstrelsy*, vol. ii. p. 354.)

Here then we have a published notice of this Inscribed Stone, with the markings on it, believed to be a Latin inscription, although, probably from the unfamiliar and rude forms of the letters, very little of it, indeed, had been decyphered, or Sir Walter could scarcely have supposed it to refer to the event of the combat celebrated in the "Dowie Dens of Yarrow." With regard to the person supposed to have been slain there being an ancestor of Lord Napier, I may remark in passing, I have in my previous paper, shown on the authority of the Rev. James Russell, that Lord Napier's ancestor was killed at Deuchar swire.

Sir Walter Scott, at the date of the publication of the third edition of the "*Minstrelsy*" in the year 1806, was therefore quite aware of the existence of this inscribed stone, with its Latin inscription. I shall now show, that at this same date, Sir Walter Scott was also cognizant of the existence of the so-called "Druid stone," of which the drawing, although not given to Mr Hay until 1828, was in Sir Walter Scott's possession in 1806.

The drawing of the "Druid Stone" was made, as Sir Walter Scott informed Mr Hay, by Mr George Scott, who was a son of the tenant of the farm of Singlee in Etterick; Mr Lockhart, in his *Life of Scott*, refers in his magniloquent style to the acquaintance and relations between Sir Walter and this Mr George Scott. From the published account of Mungo Park's

travels¹ we learn that Mr Scott had served for several years under an engraver of eminence in London; "the talents which he displayed as a draftsman accidentally engaged the attention of Mr Walter Scott, by whom he was recommended to the late Duchess of Buccleuch. By her Grace's influence he obtained the assurance of speedily succeeding to an office under the Ordnance department in the Tower."² Mr Scott, however, preferred to join his friend Park, and was appointed to act as draftsman to the expedition; and Park was accordingly accompanied by him when he left Britain on his last expedition to Africa, which sailed from Portsmouth on the 30th of January 1805. Mr Scott subsequently died at Koomikoomi, where Park had been obliged to leave him when on his way to the river Niger, in the autumn of the same year.

The drawing must therefore have been made before this date of 1805, and was probably given to Sir Walter by Mr Scott. When Sir Walter Scott, four and twenty years afterwards, hands it over to Mr Hay, and tells him the particulars about the stone, we need not be astonished that his memory should fail in some of the details; or that he should describe this stone of the greywacke rock of the district as a rough sandstone. Its size, about which he seems a little doubtful, corresponds, however, to that of the Inscribed Stone, and the memoranda by Mr Hay prove that it was found at the same place and at the same time as the Inscribed Stone. Both are stated to have been raised by the plough at Annan Street, on the farm of Wheathope; and Mr Hay further adds, that "Sir Walter Scott had the good fortune of preserving this curious relic of antiquity, which, from circumstances which he does not think worthy (of) record, he had accidentally discovered was about to be blown up with gunpowder some years ago." Sir Walter here speaks of some years ago, as if the discovery had been but recently made. I have, however, shown, from the date of George Scott's departure for Africa, that it must have been at least four and twenty years before, at the very time, indeed, when the moorland at Annan Street was first broken up for cultivation; and it is well known one of the first steps in an improvement of this kind, is to get rid of all the large boulders or blocks of stone which are so frequently found scattered over unreclaimed land; the means used for affecting this clearance, being simply to bore holes for blasts in the

¹ Park's Travels, 4to, Lond. 1815.

² Addenda to Park's Travels, 4to, 1815.

larger stones, and blow them to pieces with gunpowder, and the fragments can then be easily carted off and put to any economical use; and this, it appears to me, is the explanation of the rather peculiar circumstance about blowing up with gunpowder, to which Mr Hay refers in his memorandum. This very statement, indeed, conveys to my mind an additional proof that these slabs of stone are the same, because, had the one described by Sir Walter been sandstone, there would have been no occasion to use gunpowder, for what could have easily been done by the hammers of the workmen.

The simple history of the whole matter seems to have been somewhat as follows :—

About the beginning of the present century, agricultural improvements commenced on the farm of Whitehope, or Wheathope as it is commonly pronounced, which immediately adjoins Yarrow Kirk; and the low moor called Annan Street was for the first time broken up with the plough; the large stones lying on the surface were blown to pieces with gunpowder, and removed to form enclosures, and for other economical purposes. As the ploughing operations went on, various ancient interments were exposed, and among these, this large Inscribed Stone was turned up, and the remains of human bones were discovered below it.

George Scott was then living at his father's at Singlee, in the neighbouring valley of the Etterick; and learning that a curiously marked stone had been discovered in the course of the improvements at Whitehope, came, examined, and made a pencil sketch from the rough, uneven, and inscribed surface of the unhewn slab (traces of the pencil outlines still remain on this drawing). On returning home, with the help of a little imagination, he finished in Indian ink the rather artistic-looking sketch exhibited. The idea, apparently, never occurred to him, that the markings could possibly be letters, the rude forms of which were quite unfamiliar; he sketches them, therefore, merely as ornamental lines, and also represents the lines and irregularities on the natural surface of the stone in a similar way, a distinctness being probably given to them, from the sun's casting its shadows obliquely over the rough, uneven, and probably not thoroughly cleaned surface of the recently exposed stone.

Knowing the general appearance of the Inscribed Stone (see Plate XVIII.), I can easily understand that, in circumstances of the kind sup-

posed, such a drawing might be made. The general outline is like that of this inscribed stone; more so, indeed, than appears from the cast of it now in our Museum, as a portion of the upper corner of the stone (marked A in the copy of the sketch, p. 526), had unfortunately been broken off, at the removal of the stone to Bowhill, subsequent to the sketch being made; which now considerably alters this part of the outline of the stone and its cast. (This broken fragment is still preserved beside the stone, and is restored in Plate XVIII.) The cast has also been changed in other parts of its outline, which has been smoothed, and made up with stucco; and the pointed extremity of the stone, corresponding to that of the Indian-ink sketch (B.), with its splintered-like surface, and two round markings or depressions, is not shown in our cast, Mr Currie informing me he did not include it in his mould, as it apparently showed no trace of inscription; and this part being now buried in the ground, I was not able to get the comparison fully carried out between them. (The Rev. Mr Russell, at my request, has however since got the lower part of the stone examined, and can discover no defined, round impressions, but simply the rough natural surface of the stone.) The cross-shaped mark enclosed by the concentric circular lines—the sun?—shown in the drawing at the larger end of the stone, is manifestly suggested by the accidental markings which exist there in the inscribed stone; and the other fanciful and zig-zag patterns, including the circular or double spiral figure, probably the so-called moon of Sir Walter Scott, seem to be due to some of the more prominent letters, and also, like the other, in part to the various irregularities on the natural surface of the stone.

Mr George Scott gave the drawing to Sir Walter Scott, knowing his fondness for anything curious, and perhaps informed him that the stone was on the point of being blown to pieces and removed. Sir Walter is satisfied of the Druidical character of the stone, from the drawing sent him; saw on its sculptured surface, at least as displayed in the sketch before him, the figures of the sun and moon, and wrote on it his designation of a "Druid-stone."

His Grace Henry Duke of Buccleuch, the proprietor of the farm, was also informed of the discovery, not unlikely by Sir Walter himself, and the stone is preserved from destruction; the Duke gets it removed to his neighbouring residence of Bowhill, and a meeting is summoned of

the authorities of the district—Sir Walter Scott, Dr John Leyden, and Mungo Park—for its special examination, to which I have already alluded, in my previous communication. The result of this more careful examination is satisfactory so far, that it makes an end of the “Druid-stone” theory, of which we never hear again—one or two Latin words having been detected; the strange markings on the stone are therefore parts of an inscription.

Sir Walter gives us this information himself in the addition which he makes to the notes on the “Dowie Dens of Yarrow,” in the new edition of the “Minstrelay,” to which I have already referred; and fancies, as he must now give up the Druid origin of the stone, that the inscription which has been discovered probably refers to the murdered hero of the ballad. This account of the Annan Street stone is therefore added to the previous notes on the ballad; and as the supposed “Druid stone” was simply a mistake, of course we learn nothing more about it. The drawing, however, is put carefully aside, among Sir Walter’s other collections; and as the result of the examination had been by no means very satisfactory, at least in any proved relation to the supposed scene of the ballad, the fact of the discovery of the Latin word or two probably soon escaped from Sir Walter’s memory altogether.

Fortunately the Duke gave orders for the Inscribed Stone to be sent back to Yarrow Kirk, and planted erect in Annan Street, in company with the old Standing Stones which have so long watched over the forgotten graves of the district; and I am glad to say, it is now protected by a fence.

Long after this time, on the 9th of March 1828, our Secretary, Mr Drummond Hay, pays a visit to Sir Walter Scott, in Castle Street, and, as I shall show immediately, Sir Walter had recently got his hands on the old drawing of the “Druid stone,” which he gives to Mr Hay; and the conversation naturally turns upon the incidents of the discovery of the stone itself, the first impressions of which seem to be still fresh in Sir Walter’s memory; he altogether forgets, however, and apparently tells Mr Hay nothing about the old mistake, the inscription afterwards discovered on the stone, and his own published reference to it in the “Minstrelay.” Mr Hay, on his return home, jots down the leading facts which Sir Walter has told him, and as the Indian-ink sketch is added to

the collections of the Society of Antiquaries, he attaches to it his MS. sheet of memoranda, which I have already detailed.

It is curious, on turning to Lockhart's Life of Scott, to find that Sir Walter also made his memoranda of that day's labour, and Mr Hay's call, in his private Journal. We are there told how it was this old drawing turned up so opportunely. Sir Walter had been engaged in looking over, and arranging some of his old papers. We get a glimpse also, and that but a sad one, of Sir Walter's mental state at the time, and see at once the little probability there was of his remembering very distinctly any details which did not expressly bear on his own peculiar poetic fancies, or on subjects closely allied to them; instead of, as in this case, referring merely to an old stone, which obstinately refused to show any relation whatever to one of his own much loved scenes of Border life and song, with which at one time he was so strongly inclined to connect it.

In the diary given in Lockhart's Life of Scott, under the date March 9th, 1828, the very date of Mr Hay's memoranda of his call, Sir Walter writes:—

"I set about arranging my papers, a task which I always take up with the greatest possible ill will, and which makes me cruelly nervous. I don't know why it should be so, for I have nothing particularly disagreeable to look at, far from it, I am better than I was at this time last year, my hopes firmer, my health stronger, my affairs bettered, and bettering—yet I feel an inexpressible nervousness in consequence of this employment. The memory, though it retains all that has passed, has closed sternly over it; and this rummaging, like a bucket dropped suddenly into a well, deranges and confuses the ideas which slumbered on the mind. I am nervous, and I am bilious, and in a word, I am unhappy. This is wrong, very wrong, and it is reasonably to be apprehended that something of serious misfortune may be the deserved punishment of this pusillanimous lowness of spirits. Strange, that one who in most things may be said to have enough of the 'Care na by,' should be subject to such vile weakness! Drummond Hay, the Antiquary and Lyon Herald, came in." (Mr Lockhart adds in a foot note,—'W. A. Drummond Hay, Esq. (now Consul at Tangier) was at this time the deputy of his cousin, the Earl of Kinnoull, hereditary Lord Lyon King at Arms.') Sir Walter continues, "I do not know anything which relieves the mind so much from the sullenness as trifling discussions about antiquarian *old womanries*. It is like knitting a stocking—diverting the mind without occupying it; or it is like, by Our Lady, a mill dam, which leads one's thoughts gently and imperceptibly out of the channel in which they are chafing and boiling. To be sure, it is only conducting them to turn a child's mill: what signifies that? the

diversion is a relief, though the object is of little importance. I cannot tell what we talked of."

Sir Walter being in such a mood of mind, it is not to be wondered at that his memory supplied only the earlier incidents of the history of the stone—those more immediately connected with the mere finding of the single stone, and nothing more; and although aware, as I have shown, of both the Inscribed Stone and the sketch, he only refers to the existence of the one stone.

I sent a tracing of the "Druid stone" sketch with a copy of Mr Hay's memoranda, to the Rev. James Russell, minister of Yarrow, to whom I was so much indebted in my previous communication on the Inscribed Stone; and having stated my views of the matter, asked if he could furnish me with any information on the subject of the supposed pair of sculptured stones found at Yarrow. As his reply gives an excellent condensed view of the whole subject, I cannot do better than quote it at length. After referring to the Inscribed Stone, he says—

"I am sorry to say, that I never heard of any other stone connected with this locality; and if there had been, I could not but have been cognisant of it. The one that stands near this was dug up during my father's incumbency. I have very often heard him describe to strangers the circumstances under which it was found; its transportation to Bowhill, and the efforts to decipher the inscription, without success, by Sir W. Scott, and the others, whom old Duke Henry had assembled. I have had many a conversation with the Ettrick Shepherd, and various old people regarding the original appearance of the ground, with its scattered cairns, the *three* stones that remain, and the legends connected with them and the locality. Sir Walter's amanuensis and bosom friend, William Laidlaw, was a native of this parish, aided him, as you know, in his collection of ballads and antiquarian lore, and had many a talk with him on such subjects. After Sir Walter got into difficulties, Laidlaw was for years my next neighbour at the farm-house of Whitehope, on which the stone stands. We frequently discussed local antiquities, and particularly the inscribed stone, the finding of which he well remembered, but he never spoke of another near it with any sculpture. After he returned to Keaside, near Abbotsford, I was frequently with him; and about the very time Sir Walter must have sent the sketch and accompanying notice to the Society of Antiquaries, and as I was then collecting materials for the Statistical Account of the parish, I more than once asked him, if his friend had never obtained any additional light on these monuments, since he wrote his notes in the 'Border Minstrelsy.' He simply told me, that Sir Walter had discovered, that the duel he had supposed them to commemorate

had taken place at Deuchar Swire, but not a word of the Minstrel's more recent discovery, 'The Druid Stone.'

"On the very first inspection of the tracing you sent me of the latter, I perceived that it was the original inscribed stone, which fancy had decked out in fairy forms—in fact, an old friend with a new face. It agreed with it in site, in size, and shape (that being pretty marked and peculiar). In the zig-zag lines of the sculpture I recognised a succession of Roman letters; and the circles were obviously the natural hollows of the hard whinstone. I have been unable, after a careful excavation, to find anything corresponding with the two round depressions in the lower part. Of course it is somewhat singular, that, in the 'Prehistoric Annals,' we should have the drawing of a monument, which turns out to be a mere myth. Dr Wilson, however, obviously took as his authority the drawing of Mr George Scott, Singlee. Mr Scott had traced out some of the prominent lines presented by the stone, and his imagination twisted them into rude sculptures; the drawing he probably presented to the author of the 'Minstreley,' on learning how much he was interested in the relic. Like the first chapters of 'Waverley,' but still longer, the sketch, with its strange devices, appears to have lain by in Sir Walter's repositories, till he came upon it like a new discovery. True, as you remark in your letter, 'he was cognizant of the fact of *Latin words* forming part of the inscription on the stone he himself refers to in his 'Minstreley,' but does not mention the words; he says, 'they were rather scratched than engraved.' Even at the first, then, these words seem to have had little importance attached to them, and made little impression on his memory or mind; when he lighted on the drawing twenty-four years after, that unrivalled memory was considerably impaired, that mighty mind had 'o'er informed its tenement of clay;' and no wonder that he at once, without reflection or reference, transmitted it, as something very valuable, to your Museum."

I am inclined to think I have now proved that only one stone, this Inscribed Stone with its rude inscription, and none with any other sculpture, was found at Annan Street, on Whitehope farm, in Yarrow; and, however unwilling my friend Mr John Stuart may be to give up the supposed existence of any Sculptured Stone, that the "Annan Street stone" of Dr Wilson and the "Druid stone" of Sir Walter Scott must now be both regarded as due originally to the fancy of an artist, and have no existence save in this Inscribed Stone still remaining at Yarrow Kirk; from which a mould of its Latin inscription was recently presented to our Museum by His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, and it still remains a riddle for our Antiquaries to read.

In conclusion, I may venture to make a few remarks on the inscription

itself; I fear, however, many of the letters are now so much obliterated by the touch of time, that it will be almost impossible to make out anything more than a fanciful reading, at least of part of the inscription.

In my previous notice of the stone, I gave the reading which had then been suggested. Since that time we have got a cast taken from the mould of the inscription presented to us. I am, however, still unable to give more than a very partial reading of it.

The inscription is cut lengthwise along the stone, and the first line is tolerably parallel to its edge; and as the stone is irregular on its surface and of unequal breadth, the lower lines are more wavy in their character, and vary in length, apparently to accommodate them better to the space left on the narrower parts of the stone; it consists of six lines, of debased or rudely formed Roman capitals, with the exception apparently of two or three letters, which appear to be minuscules or small letters, but are nearly of the same size as the others. I shall not, however, attempt to enter into any critical details of the character of the individual letters, which vary in size from two to four inches in length. (See Plate XVIII.)

Professor Simpson, in his learned and interesting communication on the CAT STONE,¹ alludes to the resemblance of its inscription to this Yarrow stone. He is inclined to consider the latter may record three interments; the whole appearing to read, as far as it is decipherable, as follows:—

HIC MEMOR IACIT F
LOIN :: NI :: HIC
PE :: M
DVMNOGENI · HIC IACENT
IN TVMVLO DVO FILI
LIBERALI

The different interments he does not define very minutely; but in accordance with the readings given of inscribed stones of a somewhat similar kind, found in considerable abundance in Wales, I suppose he would divide the inscription as follows:—

¹ Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Scot., vol. iv. p. 119.

The first record, beginning with the commencement of the inscription and ending with the second line, the Professor reads—

HIC · MEMOR · IACIT · F
LOIN : : : NI : : :

“ Here Memor lies, (F for filius) the son of Loin : : : us.”

The second record of interment begins under the second line, nearly at its termination :—

HIC
PE : : M : :
DVMNOGENI ·

“ Here Pe : : m : : the son of Dumnogenus.”

And the third and last, which is the most perfect :—

HIC · IACENT
IN · TVMVLO · DVO · FILI
LIBERALI

“ Here lie in the tumulus, or tomb, two sons Liberalis, or of Liberalis.”

Professor Simpson tells us,—“ The name of Liberalis is probably the Latinised form of a British surname having the same meaning. Rydderch, King of Strathclyde, in the latter part of the sixth century, and the personal friend of Kentigern and Columba, was sometimes, from his munificence, termed Rydderch Hael, or, in its Latinised form, Rydderch Liberalis.”

I agree with Professor Simpson in the general explanation of the inscription, but differ from him a little in some of the details of his reading. The first line I read, HIC MEMOR IACET I, considering the last letter of the first line an I, and taking the last and only perfect sentence of the inscription as a guide to the arrangement of the others; I was at first inclined to attempt a reading of the commencement also, of the inscription in a similar way, as there seemed to me to be a portion of a letter V left on the broken part of the stone at the beginning of the second line; showing possibly that others were lost where this corner was broken, and suggesting the word *tumulo*, as in the last part of the inscription, ‘ Here Memor lies in the tumulus or tomb, &c.’ The Rev. Mr Russell, however, has since informed me that the broken portion of the stone is very small, and shows no traces of letters. (This broken corner

is shown in the Plate, restored to its original position.) I am now therefore inclined to read the last letter of the first line, as it is shorter than the others, simply as a linear point or stop. The second line, omitting the very doubtful letter at its commencement, seems to read LOINRISNI, the letters RIS, however, being doubtful; and it concludes with some still more doubtful letters which may suggest the word Filius, the letters being nearly obliterated, and bending upwards towards the first line:—

HIC MEMOR IACET
LOINRISNI

The next word, at the end, and below the second line, I read PRINC, and it perhaps terminates with an I, the following or third line commencing with the letters PE (and possibly a rudely formed and doubtful S), which is followed by the letter C, also rather doubtful, and next by the letters NVdI, the d being a minuscule, and the whole not very distinct, it then terminates apparently with a mark or stop; the reading of the letters NVdI was previously pointed out by Mr Russell. The fourth line begins with the word dVMNOGENI, the first letter, the d, being a minuscule, the next, V and M a compound letter, and the G similar to that on various stones found in Wales,¹ the other letters are quite distinct; this word is also followed by a point or stop:—

PRINCI
PE(S)CNVdI·
dVMNOGENI·

What peculiar British names are thus Latinised I cannot tell. Whether any old records may throw light on the names indicated in this inscription I do not at present know. The inscription then concludes either with the record of another interment, or is simply a continuation of the sentence, and refers to the individuals just named, as the sons of Liberalis:—

HIC IACENT
IN TVMVLO dVO FILII
LIBERALIS

The letters V and M in the word *tumulo*, like some of the others, are compound, or tied together, and we have the d in dVO again apparently

¹ See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, April 1860, &c. &c.

a minuscule; the last word in the line is FILII, and the line below gives us the last word of the inscription, LIBERALIS, as I fancy I can detect a small mark on the cast, which may possibly be the minuscule letter s, if not simply a stop or point at the conclusion of the word.

The inscription, therefore, may suggest the following reading :—

‘ HERE MEMOR LIES
OF LOINRIENUS (THE SON)
PRINCES (or, Chieftains of)
CNUDUS (AND) DUMNOGENUS, HERE LIE
IN THE TUMULUS, TWO SONS
OF LIBERALIS (?).’

The most distinct parts of the inscription may be read as follows :—

HIC MEMOR IACET:
LOIN : : : NI : : : : :
PE : : NVdI· PRINC
dVMNOGENI · HIC IACENT
IN TVMVLO dVO FILII
LIBERALI

It is with great doubt I have ventured to bring this fragmentary, and I fear fanciful, reading of the inscription under the notice of the Society. I hope at some future time to make a more careful examination of the inscription, on the lichen covered stone itself, than I have yet been able to do, which may perhaps enable me to throw a little more light on the subject. Meantime, I trust Professor Simpson, or some other Fellow of our Society, may be attracted to the work of deciphering the still obscure parts of this inscription, and, if possible, inform us what the record has to tell about the great men, it may be, of their day and nation, whose long forgotten graves, by the quiet banks of the Yarrow, this anciently inscribed stone still commemorates.

With the single exception of the “CAT STANE,” with its shorter, but to all appearance equally dark and mysterious inscription, which, however, Professor Simpson has now so wonderfully illustrated; this is the only other inscribed memorial stone as yet known to exist in Scotland, which also belongs to a very early period of our history, and refers to a people who are all but unknown to us.

Since these notes were read to the Society, I have been favoured with another communication from the Rev. James Russell, which completely settles the question of the number of the Inscribed or Sculptured Stones found at Annan Street, in Yarrow, and, I am glad to say, in accordance with the view I had taken up. Mr Russell writes as follows:—

“I am now fortunately able to throw some light on the origin of the drawing made by Mr George Scott, Singlee. During a recent visit to Mr Ballantyne of Holylee, the only person now alive who can give personal and direct information on the subject, I gathered from him the following particulars, confirming the opinion which I had previously formed. Having resided on the farm of Whitehope, from early infancy for nearly forty years, he was perfectly cognizant of everything that occurred there. At the time when the improvements at Annan Street were carried out, and the stone in question was discovered, he was a lad of 16, and still retains a most distinct recollection of all the circumstances connected with it, so that his testimony cannot be disputed. He assured me that only *one carved stone* was raised by the plough during the course of the whole improvements, and that it was never in contemplation to blow it up with gunpowder, for immediately on its being found, his father had it removed to a place of safety, near the farm-house. While it lay there, some friends, including Mr George Scott, came to examine it, and on their forenoon inspection were only able to make out what looked like *HIC MEMORIÆ*. They spent the day at Whitehope, and after partaking freely of the hospitalities of a most liberal host, they paid another visit to the rudely-carved block. Mr B., who watched their proceedings throughout with great interest, was astonished and amused to perceive how wonderfully, by this time, their wits were sharpened; they had no longer the same difficulty in deciphering the tracings, at least to their own satisfaction, and before leaving Mr Scott took a hasty pencil sketch. Mr Ballantyne added, that this *same stone* was sent to Bowhill, for the Duke's special examination, and was then restored to its old locality, where it yet remains.

“These reminiscences of Mr Ballantyne, fresh as yesterday, ought to set this *lis sub judice* completely at rest. They prove beyond a doubt, that the stone on which Mr Scott exercised his ingenuity was the one that still stands erect at Annan Street. If it be asked, How in that case were the words read at the first, omitted? let it suffice to say, in explanation, that they might be traced very indistinctly, if not illegibly, in the after-dinner sketch, and that it seems to have been filled up, or more probably copied, at a subsequent period, with some embellishments, when they had been forgotten. The finished drawing was then given by Mr George Scott to his friend, the Author of the “Minstrelsy,” on learning the interest he took in the matter, as I have already suggested in my former letter.”

IV.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PLATE-MARKS USED IN SCOTLAND SINCE THE YEAR 1457, AND CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THOSE OF EDINBURGH FROM 1681; TO WHICH IS ADDED A NOTE OF THOSE USED IN GLASGOW. BY MR JAMES H. SANDERSON. (Plates XIX. and XX.)

The only Government Assay Offices in Scotland are those of Edinburgh and Glasgow, so that all plate made in Scotland is stamped at one or other of these offices. The Edinburgh office is, like most others, under the management of the Goldsmiths' Corporation, which we find existed previous to the year 1457. The deacon and wardens are chosen annually, who appoint their assay-master and officers, and are required to pay quarterly to Government the duties collected on gold and silver plate; which in some years amount to a considerable sum. In answer to a return ordered by the House of Commons, we learn that the Edinburgh Office stamped in the year 1847 nearly 29,000 ounces, and paid to Government L.2152. It may be interesting, although not strictly belonging to the plate-marks of Scotland, to see the particulars of the returns made to the House that year from the various offices in the United Kingdom (which are subjoined), with the number of ounces stamped, and the amount paid by each office, amounting in all to L.82,876, 10s. 4d.

The assay or plate-marks, as they are generally called, are understood by many to be a proof only that the article so marked is made of metal of a certain purity, which is so far correct; but these marks (now five in number), when properly understood, are of great use to the Government, and to the dealer in plate, and prove highly interesting and instructive to the archæologist, for they clearly indicate the name of the maker, the town the plate was made or stamped in, the quality of the metal, the date of stamping, and also that the duty has been paid. Those for Edinburgh are—

- I. The **MAKER'S MARK** is his initials.
- II. The **TOWN OR HALL MARK**, a Castle.
- III. The **STANDARD MARK**, a Thistle.
- IV. The **DATE MARK**, a Letter of the Alphabet.
- V. The **DUTY MARK**, the Reigning Sovereign's Head.

I. The first of these, the **MAKER'S MARK**, was introduced by Act of the Scots Parliament in the year 1457. This is the only stamp which

belongs to the maker, and is impressed on the work by himself; but before doing so he is required to send it to the Goldsmiths' Hall, where a metal impress is taken of it and retained for reference. When the assayer has tested the work, and found the metal to be of the requisite quality, he then affixes to it the remaining four Government stamps.

II. The **TOWN MARK** was introduced by Act of Parliament in the year 1483.

III. The **STANDARD MARK**, by minute of the Corporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh in 1759, but from the year 1457 to this date, a period of above three hundred years, the initials of the deacon of the Corporation were used instead of the thistle.

IV. The **DATE MARK**, in 1681, by minute of Corporation; the letter is on an escutcheon or shield-shaped punch, and is changed every year, in September.

V. The **DUTY MARK** was introduced in 1784; and is useful in the event of exporting plate, as Government allows a drawback of the whole duty, provided the plate is new and has not been used.

It is satisfactory to find that the early Scottish plate is stamped in strict accordance with the various Acts of Parliament, Royal Grants, Acts of Town Council, and Minutes of Goldsmiths' Corporation, all tending to protect the public interest, and regulate the proceedings of the Corporation of Goldsmiths in Edinburgh. By Act of Parliament, so far back as 1457, in the reign of James II., it was enacted "That Gold Work be not worse than¹ XX grains, and silver² XI grains fine, and that it be marked by the maker and deacon, or head officer of the Town." The only marks used from the above date for twenty-five years would be the initials or mark of the above two parties. And by Acts of Parliament in the reign of James III., in 1483; James IV., in 1489; and Queen Mary, in 1555, it is provided "That no Goldsmith make work of silver under³ eleven penny fine, and of gold under³ 22 carats fine, if otherwise, the work to be broken down, and the maker tine his goods to the king, and his life be in the king's will; and that all work be marked by the maker, deacon, and town-mark." For nearly two hundred years, from 1483, the hall-marks were in accordance with these Acts of Parlia-

¹ 20 grains or parts of fine gold in 24.

² 11 do. of pure silver in 12.

³ 22 parts of fine gold in 24.

ment, see example No. 1 (Plate XIX.), from the mace of the city of Edinburgh, known by the City records to have been made in 1617, by George Robertson, and bears his initials, the deacon's, and town-mark.

No. 2, from the plate belonging to the Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, bearing date 1633.

No. 3, from the High Church plate, dated 1643.

No. 4, that of Newbattle Church plate, dated 1646.

No. 5, the Dalkeith Church plate, has no date, but is known from the records to be older than that of Newbattle. In this case both the maker and deacon have their marks along with their initials.

No. 6, from a peg tankard, the property of Sir John Maxwell, Bart., of Pollok, said to be of the sixteenth century, but now known from the initials of maker and assay-master to have been stamped about the year 1681. In this instance, probably, the maker and deacon were the same individual.

The other early Acts regulating the management of the Corporation of Goldsmiths in Edinburgh, and hall-marks are,—A grant by the Town-Council to the hammermen, including goldsmiths and others, in 1483.

Letter under the Privy Seal of James VI., in favour of deacons and masters of the Goldsmiths' Craft of Edinburgh, in 1586.

James VI., Act of Parliament in favour of the goldsmiths of Edinburgh ratifying the above letter, dated 1587.

Act of Council in favour of goldsmiths' craft, "Anent the supplication gevin in before thame be George Heriott, deykin of the goldsmiths, for himself, and in name and behalf of the remanant brethers of said craft, in 1591."

Charter by James VII., in favour of the goldsmiths of Edinburgh, sealed at Whitehall in 1687.

As already mentioned, the date-mark was introduced in 1681, at the term of Michaelmas (29th September), and the letter continued till that term in the following year, so that each letter embraced part of two years.

The alphabet chosen for the *first cycle*, as shown in list (Plate XX.), was a small black letter, commencing A in 1681, and finishing with Z in 1705; in all twenty-four letters, there being no J nor U, four stamps only being used from this period, till 1759. (See example Plate No. 7, T.C., maker's monogram; the *castle*, the town mark; the small black letter B, the *date*; and the manuscript capital B, the deacon or assay-master's initial.)

For *Cycle II.*, Roman capitals, commencing in 1705 and finishing with Z in 1730, no J used; in all twenty-five letters.

For *Cycle III.*, italic capitals, commencing in 1730 and finishing with Z in 1755, no J; in all twenty-five letters.

For *Cycle IV.*, a black letter capital, commencing in 1755 and finishing with & after Z in 1780, has neither S nor U; in all twenty-five letters. In this Cycle the standard-mark was introduced (in 1759) instead of the assay-master's initials (see example No. 8).

For *Cycle V.*, Roman capitals [the same as Cycle II., but has now the standard-mark], commencing in 1780, and finishing with Z in 1806: has no J. In this Cycle the duty-mark was introduced (in 1784). The letter G is repeated, giving in all twenty-six letters (see example No. 9), which five stamps are continued to the present time.

For *Cycle VI.*, a small Roman character, commencing in 1806 and finishing with Z in 1832: has the letter J; in all twenty-six letters.

For *Cycle VII.*, an old English capital, commencing in 1832 and finishing with Z in 1857: has no J; in all twenty-five letters.


For *Cycle VIII.*, Egyptian capitals, commencing in 1857, and will end with Z in 1882, provided the J is not used.

LIST OF PLATE FROM WHICH THE ANNUAL LETTERS HAVE BEEN
TAKEN, MANY OF THEM BEARING DATES.

CYCLE I.

Most of the letters in this Cycle are taken from the Minutes of the Goldsmiths' Corporation, in many cases from an impression of the actual punch given on the paper. Those from plate are—

B. 1682-6. A Jug, the property of the late Lord Murray. There seems to have been another form of B used this year, as on the

Duddingston communion cups, dated 1682, the B is thus, 

E. 1665-3. Auchtermuchtie Communion Cups, "gifted by Janet Ross," bearing date 1686.

N. 1693-4. Trinity College Communion Cups, "the gift of George Stirling," the arms of Edinburgh engraved inside, and bearing date 1693.

R. 1697-8. A Cup at Messrs C. R. & Son.

<p>THE STAMP for gold of 22 cts. & MARK. 2 dwt. The mark inscribing Sovereign, 1759 by Minute of This mark indicates 18 ct. gold, as has been paid.</p>		<p>THE DATE MARK. A Letter of the Alphabet, introduced 1681, and changed every year in Septem- ber, by Minute of Corporation.</p>	
CYCLE I.		CYCLE VI.	<div>CYCLE VII.</div> <div>CYCLE VIII.</div>
	CHARLES II. 1681-2	GEORGE III. 1806-7	WILLIAM IV. 1832-3
	1682-3	1807-8	1833-4
	1683-4	1808-9	1834-5
	1684-5	1809-0	1835-6
	JAMES VII. 1685-6	1810-1	1836-7
	1686-7	1811-2	VICTORIA. 1837-8
	1687-8	1812-3	1838-9
	WILL. & MARY. 1688-9	1813-4	1839-0
	1689-0	1814-5	1840-1
	1690-1	1815-6	1841-2
	1691-2	1816-7	1842-3
	1692-3	1817-8	1843-4
	1693-4	1818-9	1844-5
	1694-5	1819-0	1845-6
	WILLIAM III. 1695-6	GEORGE IV. 1820-1	1846-7
	1696-7		1871-2
<p>In Cycle Cycle II Cycle I of Assay Master's initials; has no letter J or W. Cycle Vided in 1784. Has no letter J, and the letter G is repeated in I</p>			
<p>* So that each letter embraced part of two years.</p>			

E MARKS.

- S. 1698-9. Trinity College Communion Cups, a gift, arms of Edinburgh inside, and dated 1698.
W. 1701-2. New North Kirk Communion Cups, "the gift of Mr William Archibald," 1702.
Y. 1703-4. New North Kirk Communion Cups, "the gift of John Cunningham of Bandalas," 1704.

CYCLE II.

- C. 1708-9. Lady Yester's Communion Cups, "presented by Thomas Wilkie," 1708; another C. New North Kirk Baptism Laver, "gifted by Mary Ereskin," 1708.
D. 1709-0. Eddleston Communion Cups, bearing date 1709.
H. 1712-3. A pair of Candlesticks, at Messrs C. R. & Son.
P. 1719-0. Punch Bowl, Royal Company of Archers, bearing date 1720.

CYCLE III.

- B. 1731-2. Sugar Basin, Messrs Mackay and Chisholm.
O. 1743-4. Silver Club, the Edinburgh Golfers, bearing date 1744.
T. 1748-9. Dinner Spoon, Mr Munro.
U. 1749-0. The Old Church, St Giles', Communion Cups, bearing date 1750.
Y. 1753-4. Dinner Spoon, Mr Stewart.

CYCLE IV.

- B. 1756-7. Tea Pot, Messrs Mackay and Chisholm.
H. 1762-3. Old Chapel of Ease Communion Cups, St Cuthbert's Parish, 1763.
J. 1763-4. Baptismal Laver, do. do. 1763.
M. 1766-7. Cake Basket, Messrs Mackay and Chisholm.
N. 1767-8. Snuffer Tray, late Lord Murray.
P. 1769-0. Sugar Basket, Messrs Mackay and Chisholm.
Q. 1770-1. Spoon, Captain Gordon of Cluny.
R. 1771-2. Salt Cellar, Messrs C. R. & Son.
S. 1772-3. Spoon, Captain Gordon of Cluny.
Y. 1777-8. Salver, Messrs C. R. and Son.
&. 1779-0. Spoon, Mr Munro.

CYCLE V.

- E. 1784-5. Medal, Royal Company of Archers. 1785.

- K. 1790-1. Cup, Messrs C. R. & Son.
 L. 1791-2. Medal, Royal Company of Archers, 1792.
 R. 1797-8. Spoon, Mr Sanderson's.
 W. 1802-3. Spoon, Mrs Aitchison's.

CYCLE VI.

- A. 1806-7. Salver, Mr Nisbet's.
 D. 1809-0. Pepper-box, Messrs C. R. & Son.
 E. 1810-1. Salver, Mr Nisbet's.
 G. 1812-3. Basin, do., 1812.
 H. 1813 4. Spoon, Mrs Aitchison.
 L. 1817-8. Medal Royal Company of Archers, 1818.
 T. 1825-6. Mr Sanderson's.

Cycles VII. and VIII. require no proof.

The particulars of the return made to the House of Commons, showing the quantity of wrought Gold and Silver in ounces Stamped at each of the Assay Offices in the United Kingdom, in the year 1847, with date of Establishment, and Town Mark of each.

	Estab- lished.	Town Mark.	Gold, 17a per oz.	Silver, 1s. 6d. per oz.	Amount paid to Government.
Birmingham,	1778	An Anchor.	2·276	42·985	L.5,011 12 9
Chester, .	1700	{ A Sword between three Garbs. }	·221	·879	211 9 0
Exeter, . .	1701	A Castle.	·294	41·597	3,282 11 10½
Newcastle, ¹	1423	Three Castles.	·203	12·882	1,074 1 11½
Sheffield, .	1778	A Crown.	...	54·012	8,981 12 0½
York, . .	1428	{ A Cross with five Lions passant. }	·78	1·651	185 10 0
London, .	1800	A Leopard's Head.	5·196	988·250	64,026 11 5
Edinburgh,	1457	A Castle.	·62	28·729	2,162 15 1
Glasgow, .	1819	{ A Fish, Tree, and Bell. }	·5	28·751	1,741 9 1½
Dublin, ² .	1638	A Harp Crowned.	·70	20·898	1,258 12 1
Total, .	...	.....	8·405	1·209·184	L.82,876 10 4

¹ Although Newcastle-on-Tyne was appointed in 1423, it seems to have relinquished its privilege, as it was reappointed in 1701.

² The Corporation of Goldsmiths in Dublin is known to have existed long previous to 1638. Although it was not until December of that year that they obtained a charter from Charles I., and that the Harp only was used as *Town Mark* previous to the Harp Crowned.

From a careful calculation from the figures brought out in this return, it is estimated that not less than L.824,000 was paid for gold and silver plate in that year.

Mr Morgan, in his interesting paper on the subject, informs us, that there were other cities in England appointed to have "divers touches," as they were called, or assay offices; that by statute in 1423, Lincoln, Norwich, Bristol, Salisbury, and Coventry were named; but with the exception of Norwich, they do not seem to have exercised their privilege; and that of Norwich for a short time only.

There are now two Standards for Gold and Silver work, sanctioned by Act of Parliament, called the Old and New standards.

The *old standard* for gold is 22 carats fine, which is 22 parts of pure gold (in 24) to 2 parts, or $\frac{1}{12}$ th of alloy. The *new standard* is 18 carats fine, which is 18 parts of pure gold to 6 parts, or $\frac{1}{4}$ of alloy.

The *old standard* for silver is 11 oz. 2 dwt. of pure silver in a pound Troy; and the *new standard*, 11 oz. 10 dwt. of pure silver in the same weight (this standard has not been used hitherto in Scotland).

By Act of Parliament in 1836-7, in the reign of William IV., entitled "An Act to fix the Standard Qualities of Gold and Silver Plate in Scotland, and to provide for the Assaying and Marking thereof," the marks required are—

For *gold* of 22 carats, the five stamps already given—the Maker's initials, the Town, the Standard, the Duty, and Date marks.

For *gold* of 18 carats, the same, with the additional stamp of 18.

For *silver* of the old standard, the same stamps as for gold of 22 carats.

For *silver* of the new standard, the same stamps, with the additional mark of Britannia.

In these days, when electro-gilding and plating is so much resorted to, it would be advisable that some distinction should be made between the stamps used for standard gold and that of silver. Such as are adopted in London, by the recent Acts of Victoria, gold of 22 carats has a crown and the figures 22, instead of the standard mark; and as provision is now made for stamping gold of a lower standard than 22 and 18 carats, viz., 15, 12, and 9 carats, and that at a trifling expense, all gold work should be stamped with one or other of these numbers, provided it can be done without defacing the work. Were the provisions in these recent Acts

adopted in Scotland, it would prove a benefit to the public generally, and could not be objected to by the dealer.

GLASGOW HALL MARKS.

(The Glasgow Assay Office was established by Act of Parliament in May 1819.)

- I. The **MAKER'S MARK**, his initials.
- II. The **HALL MARK**, the Glasgow Arms, a Tree, Fish, and Bell.
- III. The **STANDARD MARK**, a Lion rampant.
- IV. The **DATE MARK**, a Letter of the alphabet, changed every year on 1st July.
- V. The **DUTY MARK**, the reigning Sovereign's head.

CYCLE I.—A large Roman character, commencing with A in 1819, and finishing with Z in 1845. They use the J, in all twenty-six letters.

CYCLE II.—An old English character, commencing with A in 1845, and will finish with Z in 1871.

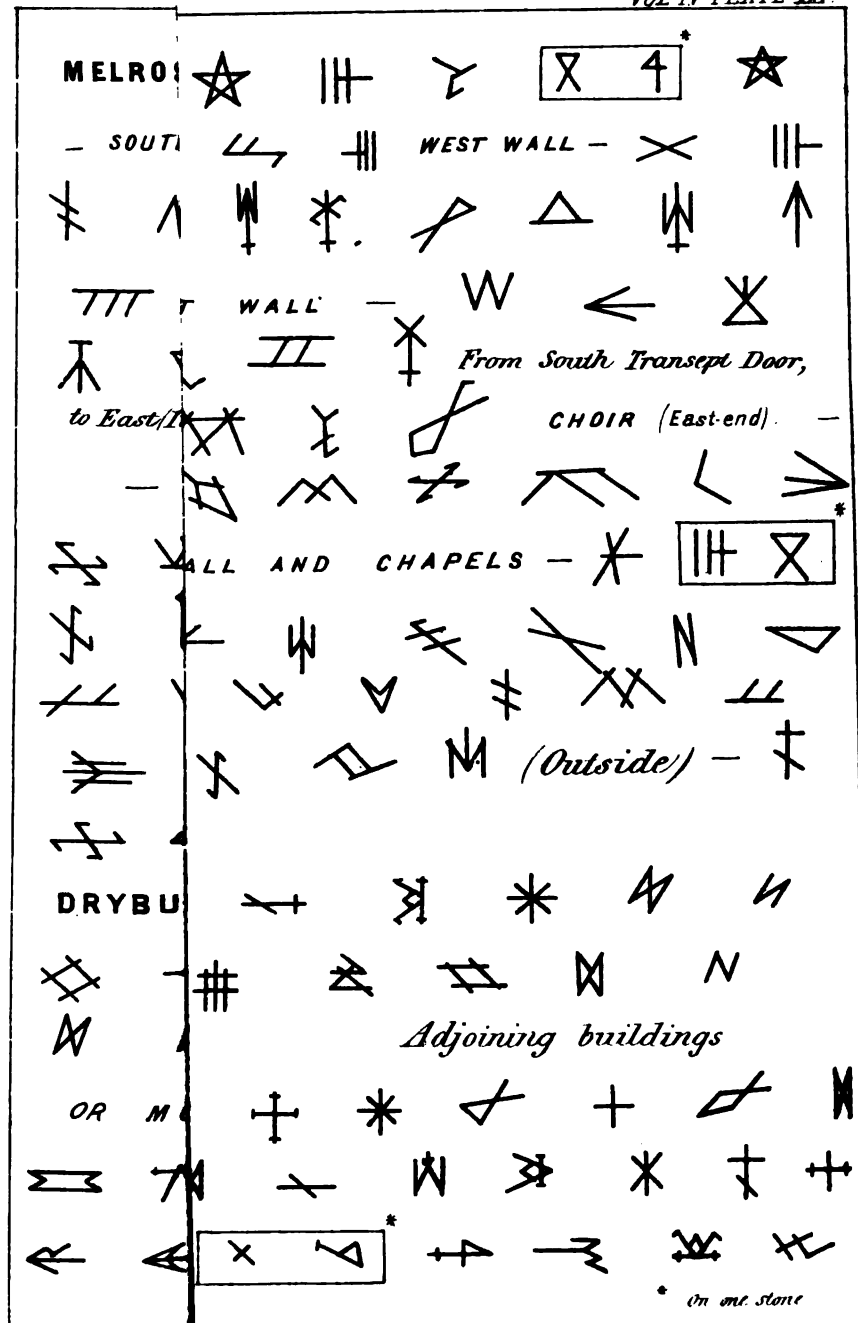
I have to apologise to the Society for the length of this paper, which has far exceeded my original intention. I have endeavoured as much as possible to avoid trade technicalities, and I hope have been able to make the subject sufficiently understood. My best thanks are due to the Deacon and members of the Goldsmiths' Corporation, for allowing me to examine their records on the subject, which are continued in regular succession for nearly two hundred years; and to several gentlemen and friends who have kindly given me access to their plate, from which these marks have been procured.

I am still adding to my collection, and may bring before the Society at some future period an earlier list of these interesting marks, and I shall be glad to receive impressions in wax or gutta percha taken from any antique plate.

V.

EXHIBITION OF MASON-MARKS COPIED FROM MELROSE ABBEY, DRYBURGH, JEDBURGH, &c. &c. BY JOHN ALEX. SMITH, M.D., Sec. S.A. Scot. (Plate XXI.)

Mason-marks, I need scarcely say, are the short-hand signatures or markings (generally formed of combinations of finely cut straight lines,



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*(1450-1454)**(repeatedly represented)*

touching or crossing one another at various angles, and from one to four or more inches in length), which masons have for centuries been in the habit of cutting on the stones wrought or hewn by them. These marks vary much in character and shape, but may be all included in two classes; the false or Blind mark of the apprentice, displaying an equal number of points; and the True mark of the fellow-craft or passed mason, which always consists of an unequal number of points. Two marks not unfrequently occur on the same stone, showing it had been hewn by the apprentice, and finished or passed as correct by the mason, who places on it, in addition, his own distinctive mark. By means of these marks it would of course be easy to know which mason had hewn any particular stone, as well as the number of stones finished by each.

The masons of the present day still use a similar class of marks, and have them also frequently cut on the various tools of their trade. The marks are, however, not so commonly seen on modern buildings, as they are now generally cut on the bed of the stone, which is hid in the completed building; and not on the exposed and polished surface of the finished hewn stone, as seems to have been generally the case in older buildings. These marks were often hereditary in the families of masons, descending to the youngest son, and if the mark was adopted during the lifetime of his father, he added for difference, other points, straight lines, or angles to his father's mark. I have had pointed out various marks which have been used and added to in this way. The marks were (and I believe in some cases are still) given to the individual apprentice and mason by the lodge of Free Masons to which they belonged, and duly registered in its records; they are, therefore, rarely changed by the individual, except from the apprentice, to that of the fellow-craft or master-mason.

Collections of these mason-marks, taken from any ancient building, are interesting for comparison with those of other old buildings, believed to be of the same age. As it is supposed that the masons employed on many of our ancient edifices were comparatively few in number, and travelled from one place to another, when the building on which they were engaged was completed, the occurrence of similar groups of mason-marks, might therefore help to indicate a nearly contemporaneous age in different buildings. From their similarity over the whole of any particular building, or their total dissimilarity in particular parts, these marks

might also tend to prove that the entire building had been executed by the same group of men at the one time, or that particular parts of it had been erected by another body of men at a different period.

Several years ago, with the assistance of my friend, Mr Adam Smith, I copied a number of the mason-marks on various parts of Melrose Abbey, principally from the interior of the building, where it has been less exposed to the action of the weather; and I have since added to this collection. I was anxious to learn whether the same mason-marks were repeated over the whole of the present ruins, or whether they could be divided into groups corresponding in any way to the parts of the building which seem to show a different style, and therefore probably a different age in the architecture. It might also be curious to compare a collection of these marks with those on other ancient buildings in the district; and with the different churches mentioned in the Memorial Tablet to JOHN MOROW, in the south transept of Melrose Abbey, to learn, if possible, what may have been the extent of the repairs made while the mason-work was under his care, as shown, it might be, by the existence on any of these buildings of similar groups of mason-marks, which would thus seem to connect any repair, with the lodge of masons who worked at the restorations of Melrose. No doubt the "kepyng" referred to in the tablet might mean little more than a mere charge or superintendence of the finished structures, which seem to be arranged in the rhyme of this memorial inscription, simply in the order of their ecclesiastical precedence:—

John : morow : sum : tym : callit
 was : x : and : born : in : parpse :
 certainly : and : had : in : kepyng :
 al : mason : werk : of : lantan
 drops : pe : hpe : kprk : of : glal
 gto : melros : and : pallap : of :
 nprdyfswapll : and : of : galway¹

I also exhibit sketches of the mason-marks of Dryburgh Abbey and Monastery, which were copied in the summer of 1861; and may state,

¹ (" Nithsdale and of Galloway,") Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 166.

in passing, that the destruction of this church seems to have been greatly caused by its hewn stones being quarried out in masses, for the purpose of being used in the construction of other buildings.

Various contributions of mason-marks have been forwarded to me by different friends. Alexander Jeffrey, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., Jedburgh, sends several copied by him from the old Abbey there.

To Dr Arthur Mitchell, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., I am indebted for various curious examples, collected by himself, from different buildings in Fife, &c.

Lastly, I must refer especially to our valued Corresponding Member, Andrew Jervise, Esq., Brechin, who has forwarded to me, from his antiquarian collections, a series of mason-marks from a number of ancient buildings in his own and the neighbouring districts of Scotland.

These various examples of Mason-marks now exhibited, I have the pleasure of adding to the collections of the Society. (See Plate XXI.)

MONDAY, 9th June 1862.

The Hon. LORD NEAVES, Vice-President, in the chair.

Upon a ballot, ANDREW GILLMAN, Esq., S.S.C., was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The following Donations were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the several donors:—

Clay Sepulchral Urn or "Drinking Cup," $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, partially broken. The urn is contracted a little above the middle, and expands upwards to a wide-shaped mouth; it is richly ornamented with alternate bands of short perpendicular and crossing lines, and was found in the year 1810 under a cairn of stones on a hill in the parish of Carluke, Lanarkshire.

By JAMES H. SANDERSON, Esq., George Street.

Irregularly shaped Stone Slab of Chlorite Schist, measuring 2 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, by 12 inches in its greatest breadth; it displays on one side an incised Latin cross 13 inches in length. The stone shows marks

of having been partly buried in the ground, and was probably a tomb stone; it was found on the island of Eilean-more, Argyleshire.

By Professor J. Y. SIMPSON, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

Collection of Mason-Marks copied from Ancient Buildings in various parts of Scotland (see Communication, p. 548); and

Roman Bronze Patella, dug up on the farm of Palace, Roxburghshire, in December 1849. (See Communication, page 597.)

By JOHN ALEX. SMITH, M.D., Sec. S.A. Scot.

Pair of small Brass Compasses, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length; each limb is bent into a semicircle at the upper part, and passed through the opposite one; and

Five small Portions of Green, and two of Blue-coloured Window Glass, showing remains of scroll patterns painted in red. Found at Lindores Abbey.

By CHARLES LEES, Esq., R.S.A., and F.S.A. Scot.

Bronze circular Ring Brooch, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter; and Rude Brass Seal, one inch in length, displaying an acorn, with stalk and leaves. Found in Dumfriesshire.

By the Rev. J. RODDICK, Kirkinner, Wigtonshire.

Portion of Double-edged Sword, with part of Iron Guard or Basket Handle attached. Found in a moss near Lauder. By Mr D. HASSACK.

Green Cloth Table-Cover from the Session-room of St Cuthbert's or West Church, Edinburgh, measuring 17 feet long by 4 feet wide, with an inscription, embroidered in yellow silk, round the edges, in letters 2 inches long, being the first, and portion of the second verse of the twenty-third Psalm, Sternhold and Hopkins' version :—

THE LORD IS ONLIE MY SWPORT, AND HE THAT DOTH ME FEID,

HOW CAN I THEN LACKE ANIE THING WHEREOF I STAND IN NEIDE.

HE DOTH ME FOLDE IN COATES MOST SAIFE, THE TENDER GRASSE FAST BY.

4TH MAY 1641.

By the KIRK SESSION OF ST CUTHBERT'S CHURCH.

Oak Moulding, with the following inscription cut in relief: 16 FOR THE OAK-CRAIG-END 56 (it formed part of a pew in South Leith Church);

Specimen of Grape Shot from Admiral Nelson's ship "Victory," 1805; Specimen of Canister Shot; and Portion of a Musket Barrel, with Flint Lock, partially melted in the fire which took place in the Tower of London in the year 1841;

Act of Parliament for Erecting a Bank in Scotland. (To be designated The Bank of Scotland.) Edinburgh, July 17th, 1694. Small folio, pp. 8; the Edinburgh Gazette, No. 310. March 26, 1702. Pp. 2, folio; and Rectified Table of the Custom of a Merk on the Pack of all English and Foreign Goods brought into Edinburgh. 7th November 1720. Folio, pp. 2.

By D. H. ROBERTSON, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

Silver Double-cased Watch, with silver face (*Roumieu, Edinburgh*), with a pinchbeck triple chain, having attached two bodles of Charles I., and flat-shaped swivel seal displaying antique head. (See notice of Roumieu in vol. iii. page 435, of the Proceedings.)

Bequeathed by the late Mr CHARLES BRAND, Engraver, Edinburgh.

Lady's Pair of Blue Satin High-heeled Shoes; Small square-shaped Iron Padlock, with spring cover for keyhole, and chain and key;

Five Edinburgh Burgess and Guild Brother Tickets, written on vellum, in favour of the late Mr David Stewart, merchant, Edinburgh, and of his progenitors, the date of the first is 1699, and of the last 1807; and

Diploma of the Edinburgh Revolution Club, on vellum, dated 11th November 1788, in favour of Mr James Stewart, with seal of the Club attached.

By Mrs DAVID STEWART, Hailes Street.

Branch of Yew (?), 3 feet 4 inches long, pierced with oval openings at each extremity 3 inches in length. It was found in a moss at Auchmeddan, Aberdeenshire, and is stated by the donor to have formed part of a crossbow. (See Communication, page 591.)

By ALEXANDER MURRAY, Esq.

Leaf-shaped Arrow Head of light-coloured flint, 1½ inch in length, from Ross-shire; Bronze Medal of George II. on the proclamation of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 2d Feb. 1748; and Plaster Cast from the Bust of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., by Chantrey.

By Mr W. T. M'CULLOCH, Keeper of the Museum.

Small triangular-shaped Iron Padlock; and Birmingham Threepenny Token, 1813.

By W. F. VERNON, Esq., Dentist.

Penny of Richard II. of England, of the York mint; two German Bracteate Coins; and two Arrow or Spear Heads, one of dark and the

other of light-coloured flint. The latter measures 7 inches in length, the former is broken, and shows a serrated edge, from Copenhagen.

By WILLIAM DOUGLAS, Esq., R.S.A.

Original Subscription List for the Proposed Building of the Royal Exchange, Edinburgh, in 1752; MS. (See Communication, page 593.)

By WILLIAM SKINNER, Esq., W.S.

Biggar and the House of Fleming: an Account of the Biggar District, Archæological, Historical, and Biographical. By William Hunter. 8vo. Biggar, 1862.

By ADAM SIM, of Coulter, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin. Edited by John O'Donovan, LL.D. 8vo. Dublin, 1862.

By the IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY.

Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden in Rheinlande, XXXI. 8vo. Bonn, 1861; and Das Bad der Roemischen Villa bei Allenz. Erläutert von Professor E. AUS'M WEERTH. 4to. (pp. 20.) Bonn, 1861.

By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF RHINELAND, BONN.

Ueber eine seltene Erzmünze, mit dem Monogramm des Achäischen Bundesgeldes. Von Dr Chr. F. Bellermann. 8vo, pp. 16. Bonn, 1859.

By the AUTHOR.

Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, &c., for the years 1855 to 1858. 4 vols. 8vo. Copenhagen, 1855-1858.

By the SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

NOTES OF THE SEARCH FOR THE TOMB OF THE ROYAL FOUNDESS OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY AT EDINBURGH. By PROFESSOR DANIEL WILSON, LL.D., HON. MEM. S.A. SCOT., TORONTO.

The receipt of a copy of the "Historical Notices" accompanying the *Registrum Eccles. Coll. S. Trin. prope Edinburg, etc.*, from my old friend the Author, tempts me to resume a subject which formerly engaged the

attention of both, and may not even now have lost all interest for the members of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Exactly four centuries are this year completed since the founding of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity at Edinburgh by Mary of Gueldres, the widowed queen of James II., in 1462. The death of the Queen-Dowager took place on the 16th November of the following year; and although the work appears to have been carried on with great energy during the interval, under the directions of Sir Edward Bonkill, the first provost, and of the architect, John Halkerstone, nevertheless the church was not sufficiently advanced to admit of the obsequies of the royal foundress being performed there. As appears from the account of costs in the Exchequer Rolls, these were celebrated, with becoming pomp, in the Cathedral Church of Brechin. But there is no reason to doubt that the royal remains were finally deposited in some part of the beautiful church founded by Mary of Gueldres, and expressly indicated in the foundation charter as her destined place of sepulture. Major, whose History was written within less than half a century after the queen's death, thus records the fact:—"Anno 1463, Regina Scotiæ Edinburgi obiit, et in Collegio Sanctæ Trinitatis, quod quidem ipsa fundaverat, inhumata est." Bishop Lesly and Lindsay of Pitcottie repeat the statement; and nothing recovered from the contemporary Exchequer Rolls tends to awaken any doubt on the subject.

When, in 1848, it became apparent that all further exertions to prevent the demolition of the venerable structure were vain, attention was directed to a search for the tomb of the royal foundress, and in this the members of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland took an active part; but as the printing of the Society's Transactions had been interrupted for a considerable time, no account of the operations then carried out was preserved in an accessible form. The result, as is well known, was the discovery, and transfer to the royal vault of Holyrood Chapel, of a female skeleton, the supposed remains of the royal foundress; but which subsequent events led many to believe had thereby usurped the obsequies due to later discovered human remains. Now that an interval of fourteen years has sufficed to efface any slight irritation which even the suspicion of blundering in so grave a matter as the identity of royalty may have excited, and that some of the chief actors in the proceedings are gone,

—far removed from the scenes of such friendly contention, or themselves among those whose names only remain for us who survive;—it may not be out of place to put on record some slight sketch of the facts connected with the search for the remains of the old Scottish queen, of which I have preserved my notes made at the time.

On Sunday, May 14th, 1848, the last religious services were solemnised in the ancient church, prior to its abandonment to the spoilers, with whom the North British Railway Company had already contracted for its demolition. The magistrates of the city attended in their robes on this final service; and as I scanned with unavailing regret the richly carved bosses of the groined roof, and the substantial masonry of the beautiful interior,—then exhibiting little more indication of decay than when the remains of the foundress were laid beneath its flooring,—I still remember feeling that the somewhat incongruous ostentation of the civic dignitaries, by whom it had been abandoned to destruction, rather suggested their presence at an execution, than the rendering fitting honour to a singularly interesting historical monument. The late Rev. Dr Steven, the incumbent of the parish, entered into the feelings which the occasion was calculated to awaken, and preached his last sermon within the time-honoured walls from the text Matt. xxiv. 2, "*Verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.*"

On Monday, 22d May, the officers of the Board of Works commenced their search for the remains of the Queen. The first excavation was made at the east end of the north aisle, near to which a finely carved though mutilated credence table showed where one of the side altars had stood. The level of the area occupied by the church, in the low valley at the foot of an abrupt ascent to the Old Town, had undergone such changes by the gradual accumulations of nearly four centuries, that the floor had been repeatedly raised in attempts to counteract its increasing dampness, until the bases of the pillars were concealed. After digging through this modern deposit, the excavations exposed, beneath the original floor, the remains of a stone vault, with the skull and other portions of a skeleton—possibly, as was then supposed, of Bishop Spence, interred there in 1480; but it had been broken into at some former period, and everything removed that might have indicated the rank of

the deceased, or the date of interment. Further research sufficed to show that the whole north aisle had been used for sepulture; and excavations in other portions of the church, including the apse, revealed similar traces, though, as afterwards appeared, the search at the east end was not carried to a sufficient depth.

Attention was then directed to the building on the north side of the church, latterly used as the vestry, but which bore unmistakeable evidence of its original destination as a chapel. It was lighted by a deeply splayed window in the east wall; and in the north wall, a beautifully sculptured piscina, finer than any in the church, and the portion of a broken stone shelf, or credence table, indicated the site of the altar. The foundation charter provides for a weekly mass to be celebrated at the Altar of the Blessed Virgin; and it entirely accords with the arrangements in churches of the period, to believe that this was the Lady Chapel and Chantry of the foundress, dedicated to the Virgin Mother, whose name she bore. A special clause in the foundation charter appoints and ordains, that "whenever any of the said prebendaries shall read mass, he shall, after the same, in his sacerdotal habiliments, repair to the tomb of the foundress with hyssop, and there devoutly read over the prayer *de profundis*, together with that of the faithful, and an exhortation to excite the people to devotion."

This chapel was entered from the north aisle of the church by a circular-headed doorway, of fine proportions and workmanship; in addition to which, the removal of the plaster brought to light a hagioscope, obliquely piercing the same wall, and affording a view of the site of the high altar from the centre of the chapel, where the supposed royal remains were found. Externally, on the buttress of the north-east angle of the chapel, were the arms of the foundress, Gueldres, quartered with those of Scotland.

To this chapel special attention was directed, and, on digging in the centre of the floor, about three feet below the modern level, the workmen came upon the remains of a paving of glazed encaustic tiles of orange and purple. Below this a mass of solid concrete was found, seemingly enclosing a grave or vault, within which an oaken coffin was disclosed, in extreme decay, containing a female skeleton. The lid or covering was gone, but the ends were perfect, and rose from the sides in a semicircle,

showing that the coffin had been arched or "waggon-roofed" on top. It measured in length 5 feet 11 inches; the sides were straight, and the breadth, both at top and bottom, was eighteen inches. It appeared to have been very low at the sides, the requisite height having been obtained by the arched cover; but the extreme decay of the wood, arising from the soil being saturated with moisture from an ill-constructed drain, prevented minute measurements. When the skeleton was removed, the bottom was found to be of oak planks laid lengthways, with a single transverse bar across the centre.

The skeleton lay in its natural state, with the bones undisturbed. The skull was turned round on the left cheek, and the spine exhibited an abnormal curvature. The remains were minutely examined and measured by Professor Goodsir, who pronounced them to be those of a female of about thirty years of age, and pointed out the following characteristics:—The skull was marked by an unusually short longitudinal diameter for a female, with great posterior breadth. The zygomata and cheek bones were delicately formed, the teeth small and regular, and the lower jaw marked by great delicacy, with indications of a well-formed chin. The forehead was broad but not high, and the prominent nasal-bones indicated a well-defined and probably slightly arched nose. The curvature of the spine was such as must have elevated the right shoulder, but not so much as to amount to a deformity which might not easily be concealed by the dress.

The oak coffin lay directly east and west, with the feet towards the east. The breadth of the chapel from north to south was 16 feet 4 inches, and the centre of the arched head of the coffin was found to be exactly equidistant from either wall. The measurement east and west was 15 feet 6 inches, and the head of the coffin was 5 feet 6 inches from the west wall. The deeply splayed recess of the window on the east side left considerably greater breadth at the feet, where it may be assumed the chapel altar of the Blessed Virgin stood, with the piscina and credence-table, already described, on its north side. The top edge of the arched head of the coffin was little more than six inches below the original flooring of glazed tiles, so that the vault must have been covered with a flat slab, or a raised altar tomb, resting on the mass of concrete, which remained in a very solid state at the head and foot of the grave.

Such were the circumstances attending the discovery of female remains in the north chapel of Trinity College Church, which, under the belief that they were those of the Royal foundress, were deposited in a lead coffin, inclosed in one of wood, covered with velvet, and placed in the royal vault of Holyrood. The demolition of the ancient church was subsequently proceeded with; and, in the progress of clearing out the foundations of the eastern apse, in the following September (Wednesday 20th), a lead coffin was found occupying the centre of the apse, and also containing a female skeleton. The shape of the lead coffin was peculiar, being rounded at the head and shoulders. It had no inscription or other definite indication of the rank of the deceased, and as its contents were saturated with moisture, they only sufficed, as in the former case, to determine the sex. The top of the skull had been sawn off; and Professors Goodsir and Simpson, who carefully examined the skeleton, drew attention to the internal structure, showing traces of acute cerebral disease. Osseous spiculæ protruded into the cerebral cavity. The occipital development was unusually small, and the *dentes sapientiæ* remained undeveloped within the jaw. From the latter, along with other features, Professor Goodsir regarded this as the skeleton of a female, younger than the former; but the abnormal condition both of the cranium and pelvis rendered the ordinary indices of the age somewhat uncertain.

While it could not be doubted that the latter remains were those of a person of some note, popular belief universally assigned them as those of the Queen, and in this some whose opinions were deserving of weight concurred. The lead coffin, with its enclosed remains, were accordingly placed in a wooden coffin, and interred in Holyrood Chapel, outside the entrance to the royal vault. The newspaper notices and current reports of the time added many corroborative indices of royalty to the actual facts noted above, but they proved to be only the wonted contributions which rumour furnishes in support of the faith of the hour. To those, however, who held by the belief that the later discovered grave did contain the true remains of the Royal foundress, there was something incongruous in the idea of her being thus forestalled by some nameless intruder, who now rests beside the dust of Scotland's ancient kings and queens, while the true heir to such posthumous honours lies outside the door, as if watching an opportunity for reasserting her superseded claims.

Yet if so, the fate of the Scottish queen would not be without a precedent. According to Mathew Paris the body of Malcolm Canmore still lay at Tynemouth in 1257, and the translation of his supposed body, along with that of his queen, to the choir of Dunfermline Abbey, was in reality that of an English peasant. The remains of James III. and IV. were abandoned to equally uncertain sepulture; and the fate of those actually deposited in the royal vaults of Holyrood was little to be envied. Nevertheless, this latest case of disputed identity is worth a brief consideration, while the facts are still sufficiently recent to admit of their being determined on trustworthy grounds.

In the proceedings attendant on the search for the remains of Mary of Gueldres, my friend Mr David Laing and myself took a prominent part; and it is through his kind remembrance of me, as evinced in the receipt of a copy of his literary contributions to the "*Registrum de Soltre, necnon Ecclesie Collegiate S. Trinitatis prope Edinburg, &c.*," that my attention has been recalled to the subject. The remarks of the editor show (p. xxxi.) that he retains his later faith in the second "queen," whose "maimed rites" followed on those of the earlier obsequies above recorded. The evidence which satisfies me in holding to my original opinion in favour of the earlier discovery admits of being put into brief compass, and will not, I hope, bring me under the charge of tediousness in thus reviving an old story, whatever may be the conclusion arrived at. The proofs in favour of the later found skeleton are these. (1.) It lay "within an antique-shaped leaden coffin in the Apsis, near the place where the high altar must have stood,"¹ or rather, indeed, directly under its true site; and to this has to be added, (2.) That the top of the skull had been sawn off, possibly for the removal of the brain in some process of embalming, as the example, it will be seen, is not a solitary one. The peculiar shape of the coffin affords the most probable clue to the period to which the enclosed remains should be assigned. More than one published report described it at the time as of the form of the human body,

¹ It is added in the account referred to, "and which two distinguished medical professors concurred in stating was that of a female *probably of about thirty* years of age, but as they conjectured of weak intellect." In the statement of the age here I am led, both by my notes and recollection, to refer this to the first, and not to the second skeleton.

but this was an error. Its head and sides were upright, and the lower end was finished off square, like an ordinary lead coffin; but at the head and shoulders the sides were rounded to the form, so as to present nearly the shape usually presented by the interior of a stone coffin of the thirteenth century; and the cover was a flat sheet of lead cut to the same shape, and soldered at the edges. Possibly renewed attention directed to the subject may lead to a reference to other examples, which may help to fix the date when this form of coffin was in use. I failed at the time to obtain access to any satisfactory instance, but quite unexpectedly the desired evidence turned up at a later date. In the month of April 1850, a search was instituted in the Moray vault, in St Giles's Church, Edinburgh, with the view of ascertaining if the Good Regent's remains were still there, beneath the site of the monument which once bore on its finely graven brass the inscription to his memory from the pen of George Buchanan. An opportunity was then afforded me of examining the vault, a description of which has since been communicated to the Society.¹ It contained only three coffins, of which the one believed to be that of the Regent at once attracted my attention by its correspondence in shape with that found in the apse of Trinity College Church; and to this has to be added the no less noticeable correspondence, disclosed by a portion of the lead cover immediately over the face being broken, that in this case also the top of the skull had been sawn through. The only other example known to me of such an operation is in the case of Jean, Countess of Argyll, the natural daughter of James V., and therefore half-sister of the Regent. She was buried in the royal vault at Holyrood, and her skull was found to present the same peculiar traces of the embalmer's art, which were not likely to occur in one belonging to an earlier period, owing to the ecclesiastical censures with which every thing of the nature of an anatomical operation was visited. The discovery of a leaden coffin of human form in Worcester Cathedral during the present year, has led to its being noted that that in which the remains of the Scottish king James IV., the grandson of Mary of Gueldres, are believed to have been buried at the Monastery of Skene in 1513, was of the same peculiar shape. The other examples noted are those of Mary, Countess of

¹ Proceedings S. A. Scot., vol. i. p. 194.

Arundel, buried in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity at Arundel, in 1557; of Thomas Sutton, the founder, in the Chapel of the Charter House, in 1611; and of Henry, Prince of Wales, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster, in 1612. The correspondence of period seems to indicate that the two kinds of coffin may be modifications of the same form, which would thus appear to have prevailed for about a century, and probably suggested the simpler structure of the Scottish coffins. In so far at least as the concurrent evidence of the unadorned lead coffin of the Regent, and the examples of the removal of the upper portion of the skull, furnish any clue to the date of the corresponding remains found in the apse of Trinity College Church, they point to a post-Reformation interment; and to the same period I have always felt convinced that the site of the grave no less clearly pointed. This was just such a spot as would be selected for the most honourable place of sepulture for some lady of rank in the latter half of the sixteenth century; but, as the very site of the high altar, the practice of the ancient church is opposed to the selection of such for the tomb of a foundress, unless in the translation of the remains of a canonised saint: such as those of St Margaret, removed from their original resting-place into the choir of Dunfermline Abbey, four years after her canonisation by Pope Innocent IV. in 1246. It seems obvious, indeed, from the reference in the foundation charter to the tomb of the foundress, as entirely apart from the high altar, that no such site was ever contemplated.

The founding of chantries and chantry chapels had become a common practice in the fifteenth century. Parker remarks of them, in his *Glossary of Architecture*, "They are found in various situations, frequently with the tomb of the founder in the middle of them." In comparing ancient examples of chantries and founders' tombs, it is necessary to discriminate between the mere founder of a chantry in a church already built and endowed, and that of the original founder. Two or three examples may help to illustrate the practice. In Irthlingborough Collegiate Church, Northamptonshire, the chantry chapel of the founder, temp. Edward III., is attached to the south side of the choir; his tomb occupies the south-west angle, and the wall is pierced by a hagioscope looking in a direct line from the tomb to the high altar. The very same arrangements mark the sepulture of William de Bethun at Rothersthorp

Church. At the beautiful collegiate church of Beer Ferrers, Devonshire, the chantry chapel stands on the north side of the choir, separated from it by the tomb of the founder, William de Ferrers, 1328; and in St Kenelm's Minster, Lovel, Oxon, a building of the fifteenth century, the position of the chantry chapel on the north side of the choir, with its doorway, hagioscope, and east window, all exactly correspond to that of Trinity College Church at Edinburgh. So also among contemporary Scottish examples, the founders' chantry chapels in the collegiate churches of Bothwell and Dunglass closely correspond in position and arrangements to the one in question.

It may be added, in special reference to royal founders and builders, that Edward the Confessor is enshrined on the north side of his own chapel at Westminster, and near to his tomb is that of Henry III., the rebuilder of the abbey; while beyond it, to the east, the tomb of Henry VII., which more nearly corresponds in date, occupies the centre of his magnificent chapel. So also that of Edward IV., the rebuilder of St George's Chapel at Windsor, occupies a site in the north aisle; nor am I aware of a single uncanonised founder's tomb, royal or otherwise, occupying such a site as that which was assumed to justify beyond challenge the assignment to Mary of Gueldres the lead coffin dug up in the centre of the apse, where formerly the high altar of her collegiate church stood, underneath one of the finest groined roofs ever wrought by the skilled master-builders of the fifteenth century.

The only point left for consideration is the character of the sepulture disclosed within the chapel, which presented so many characteristics of the founder's chantry. The form of the curious oaken coffin was not less deserving of the term *antique* than the leaden one, the probable date of which has been already discussed; nor does the fact of its being of oak instead of lead militate against the probability of its having been that which enclosed the royal remains. Bloomfield describes a tomb of the fourteenth century at Thornton in Suffolk, which he supposed to be that of the founder Nicholas de Bokland. "The grave was filled up, with a stone slab on each side, and one at each end. The body was laid at bottom, with nothing but common earth under the coffin, which was of very thick oak." The tomb of Edmund the Martyr belongs to too

¹ Collect. Cantab., p. 199.

old a date, and perhaps even that of Edward I. may seem too early to claim much importance for the fact that each of these are proved to have been interred not in lead but in wooden coffins.¹ But other examples belong to dates nearer the obsequies of the Scottish queen. On opening the vault of Edward IV., the rebuilder of St George's Chapel, Windsor, during its alterations in 1789, the remains of his queen, Elizabeth Woodville, were found lying above those of the king, inclosed in a stout oaken coffin; and Leland tells us, when the eldest son of Henry VII., the heir-apparent to the Tudor throne, died in 1502, "The corpse of Prince Arthur was coyled, well cered, and conveniently dressed with spices and other sweet stuff. This was so sufficiently done, that it needed not lead, but was chested."² Were I within reach of the well-stored shelves of Edinburgh libraries, such examples I doubt not might be considerably extended; but these are sufficient to show, that the material of which the antique coffin in the chantry chapel was formed militates in no degree against the probability of its having enclosed the remains of the royal foundress.

In conclusion, I add the following extracts from notes made at the time of the discovery of the oak coffin with its enclosed remains. It is worthy of notice, that such fragments of the wrappings as escaped the destructive influences of damp and decay, proved to be of the finest linen; and a careful examination of portions of the oak coffin afforded evidence of its having been suffused with some resinous or embalming substances. The former fact was pointed out to me by Mr Andrew Kerr of Her Majesty's Board of Works, who superintended the search for the royal tomb, and preserved a piece of linen found adhering to the oaken boards forming the bottom of the coffin. The impregnation of the wood with resinous matter was first noticed and pointed out to me by the late Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., though afterwards abundantly confirmed by personal investigation. The preservation of the planks forming the floor of the coffin from the extreme decay of the other portions was apparently due to their more complete saturation with this resinous substance.

The evidence on which a decision must be arrived at relative to the

¹ Bloomfield's *Norfolk*, i. 450. Stothard, i. pl. 1, p. xlv.

² *Collectanea*, vol. v. p. 374.

tomb and remains of the royal foundress, it is thus seen, is mainly inferential; but, taking the whole into account: now that I look back on all the proceedings, alike grave and satirical, which marked the attempt to rescue the remains of Mary of Gueldres from the sacrilegious destroyers of the Collegiate Church; and viewing such proceedings with the calmness that may be assumed to arise from long residence beyond the reach of any thing more antique or royal than the forest monarchs of this New World: I see additional reasons for adhering to the opinions originally formed in favour of the correctness of the inscription which is thus engraved on the coffin deposited in the royal vault of Holyrood Abbey, containing the remains disinterred from the Chantry Chapel on the north side of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity:—

“ Mary of Gueldres, Queen of James the Second, King of Scots,
interred in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, A.D.
1468; removed from thence and reinterred in the Chapel
Royal, Holyrood, 15th July 1848.”

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, TORONTO,
March 20, 1862.

In reference to the preceding communication, Mr DAVID LAING said, he regretted that his friend Dr D. Wilson should have revived this subject. He would not trouble the meeting with any remarks, having fully considered the point at issue in a paper read to the Society in December 1848. If the members should wish it, this paper might be subjoined to Dr Wilson's, as it necessarily involved another question of some historical importance,—the character of the Queen Dowager. He had also subsequently investigated the history of the Church, while engaged in printing, for the Bannatyne Club, a series of early documents connected with the Collegiate Churches of Mid-Lothian. In that volume, completed in 1861, he had the satisfaction of bringing to light for the first time the fact that the Master of the fabric, that is, *the Architect of the building*, was a native of Edinburgh—JOHN HALKERSTONE, aided, it might perchance be, by the first Provost of the Church, SIR EDWARD BONKILL.

The CHAIRMAN remarked, that it certainly would be desirable that the members should hear both sides of the case. The paper, accordingly, is hereto annexed.

Mr JOSEPH ROBERTSON, while expressing the interest which he had felt in listening to Dr Wilson's paper, did not feel convinced by his arguments, and felt bound to dissent from several of the statements on which his conclusion was based, especially those relating to the position of the Lady Chapel in Middle Age churches, and to the supposed non-occurrence of founders' tombs near the high altar.

REMARKS ON THE CHARACTER OF MARY OF GUELDRES, CONSORT OF KING JAMES THE SECOND OF SCOTLAND; IN CONNEXION WITH AN ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE THE PLACE OF HER INTERMENT IN TRINITY COLLEGE CHURCH, EDINBURGH. By DAVID LAING, Esq., TREASURER F.S.A. SCOT.

(Read before the Society of Antiquaries 18th December 1848.)

It is with considerable reluctance that I have engaged in the present inquiry, tending to disturb the pleasing conceptions usually entertained regarding Queen Mary of Gueldres, the foundress of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, Edinburgh. I beg, therefore, to mention briefly the circumstances which have led me to pursue this investigation.

When overtures were made to the Magistrates and Presbytery of Edinburgh by the North British Railway Directors for the removal of that Church, for the purpose of converting the site into warehouses, to suit the convenience of extra traffic, it seemed to be a fitting occasion for the Society of Antiquaries to step forward, and endeavour, if possible, to prevent such a desecration. Having prepared a brief Memorial on the subject, I obtained, in the course of a few days, the signatures of nearly all the resident members of the Society, and it was presented at a meeting of the Town Council on the 12th of November 1844.

In this Memorial the Provost and Magistrates were solicited to withhold their consent to the destruction of almost the only ancient edifice in the city which remained in anything approaching to its original state, and reference was made to the successful exertions of the citizens of Glasgow for the restoration of their grand Cathedral, and to the example of various places in England and foreign countries for the preservation of early Ecclesiastical edifices.¹

¹ This Memorial in 1844 is printed in the *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iv. p. 448.

A similar memorial, in the name of the Society, addressed to the Lords of H. M. Treasury, was obligingly transmitted by the Duke of Buccleuch, who took a lively interest in the matter.

The attention of their Lordships was especially called to the fact, that the Church had been employed as a place of Royal interment; evidence of which in other cases had proved sufficient to induce the Crown to interfere both for preservation, and in some instances for restoration, of the building. I will not detail the correspondence that ensued, some of which was marked "private;" but there can be no impropriety in stating, that an elaborate opinion was prepared by the legal advisers of the Crown, to the effect, that as the property of Trinity College Church had been conveyed to the Provost of Edinburgh in the year 1567, and by him to the Town, to serve as a parish church, for which purpose it has since been employed; and that the Magistrates, as patrons, and the Presbytery of Edinburgh, having given their sanction to the proposed arrangements, no interference on the part of the Crown to prevent the removal of the Church to another site could be recommended. It is at least satisfactory to think that some endeavours were made by the Society to prevent the demolition of the church; and also, from what has since transpired, that these endeavours, through the great zeal and decision of the ex-Lord Provost Black, will at least secure the means for the reconstruction of the church.¹

In May 1848, when the final arrangements between the Magistrates and the Railway Company were completed, and the day fixed for commencing the demolition of the edifice, the Officers of the Board of Works, in pursuance of an order from the Lords of the Treasury, commenced their search to discover the remains of the Royal foundress. The several parts of the church assigned by tradition, or specially mentioned by later writers as the spot where the Queen had been interred, were successively explored, but all in vain, excepting that near the level of the old floor of what may have been the Sacristy or Mortuary chapel; there was discovered the remains of an oak coffin, which contained a female

¹ Fifteen years have elapsed since this was written; but the old stones which were taken down, and numbered for the purpose of reconstruction, still remain exposed to the weather. We may surely hope that sooner or later some arrangements will be made for the restoration of this church in a suitable locality.

skeleton. There seemed to be no alternative than to pronounce that the Queen's mortal remains had been discovered.

In prosecuting this investigation, the Society of Antiquaries had been requested by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to nominate a committee to overlook these operations. This was accordingly done, and a detailed report on the subject was drawn up, which, being sanctioned by the Society, was transmitted to the Lords of the Treasury. I am confident that I express the sentiments of the other members of the Committee, in bearing testimony to the unremitting care and vigilance displayed by Mr Matheson and Mr Andrew Kerr in conducting the search.

In due time official instructions were received for placing, as it was then imagined, the Queen's remains in a new coffin, to be deposited in the royal vault at Holyrood. This accordingly took place on the morning of the 15th of July last.

The proposed plan of removing the building of the Trinity College Church, with the view of reconstructing it with the old materials, and on the same model, in a more eligible site, occasioned a considerable time to elapse before any steps were taken for its actual demolition. As no further discoveries were anticipated, unless it might be the foundation-stone, comparatively little interest was excited by the actual removal of the church.

It was therefore a thing altogether unexpected, when the workman employed by Mr Bryce, architect, in taking down and removing the stones, having reached that part of the building in the chancel where the high altar must have stood, discovered on Wednesday the 20th September, a coffin about five feet under the level of the old floor, protected by a thick and solid mass of concrete, which had evidently never been disturbed.

Here I may quote the minute and accurate statement which appeared the following day in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* :—

" The workmen having, in the course of their excavations on the site of the choir of the church, approached the chancel, where the high altar had once stood, Mr Bryce architect, under whose superintendence the operations are going on, gave orders that the utmost vigilance should be employed to discover any remains that might be buried within those sacred limits; and accordingly, as the workmen were

engaged yesterday morning in digging beneath the site of the altar, the end of a wooden coffin was seen, at the depth of about five feet from the floor, and intimation given to Mr Bryce, under whose directions the surrounding place was then cleared. The first step was to remove the thick and solid mass of concrete in which the coffin was embedded, which having been accomplished with some difficulty, a strong outside frame, formed of fir, was found, the use of which evidently was to protect the coffins enclosed. A coffin, made of oak or elm, was then seen, and within it was a leaden coffin, formed in the shape of the body, containing the skeleton of a female, the skull of which, upon examination, was found to have been sawed off across the top, but lying close to the other parts of the head, as if it had undergone some surgical examination. The other bones were lying in the usual position, but the back bone had a strong lateral curve immediately below the shoulder, which must have occasioned some deformity of the person. The wood of which the coffins were composed was considerably decayed, but the lead, though to some extent corroded by damp, was in a good state of preservation. The smell which escaped from the leaden coffin, when it was first opened, was extremely offensive, and the solder at the feet having yielded a little, the water had found its way into the coffin to the depth of one or two inches. There was no inscription upon the coffin, and, in the absence of the necessary authority, no search was made in it for anything that might indicate the rank of its occupant. Around the bed of the tomb were several rows of stone, wedged together like the causeway of a street, while at the distance of about eighteen inches around was the original earth, which had not apparently been disturbed. The feet of the skeleton lay towards the east, and the head to the west; and it is somewhat remarkable that its position was exactly in the centre of the building."¹

According to Mr Bryce's measurements on the 21st September 1818, the bed in which the coffin rested was 3 ft. 11 in. under the original floor of the church, or about 5 ft. 9 in. under the recent floor. It lay in the centre of the apse, with a space between the walls and the head of the coffin measuring 10 ft. 10 in. on the south side, and 10 ft. 9 in. on the north; the foot of the coffin being 3 ft. 2 in. from the wall of the eastern window.²

The coffin having again been placed within a wooden box or case, and properly secured, was carried to the Exchequer Chambers until an official and scientific examination of the skeleton should be made.

This unlooked for discovery showed but too clearly that the former

¹ Edinburgh Evening Courant, 21st September 1848.

² The position here indicated may easily be traced in the ground-plan of the church, given in the Bannatyne Club volume above mentioned, p. xiii.

search had unfortunately been much less complete than had been imagined, owing to some erroneous impression as to the utter inexpediency of excavating in this particular part of the church; and it tended, of course, to unsettle the convictions of many persons regarding the identity of the former discovery.

In a matter like this it is by no means agreeable for persons to admit their mistake; but, instead of persisting in the former conclusion, as one of the committee alluded to, who had signed the report, I felt no hesitation in expressing my belief that we had been misled, even at the risk of the Society and others being exposed to ridicule. Had the two coffins been found simultaneously, there would, in all probability, have existed but little diversity of opinion as to their respective claims.

The special grounds on which I now maintain that the leaden coffin discovered near to the supposed site of the high altar contained the body of the foundress, are—

- I. The very early period to which the interment must be assigned.
- II. That no other female than the Royal foundress would have obtained burial in that spot, at such an early period. And,
- III. The care that evidently had been bestowed in the mode of interment.

Leaving for the present the last of these particulars, I would remark, First, It was impossible, as I conceive, for any one to have seen the coffin in its original site, where it had remained secluded from human observation for a period of nearly four centuries, to entertain any doubt of its having remained undisturbed; and that the interment must have taken place, to all appearance, nearly coeval with the building of that part of the church. Secondly, No rule was recognised for the interment of a foundress in any precise spot; but it is undoubted that only persons of royal descent, or exercising the highest ecclesiastical functions, were buried within the church close to the high altar; and it would not be difficult to show that no other Queen of Scotland found a resting-place within the walls of this church.

The eastern portion of large churches was always first commenced. In the present instance, from the unfinished state of the church, there

can be no question that this was the fact; and the Provost and other officials would thus be enabled, upon the consecration of the building, to translate the Queen's body to its appointed resting-place.

In all probability it had been an altar-tomb standing to the east of the high altar. That the Queen was actually interred inside of the church is plain from the circumstance that each Prebendary, when he said Mass, should, *at the tomb of the foundress*, devoutly read the prayer, *De profundis*, with an exhortation to excite the people to devotion.

The following report of two distinguished medical professors, Dr Simpson and Mr Goodsir, after a careful inspection of the skeleton in the Exchequer Chambers, in regard to the apparent age, and to the supposed weakness or imbecility of the individual, were, however, deemed to be totally at variance both as to the age and to the personal character of Mary of Gueldres. I shall presume to offer a few remarks on both these points, not by calling their opinion in question, but by endeavouring to ascertain in how far such an opinion is opposed to, or confirmed by, historical evidence.

The Report is in the following terms:—

“EDINBURGH, 2d Nov. 1848.

“We have examined the skeleton found in a leaden coffin under the high altar of Trinity College Church; and we are of opinion that the female to which it belonged was of a feeble frame; and, more particularly, from the weak and delicate condition of the skeleton generally, but especially of the spine, the long bones of the limbs, and of the skull.

We are also of opinion that, from the small, perpendicular, and antero-posterior extent of the frontal region of the head, the very small cerebellar space, the unsymmetrical, contracted, and undeveloped state of the base; the retarded condition of the wisdom teeth (and the skull having been opened, for examination), this female, who certainly was above twenty, but below thirty, years of age, was of feeble or deficient intellect.

(Signed)

“J. Y. SIMPSON.

“JOHN GOODSIR.

“To the Secretary of the
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.”

I mentioned, as the Third ground on which I maintain the *skeleton* last discovered to be that of the Queen Dowager, the great care bestowed

in her interment. The very unusual appearance of the skull, having been sawn across, for the purpose of embalming, suggests, amongst other things, that some considerable time must have elapsed between her death and her burial. The state of medical science at that time, it may be remarked, precludes any notion of a mere surgical examination to ascertain the immediate cause of death. The dissection of the human body during the fifteenth century was nearly unknown—as it was not until the days of Vesalius, in 1542, that there existed any comprehensive or systematic view of human anatomy.

There are two things which may have occasioned a considerable delay in the Queen's funeral,—the one, to afford an opportunity to communicate with her relatives in Flanders; the other, the unfinished state of the building in which her interment was appointed to take place. Both these causes may have been combined.

That a delay of some months actually took place is confirmed by a payment which is entered in the Chamberlain's Accounts for June 1464, which shows that the Queen's exequies were celebrated in the Cathedral Church of Brechin.¹

That an intercourse with her family in Flanders was kept up might be easily proved. It is sufficient to notice that her second son, Alexander, Duke of Albany, obtained a passport, dated 20th April 1464, for himself and 200 of a retinue to pass through England, on a visit to his grandfather, in Gueldreland. This was about six months after the Queen's death. Whether it was in going or returning that he was captured at sea by an English vessel is unimportant; but he was set at liberty upon a remonstrance by the Bishop of St Andrews.

It is most unlikely that any records exist which might establish

¹ Compotum domini Willelmi Rynde capellani redditum apud Perth, 18 mensis Junii 1464.

Expense Et eidem pro Exequiis dicte domine Regine celebratis in ecclesia Cathedrali Brechinesi in luminaribus picturis scutorum et stipendio servientium . . . xxvii^s. iiiij^d.

Compotum Michaelis de Balfoure redditum apud Perth, 20 Junii 1464.

Expense Et eidem per solucionem factam Dno. Henrico Kinghorn, senecallo Dne. Regine bone memorie ad expensas Domicilii Dne. Regine, et post ejus obitum ad Exequias et funeralia ejusdem J^sxj li xv^s. viij^d.

beyond all doubt who was the lady interred in the Mortuary Chapel. That she was a person of distinction, and nearly related to the Royal family, may be fairly assumed. In this case she might either be one of the Queen's daughters, or the first wife of her second son Alexander, Duke of Albany, Lady Katherine Sinclair, daughter of William, Earl of Caithness and Orkney, who died before 1482. This is most probable, if we attach any importance to the shield with the Albany arms on the outside wall of this part of the building. But I might ask, Who was the lady upon whose interment such extraordinary care had been taken, if not the Royal Foundress? If she were one of the three individuals who have been named, no very serious mistake was made when these remains were committed to the Royal vault in Holyrood.

The plate of inscription on the coffin ought undoubtedly to be changed. In the meanwhile the leaden coffin, containing, as I believe, the mortal remains of Mary of Gueldres, the Queen of James II., is also there deposited, waiting for a more worthy receptacle to be prepared than the so misnamed Royal vault in the Abbey Church of Holyrood.

I. I now return to the Report, in which it is said,—“*This female certainly was above twenty, but below thirty years of age.*” There is no portrait or description of the Queen's person to settle this matter, as her precise age is not known. A near approximation however to this may be made.

Her husband, James II., was born in October 1430. In 1448 ambassadors from Scotland were sent to France to renew the ancient alliance between the two kingdoms, and, at the same time, to discover a suitable match for the young king. As the Court of France did not present any eligible person, they proceeded to that of the Duke of Burgundy, who recommended to them his kinswoman, Mary, daughter of Arnold, Duke of Gueldres. In the treaty of marriage, dated 1st April 1449, it is mentioned that the envoys found Mary “*jam nubilem et formosam.*”¹ By this phrase, we may understand that her age would be about sixteen. Mathieu de Coussy mentions her, in the year 1445, as *agée de quinze ans ou environ*; but undoubtedly she was younger than her proposed husband, then in his nineteenth year. The early period of life at which Royal

¹ MS. Harl., vol. iii. f. v. 6; quoted by Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 206.

marriages were contracted may be instanced in the case of her son, James III., who was married to Margaret of Denmark in 1470, he aged eighteen, his bride under sixteen. James IV., in 1502, at the more mature age of thirty, was contracted to Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., when it was stipulated the marriage ceremony should be delayed till the following year, when the youthful bride should have attained the age of thirteen.

According to this computation, Mary of Gueldres, who survived her husband three years, could scarcely have exceeded his own age, which was under thirty at the time of death. Here, therefore, there is no material discrepancy between the conjecture—"above twenty, but below thirty, years of age."

II. But secondly,—"*This female, who certainly was above twenty, but below thirty years of age, was of feeble or deficient intellect.*"

In reply to this, I feel no kind of satisfaction in having to state that, after a careful comparison of all our old historical writers, the prevailing sentiments so constantly reiterated in regard to the Queen's endowments and mental capacity have in reality no foundation; and that this conclusion, deduced from the appearance of the skeleton, is not so much opposed to historical truth as might appear, if we should merely refer to the pages of our modern writers.

King James the Second, it is well known, was killed by the bursting of a cannon at the siege of Roxburghe Castle, near Kelso, on Sunday the 3d of August 1460.

During the eleven years that intervened between the arrival in June, and the marriage of Mary of Gueldres in Scotland with James II. in July 1449, and her husband's death, her name is not so much as once mentioned in connexion with any public event. On the 19th May 1450, it is recorded that she "parted with barne in Striviling, twelve oulkis (weeks) before her tyme, and the barne liffit bot the space of sex houris." She had also two children who died in infancy, besides three sons and two daughters who survived her.

According to the current statements of all modern historians, the Queen must have been present when her husband met with his tragical fate; as they vie with each other in the glowing descriptions of the mode in which "she controlled her feelings," and, by exhibiting her

youthful son, animated the troops to assault and demolish Roxburghe Castle. No doubt, if the orations which Hector Boyce, Drummond of Hawthornden, and other writers, have put into her mouth had been genuine, no suspicion could arise in regard to the Queen's decision of character, her piety, and wisdom.

In tracing, however, from one writer to another the history of this period, a simple statement of a contemporary chronicler at once dispels to the winds all these glowing descriptions and eloquent harangues, by showing that the Queen did not arrive till eight days after her husband's death; and that the Castle had been surrendered **BEFORE THE LORDS AND OTHERS WHO CONDUCTED THE SIEGE HAD SENT TO EDINBURGH FOR THE YOUNG PRINCE AND HIS MOTHER THE QUEEN.** The words of the chronicler, after noticing the "gret dolour" for the King's death, are: "And never the les all the Lordis that war thair (at the siege) remainit still with the oist (host), and on the Fryday efter, rycht wysly and manfully wan the foirsaid Castell, and tynt (lost) nocht a man may (more) in the wynnynng of it.

"*And than* (it is added) *thai Lordis incontinent (immediately) send till Edinburgh for the Prince. And the said Prince, with his Moder the Queen, and Bischopis, and uther Nobillis, come to Kelso on the Fryday efter the deid of the King, and remanit thar quhill he was crownit, and quhill the foirsaid Castell was wastit and destroyit; And on the Sunday efter, he was crounit in to Kelso.*"¹

The education of her children was left to the Queen Dowager, but the management of public affairs was still entrusted to Bishop Kennedy, a prelate of great political skill, discretion, and judgment. In the Parliament held at Scone in February 1461, where the King's coronation was

¹ In the old Statistical Account of the parish of Stitchell there is this notice of a tradition respecting the Queen: "There is a tradition generally believed in the country, that when King James II. went to besiege the Castle of Roxburgh, he left his Queen in Hume Castle; that one day, when she was upon the road to visit her royal husband, she was met about half a mile east of Stitchell House by a messenger with the melancholy account of His Majesty's being killed by the bursting of a cannon. This sad news brought on her labour pains, and she was immediately delivered of a child, upon a hill, ever since called Queen's Cairn." (See Statistical Account of Scotland vol. iii. pp. 292-3, Edinb. 1792.)

² A Short Chronicle of the Reign of James the Second. (Edinb. 1819, 4to, p. 57.

solemnised, we learn that the Queen excited great discontent by changing several of the Officers of State, taking Mr James Lyndsay for her Chief Councillor, who was advanced to be Keeper of the Privy Seal, although he had but recently been banished from Court, and narrowly escaped with his life. Imputations also against her moral conduct appear to have been but too well founded. Lord Hailes has attempted a vindication of this "Heroic Princess," as he terms her, from the imputations against her chastity recorded by John Major in his *History of Scotland*, printed at Paris in 1521, who openly accuses her of adultery with Adam Hepburn of Hailes. As Major's words are copied by Ferrerius, the continuator of Hector Boyce, and translated by Lindesay of Pit-scottie, these give no additional authority to the charge. The same may perhaps be alleged as to the MS. *Chronicle* compiled by John Law, a canon of St Andrews, in 1528, in which a similar statement is repeated.

It may also be remarked that Major, who flourished within half a century of her time, could have had no object in inventing or retailing such a charge. Nor is he the only authority for such an accusation. William Wyrcestre, a contemporary English Chronicler, also charges the Queen Dowager with an amour with Henry, Duke of Somerset. Somerset, he says, arrived from Flanders in a Scots vessel, in March 1462, and the Queen of Scotland had him in great detestation on account of his having discovered his carnal intercourse with her to the King of France, and she instigated the Lord of Hailes to murder him. His words are:—"Mense Marcii (1461-2) Dux Somerseciæ reversus est de Flandria in una carvella in Scocia. Et Regina Scociæ habuit ipsum in summo odio, eo quod discooperuit carnalem copulam cum ea Regi Franciæ, et fecit Dominum de Haylys sibi insidiari ad interficiendum."¹

This reference to Hepburn of Hailes seems also to countenance Major's allusion; as we find from the Chamberlain Rolls of the period, that he had been appointed Keeper of Edinburgh Castle, a frequent place of residence for the Royal Family. Pinkerton has likewise remarked,

¹ *Wilhelmi Wyrcester Annales Rerum Anglican.*, a Tho. Hearne, vol. ii. p. 492, edit. 1771.

"Could Alexander, Duke of Albany, have branded his brother James the Third as a bastard, if their mother's reputation had been holy?"¹

Mary of Gueldres died at Edinburgh, on the 16th of November 1463. The cause of her death, in the flower of her age, is no where stated. In examining the skull last discovered, Professor Simpson pointed out what has recently been recognised as an indication of epileptic disease. The short period she survived her husband was scarcely sufficient for exhibiting her character in any marked degree. That she was much attached to her husband may be inferred from the foundation of Trinity College; but that she displayed any unwonted energy, or in Bishop Lesley's words, that she was "*ane Princess of heich corage*," or was possessed either of great prudence or discretion, would require more satisfactory evidence.

In the treaty of marriage in 1449, it was expressly stipulated that in the event of her father's death without male issue, King James should relinquish any claim to the Duchy of Gueldres in virtue of his wife. But Mary was not the sole heiress. Her father, Arnold of Egmont, who became Duke of Gueldres in 1423, married Catherine, daughter of Adolphus, Duke of Cleves. He survived till 1466. His eldest son John, on account of his imbecility (*mentis haud satis firmæ*), was passed over in the succession, and died without issue.

The second son, Adolphus Egmond, who married Catherine of Bourbon, having rebelled against his father, was disinherited, and his territories left to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.

The Duke of Gueldres had another daughter, Catherine, who was betrothed to the Duke of Brunswick, but died unmarried; although, like her sister, the Consort of James II., not free from the imputation of scandal. If Mary of Gueldres, therefore, inherited the dispositions and weakness, in other words the insanity, of her nearest relatives, this would so far corroborate the Medical Report, without, however, resorting to the supposition of absolute imbecility.

Besides all this, if the character and conduct of her own children were scrutinised, some very strange coincidences might be pointed out; but this, as being no pleasing task, I do not feel myself called upon at present to undertake.

¹ History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 252, note.

II.

NOTICES AND EXAMPLES OF INSCRIPTIONS ON OLD CASTLES AND TOWN HOUSES IN THE NORTH-EAST OF SCOTLAND. By A. JERVISE, Esq., BRECHIN, CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT.

It appears to have been the fashion in Scotland from at least the beginning of the sixteenth century down to that of the eighteenth, to embellish the town and country residences of the nobility and gentry, as well as those of the more opulent citizens, with legends and maxims. These differed very much in character and sentiment, being of a scriptural, moral, and witty tendency. They were sometimes in prose, at other times in verse—in Scots, English, and Latin, and occasionally cut in Greek and Hebrew characters. They were commonly executed in raised and ingeniously interlaced letters over the principal entrance to the house, upon the chimney-piece of the great hall, also upon window-lintels. Examples are yet to be seen upon some of the more ancient houses in Edinburgh and Leith; and such of the legends in these towns as have come down to our own time have been preserved and illustrated by Dr Daniel Wilson and Dr Robertson, and by some of the earlier collectors of this class of antiquities.¹

Such legends as appear upon the houses of the nobility, whether in town or country, are commonly accompanied by the National Arms, and those of the owner of the house; while the legends upon the dwellings of burghers are associated with shields charged with ingeniously formed monograms or merchants' marks, with carved representations of articles of merchandise, or of implements employed in the trade in which the owner of the house had been engaged. These latter are sometimes of a quaint description, such as that which was found about the beginning of this century, when demolishing a waulk or fulling mill at CUPAR-ANGUS, in the ruins of which a door-lintel was discovered, bearing representations of the objects named in the last line, and thus inscribed:—

¹ *Vide* Wilson's Memorials of Edinburgh, and Robertson's Antiquities of Leith, &c.

ANDREW CHAPMAN AND MARGET TOD

[Waulkmill shears, and the pressing brod.]

Although inscriptions of the class under notice are of no great antiquity in Scotland, *the fashion* of using them (if it may be so termed) had been introduced here, as in many other countries, at an early period, and may have originated in the carving of symbols and inscriptions on ancient tombs. Still, though of no great antiquity, these inscriptions are worthy of being preserved, and claim a place among our minor antiquities, since they exhibit much of the taste and feeling which pervaded the minds of the more intelligent of our forefathers. Whether symbolical or otherwise, it is probable that these legends or maxims had been looked upon with veneration; and, acting as so many monitors, whether of piety, loyalty, or morality, they had been well understood, even by the unlettered, on whose life and conduct they had doubtless had a salutary influence.

These inscriptions, however, were neither confined to houses in the metropolis and in Leith, nor to castles in the country. Traces of them are yet to be found in many of our old burghs; and, as was the fashion in Greece and Rome, the walls of our courts of justice, our fountains, our charitable institutions, as well as the gateways of our public cemeteries, were sometimes ornamented by them. The door-lintel of the old Court-House of PERTH, for instance, now built into the new building, bears these admonitory lines:—

THIS HOUSE LOVES PEACE, HATES KNAVES, CRIMES PUNISHETH,
PRESERVES THE LAWS, AND GOOD MEN HONOURETH.

It appears that the same inscription, in Latin, was upon the front of the old Town-House or Tolbooth of GLASGOW, accompanied by a carving of the Royal Arms, and a dial:—

HÆC DOMUS ODI, AMAT, PUNIT, CONSERVAT, HONORAT,
NEQUITIAM, PACEM, CRIMINA, JURA, PROBOS.¹

The door-lintel of the old jail of ELGIN, preserved in the museum of

¹ M'Ure's View of the City of Glasgow (1736), p. 256.

that city, bears a rudely executed figure of Justice, with sword and balance, and these significant words:—

SUUM CUIQUE TRIBUE.

Upon a fountain in the old town of LINLITHGOW, famous of old for its “wells,” and which had St Michael for its patron, there is a strangely carved effigy of the Archangel, and this laudatory legend:—

SAINT MICHAEL IS KINDE TO STRANGERS.

The celebrated well of Spa at ABERDEEN, last renovated or restored in 1851, bears representations of the Scottish Thistle, the Rose of England, and the Fleur-de-lis of France, surmounting this inscription:—

AS HEAVEN GIVES ME
SO GIVE I THEM.

Below these words is a carving of the rising sun, and the following altered quotation from Horace:—

HOC FONTE DERIVATA SALUS
IN PATRIAM POPULUMQUE FLUAT.

It appears that “the virtues” of this spa were early known and appreciated, for in 1615, record says that there was “a long wyde stone which conveyed the waters from the spring, with the portraicture of six Apostles hewen upon either side thereof.” It is described as having then been “verie old and worne;” and some time before his death the building was repaired by George Jamesone, the “Scottish Vandyke.” By an extraordinary overflowing of the Denburn, which adjoins the well, the building by Jamesone was destroyed. It was again restored in 1670, as the date and words “*SPADA REDIVIVA*” show; when, probably, the above quotation from Horace had been added, as the demolition of the work is said to have happened during the same year that the Civil War broke out, to perpetuate the occurrence of which the above lines may have been selected. According to Monteith and some old writers, it also bore this record of its virtues:—

*The Stomack, Reins, the Liver, Spleen, yea sure
A thousand evils this wholesome Spring doth cure.¹*

The couplet—

ALL YE WHO ENTER AT THIS GATE,
O NOW PREPARE FOR YOUR LAST ESTATE,

is inscribed upon a stone on the right hand side of the entrance to the parish churchyard of KIRKDEN, or Idvies, in FORFARSHIRE.

Over one of the gates of the burial-ground of the Grey Friars', at PERTH, is the following :—

HOC GENITOR GENETRIXQUE SITI, NUMEROSA VTRIVSQUE
PROGENIES, NATI ET NATÆ, CHARIVÆ NEPOTES
ET NEPTES, NEC NON PRONEPTOS ATQUE PRONEPTES
HÆC QUIQUAQUE LEGIS MORTI NOS NOSTRAQUE CUNCTA
DEBERI, TANQUAM SPECVLO REFERENTE VIDERIS;
HÆC ETENIM TRANSIT GENERATIO NASCITUR ILLA.

In the churchyard of FORGANDENNY, in PERTHSHIRE, on the burial aisle of the noble family of Ruthven, is the date 1369, and these lines, the carving of which, it need not be said, belongs to a much later period than is indicated by the date :—

ALL MEN THINK ON ZOVR DYING DAY
ZIT IOY TO DIE TO LIVE FOR AY.

As before said, overdoor inscriptions are sometimes carved in Greek and Hebrew characters. In the old burgh of CULROSS (where there are houses bearing monograms, initials, and dates of various periods of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, with curious representations of articles of trade), a door lintel bears this maxim :—

Ο Θεος Παρονοη X Παρονοηται

On various parts of the HOUSE of HILL (between the towns of Inver-

¹ Callirhoe (pref.), Aberdeen, 1670; Theater of Mortality, Edin. 1713.

keithing and Dunfermline) there are several scriptural quotations, in Hebrew and in Latin, two of which are also interpreted in Latin :—

נִסְיָה הַקֵּל
וְרָעָה רַבָּה:

הוֹי בְּנֵה
בֵּיתוֹ בְּלֹא-
צָוָק:

בַּחַר יְהוָה

יִרְאֵיו:

HOC QVOQUE VAN
ITAS EST ET MA
LVM MAGNVM.¹

VÆ ÆDIFI
CANTI DOM
VM SVAM INI
VSTITIA.²

—The last of these inscriptions is carved upon a stone over the dining-room windows, and connects two boldly sculptured half-length figures—the one with a long robe and harp, the other habited in the costume of the period of King James VI. Near to the second quoted of these is the date of 1623, and the initials W. M., which probably refer to William Menteith of Randieford, who possessed the property about that period, and whose daughter and heiress (according to Douglas) was married to Sir John Henderson of Fordel, a distinguished officer in the army of Charles I. Four of the upper windows of the house are respectively ornamented with the insignia of England, France, Ireland, and Scotland; and these words are inscribed upon the parapet wall :—

NI DEVS ÆDIFICET DOMVM.

These inscriptions are given by Dr Peter Chalmers, in his elaborate "HISTORY OF DUNFERMLINE," as well as that over the entrance to the house of Robert Pitcairn, Abbot of Dunfermline, who died in 1584. The cautious advice which this maxim imparts (to which Dr Chalmers has found an analogy in a metrical composition ascribed to King James I. of Scotland) runs thus :—

SEN VORD IS THRALL AND THOCHT IS FRE
KEIP VEILL THY TONGE I COVNSELL THK.

¹ Eccles. ii. 21.

² Jer. xxii. 13.

"The Lord hath chosen them that fear him."

Several houses in the neighbouring burgh of INVERKITHING contain inscribed stones, accompanied by the royal and other armorial bearings. A building in the High Street presents the date of 1688, the initials I. B., with the scriptural quotation,

GOD'S PROVIDENCE IS MY INHERITANCE;

also this strange motto:—

CAIR BOT CAIR NOT IN
ORDINATLIE FOR AL BE
AS VTHEIRIS AND VTH
ERIS VIL BE . . ETC.

An adjoining house is ornamented with a blank shield surmounted by the letter T, from which springs the common form of a merchant's mark (the Arabic figure 4 turned to the right), with the initials I. T. and B. T., and these words of the Psalmist:—

EXCEPT THE LORD BVLD THE HOVS THEY LABOVR IN VAIN THAT BVLD IT.

In the town of BURNTISLAND, a building of apparently about the middle of the seventeenth century bears the initials W. A : I. R., and

BLISSIT BE GOD FOR AL HIS GIFTS.

Another house, with a turret on the corner, the initials I. A : S. A., and the date of 1720, has a representation of the Scottish thistle, and this distich:—

O LORD THOU ME DEFEND FROM SUBTILE SORTS, AND THOSE
THAT FRIENDSHIP ME PRETENDS, AND ARE MY MORTAL FOES.

The three well-known couplets on "Mar's Wark," a ruin situated at the head of Broad Street, STIRLING, have been often, but rarely correctly, printed. The two first quoted inscriptions had probably been much effaced in the time of Pennant and Grose, for neither of these gentlemen has given correct renderings of them.¹ The last quoted seems to have been unknown to both. Having had opportunities of repeatedly examining the originals within the last five or six years, I am now satisfied that the following is the true reading:—

¹ Pennant's Tour, part ii. p. 255; Grose's Antiq., vol. ii. p. 241.

THE MOIR I STAND ON OPPIN HITH
MY FAVLTIS MOIR SVBIECT AR TO RITHT.

I PRAY AL LVIKARIS ON THIS BIGING
WITH GENTIL E TO GIF THAIR IVGING.

These lines are upon the front of the building—one couplet being over a door on the west side of the principal entrance, the other over one on the east side. The following is on the back part of the building:—

ESSPY SPEIK FVRTH AND SPAIR KOTH
CONSIDDIR VEIL AND CAIR NOTHT.

Upon the front of a large tenement, in the Nethergate, Dundee, are carvings of the royal arms of Scotland, with the date of 1660, and the ordinary legends, &c. In the adjoining close of Whitehall, a mutilated door or chimney lintel is built into the wall of a house. It is dated 1589, ornamented with the royal crown and shield of Scotland, and bears the following remains of a legend prettily inscribed upon a ribbon:—

OBAY ZE KING KING IAMIS 6 IN DE[FENCE] . . .

When an old house was being lately taken down, in the High Street of Dundee, a number of copper coins was found about the walls; also a well, in the middle of a stone wall about 4 feet thick. The sides of the well were built of ashler: it was about 15 feet deep from the mouth to the rubbish at the bottom; but it was unfortunately covered up without being further searched. A fine slab of old red sandstone, about 9 feet long, was also found in the ruins, embellished with the initials A. S. and I. K.; also a shield bearing the arms—a columbine flower slipped (? for Stirling) in chief of the sinister side; and a merchant's mark in base; on the dexter side, a pine tree eradicate, proper; upon the stem, a hunting horn, stringed, between two of the last, and three mullets in chief (? for Kyd of Woodhill).¹ The following inscription, carved in one line, runs along the whole length of the base of the stone:—

FEIR GOD ABOVE AL THING
BE EVIR TREV VNT0 YE KING
INVAY VLFVLNIS² AND PRYD
MAKITH MAYNY TO SLYD.

¹ Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. i. pp. 363, 402. Edinb. 1804.

² Wilfulness.

On the castle of MAINS, near Dundee, an old residence of Graham of Claverhouse, are these words and date, in beautifully ornamented Roman capitals :—

PATRIÆ ET POSTERIS GRATIS ET AMICIS. 1582.

Over the front door of the farm-house of Cossans, near GLAMIS, is an inscription which resembles, in some part, the sentiment expressed by the Psalmist (xci. 10, 11). It may have reference either to the fate of the first Lyon of Cossans, who fell at Flodden, or to the disasters which came over the house and family of Glamis after the death of the sixth Lord Glamis :—

PROTEGENDAM PRÆSIDIO DEO GRADAS
SALUTEM REM SOBOLEM DOMUM
NEO ÆDES VIS PROPIUS TUAS
AVI DAMNA TANGENT ———
DEUS ANGELOS CUSTODIÆ PRÆFICIT.

This stone is said to have been taken from the ruins of the old castle of Cossans, which stood near the site of the present farm-house. It bears the date of 1627, and the names of "MR THOMAS LYON, and MRS JEAN YOUNG," with the armorial bearings of both families. This estate was long possessed by a family who took the surname of "Cossans," and the title "of that Ilk."¹

After the property of FERNE, in ANGUS, passed into the hands of the Southesk family, the castle of Vayne appears to have received considerable repair and ornamentation; and Robert, the third Earl of Southesk, had the door and window lintels inscribed with Horatian and other maxims, of which three examples still exist, built into various parts of the farm offices :—

- (1.) DISCE MEO EXEMPLO FORMOSIS POSSE CARERE.
- (2.) —VS PLACITIS ABSTINVISSE BONIS.
- (3.) NON SI MALE NVNC ET SIC ERAT.²

The first of these is carved along the base of a stone, upon which are an

¹ Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 251.

² "Non si malè nunc et olim sic erit."

earl's coronet, and the monogram E. R. S.,—i.e., Robert Earl of Southesk (see woodcut): the other two are both dated 1678.



A panel in the middle of the richly ornamented chimney of the great hall of the castle of CARESTON, or Caraldstone, below the royal arms of Scotland, surrounded by banners, spears, and other warlike trophies, contains this incentive motto:—

THIS . HONORIS . SINGE
AND . FIGVRIT . TROPHE . BOR—
SVLD . PVSE . ASFYRING . SPEE
ITIS . AND . MARTIAL . MYND
TO . THEVST . YAIR . FORTVNE
FWRTH & . . IN HIR SCORNE
BELEIVE . IN FAITHE
OVR . FAIT . GOD . HES . ASSINGD.

The oldest part of the castle of Careston, in which the above is to be seen, was built by Sir Harry Lindsay of Kinfauns, afterwards third Earl of Crawford.

Two or three miles to the north-east of Careston stood the castle of FINDOWRIE, which was erased so late as 1840. The lands of Findowrie, which were held of the bishop and chapter of the cathedral church of Brechin, were purchased in 1574 by Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk, and given by him to David, his eldest son by a second marriage.¹ Probably this David Arbuthnot built the castle of Findowrie; at least the older portion of it was in much the same style of architecture as are castles

¹ Regist. Episc. Brechin., vol. ii.

which bear the date of the close of the sixteenth century. It received some additions, and heraldic and other ornaments, at subsequent periods, as is shown by several carved stones, now preserved about the farm offices. One of these, which is dated "May 12, 1684," along with the initials of the laird and lady of the period, bears the excellent maxim:—

HIC ARGVS NON BRIARI' ESTO,

which, if better attended to, would save regret on the part of antiquaries and others who have a desire to acquire a knowledge of the past from existing monuments.

When the manse of the first minister of BRECHIN was demolished a few years ago, a mutilated lintel was found built into the foundations of the walls, bearing the initials M. W. R., and the date of 1644. These refer to Mr William Rait, and the year of his removal to Brechin from Aberluthnot, or Marykirk, in the Mearns, where he was previously minister. The stone, now preserved in the garden dyke of the new manse, is thus inscribed:—

. CRVX SERRATA MIHI INSIGNI EST CRV.
. SVS SIT TVTELA MIHI CRVXQVE CORONA . N

Overdoor inscriptions, however, were not confined to castles and dwelling-houses in the lowlands. In remote glens we find traces of the same laudable taste. The door and chimney lintels of the now demolished castle of the M'Combies at Crandart, which stood far up, in a lonely part of GLENISLA, were similarly ornamented. Examples of these, with the date of 1660, still remain in the district:—

THE LORD DEFEND THIS FAMILIE,

may be seen upon a stone lintel at a house in the neighbourhood; and another, which was carried from the same ruin, bears this record of the owner's faith and gratitude to God:—

I SHALL OVERCOME INVY VITH GOD'S HELP :
TO GOD BE AL PRAIS HONOVR AND GLORIE

Upon the castle of AUCHANACHIE in ABERDEENSHIRE there is a somewhat similar supplication (dated 1594) to one of those in Glenisla:—

FROM OVR ENEMIES DEFEND VS O CHRIST.

Upon the old dovecot or pigeon-house, at the now sadly disfigured castle of **TOWIE BARCLAY**, near **TURRIFF**, are the initials **P. B.**, the date of 1662, and this motto :—

ÆTHIR DOE OR DIE.

The elaborately carved chimney-piece in the hall of the ruinous castle of **HUNTLY**, Aberdeenshire, dated 1609, bears these words :—

TO THAES THAT LOVE GOD AL THINGIS VIRKIS TO THE BEST.

Surrounding a beautiful monogram of the initials of **George Gordon**, the first Marquis of **Huntly**, and those of his Marchioness, **Henrietta Stuart**, is the following :—

SEN GOD DOWTH VS DEFEND

VE SAL PREVAIL VNTO THE END.

Several carved stones, of an oval shape, and similar to the one last mentioned, are affixed to the bridge at the Quarry Gardens of **GORDON CASTLE**, near **FOCHABERS**. It is said that these stones, and some other pieces of old carvings at the same place, were brought from **Huntly Castle**. Some of these oval-shaped stones bear the same initials in monogram as above noticed ; but the centre ornaments, as well as the inscriptions, are mostly effaced, and the two mottoes which follow, both dated 1614, are alone decipherable :—

(1.) **TIMETE DOMINVM OMNES SANCTI EIUS * QVIA NON EST INOPIA
TIMENTIB' EVM.**

(2.) **OMNE GENV FLECTATVE NOMINE IESV.**

Probably the last of these stones had been ornamented with an effigy of our Saviour, since traces of “a glory” or halo are still visible upon it.

CULLEN HOUSE, in **BANFFSHIRE**, a seat of the Earl of **Seafeld**, is embellished with some interesting old carvings and inscriptions, which probably belong to about the year 1668. Surmounted by representations of the Theological Virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, which form the triangular-shaped top lintels of attic windows, are these legends :—

(1.) **FAYTH Y^e GRVND OF AL.**

(2.) **HOPE Y^e ANKER OF FAITH.**

(3.) **CHARITIE COVERETH MANIE SINS.**

Upon another part of the same building, in recently carved and conjoined characters, and in the style of those above noticed, a window lintel is thus inscribed:—

CAST YE BEAM OVT OF THINE OVNE EYE AND THOV SHALT SEE MORE
CLERLIE TO PULL YE MOTE OVT OF THY BROTHERS.

Over the curiously carved chimney lintel of the interesting old castle of CAWDOR, in NAIRNSHIRE, with the initials I. C., the Campbell arms, and the date of 1510, are these words:—

CERI MANI MEMINERIS MANE.

There is also a curiously ornamented bedroom chimney-piece, dated 1667, and inscribed "FEARE THE LORD."¹

Upon the chimney of an old house in the town of NAIRN is a monogram composed of the letters I.T.M.D., with the undermentioned legend. The legend, I am told, is similar to one in Fortrose, except that the words "Pax" and "Salus" are transposed in the latter:—

PAX INTRANTIBVS—SALVS EXEVTIBVS.²

Upon an adjoining house, once a residence of a cadet of Rose of Kilravock,³ dated 1722, is the following:—

OMNIA TERRENA PER VICES SVNT ALIENA
NVNC MEA NVNC HVIVS POST MORTEM NESCIO CVIVS
NVLLI CERTA DOMVS.

But there are other interesting examples of old inscriptions upon private houses in the north, which are worthy of being preserved. An old house in Castle Lane, INVERNESS, is ornamented with the Innes arms, surrounding which are the words:—

OVE BVILDING IS NOT HEIR, BVT WE HOPE FOR ANE BETTER IN CHRIST.

In another part of the town, under the figure of an old-fashioned

¹ It may be added, that, upon the glass of a small window in one of the garrets at Cawdor Castle, the word "*overcome*," and the date of 1665, are rudely scratched. It is unknown to what person or circumstance these refer: Story says that in 1745 Lord Lovat was for some time concealed in this garret.

² A similar inscription occurs on a house in Blackfriars Wynd, Edinburgh.—Ed.

³ Family of Rose of Kilravock, Spalding Club, p. 398.

plough, and the date of 1667, may be seen the still common and well-known sentiment of

SPEED THE PLOUGH.

The old poors'-house of Inverness, which was bequeathed to the town by Provost Dunbar in 1668, presents interesting examples of the class of antiquities under notice; and here, as in many other instances, the inscriptions are upon the top, or triangular-shaped lintel stones of the attic windows. The house, which has been uninhabited for some time past, is now but little cared for, and it is probable that the carvings, which have already suffered from the inclemency of the weather, will soon be altogether illegible; even now some of the letters are so worn and effaced as to make the passages difficult to read. There are five attic windows which face Church Street, and respectively contain the following emblems and inscriptions, viz.—(1.) An old man with a beard, cowl, and gown or cloak, leaning upon a staff; (2.) The royal crown of Scotland; (3.) A fleur-de-lis; (4.) The Scottish thistle; and (5.) The date of 1668. These lintels also present the following Scriptural quotations, carved in Roman and interlaced capitals, viz.—(1.) **THIS POOR MAN PRAYED AND THE LORD HEARD HIM AND SAVED HIM OUT OF ALL HIS TROUBLES:** (2.) **A LITTLE THAT A RIGHTEOUS MAN HATH IS BETTER NOR THE (3.) RICHES OF MANYE VIKID' MEN:** (4.) **HIE THAT GIVETH TO THE POOR LENDITH TO THE (5.) LORD, AND HEI VIL PAYE THEM SEVEN Tymes MOR.**

Another building, also in Inverness, bearing a later date than that last mentioned, has the following:—

BE TRUE, AND YOU SHALL NEVER RUE.

During the summer of 1857, when an old house in the High Street of ELGIN was being taken down, a stone about 2 feet long and 18 inches broad was found, dated 1688, and bearing these words:—

O LORD MAK VS LYVELLYE STONIS OF THY ETERNALL BVILDING. DEO GLORIA.

There are several fragments of inscribed stones in different parts of the town of Turriff, some of which are ornamented with the arms and initials of the old families of Mowat and Hay. One of the more entire of the inscriptions, dated 1707, is built into the front wall of a house in Manse Lane, and bears this couplet:—

FRINDS ARE WELCOM TO COME HERE,
BUT FOES ARE WELCOM TO RETIRE.

Over the door of an adjoining house, embellished with the insignia of "the gardeners," are the initials G. R., the date of 1784, and this loyal and brotherly sentiment,—

GOD SAVE THE KING AND THE CRAFT.

Still more curious and lengthy admonitions are occasionally to be met with. A stone, preserved within the garden of the house, No 15 High Street, Old ABERDEEN, bears the date of 1715 and the following inscription:—

GOD'S PROVIDENCE IS MY INHERITANCE.
I THANK MY GOD FOR POVERTY,
FOR RICHES AND FOR GAIN;
FOR GOD CAN MAKE A RICH MAN POOR,
AND A POOR MAN RICH AGAIN.

Upon the front of a house in Back Street, FRASERBURGH, initialed P. D : I. R., and dated 1718, is the following verse, which occupies four different tablets, one line being inscribed upon each tablet, and a tablet is placed between each window:—

TRVST IN GOD FOR HE IS GOOD,
HIS MERCY IS FOR EVER;
GIVE YE HIM THANKS FOR ALL YOU HAVE
FOR HE IS THE ONLY GIVER.

The pretty seaport of BANFF is also possessed of some of these legends. It was a favourite resort of the county gentry in old times, such as the Ogilvies of Findlater. In a thoroughfare called the Strait Path, there is a house with an inscribed stone, bearing the names of John Anderson and Helen Ogilvie, the date of 1699, and this verse:—

O MORTALL MAN SEEK THOV THE LORD,
THY RISE AND FALL KEEP IN RECORD.
IN WHAT ESTATE SOEVIR THOV BEE
OBVEY AND THANK HIS MAJESTIE.

A small slab, built into the front of a house in another part of the town of Banff, with the initials A. S., and the date of 1675, presents this admirable advice:—

SAY NA MAIR ON ME
THAN YOV VALD I SAID ON YE.

Traces of inscribed stones are to be seen in different parts of the town of PETERHEAD. The legends, which are now illegible, are mostly given in Buchan's "Annals of Peterhead" (p. 12), and in Pratt's "Buchan," (pp. 52-3). [Similar legends to those which form the subject of this paper are printed in "Proceedings," vol. ii. p. 339, and vol. iv. p. 387.]

IV.

NOTE OF AN ANCIENT CROSS-BOW FOUND UNDER THE MOSS ON THE ESTATE OF AUCHMEDDAN, ABERDEENSHIRE, IN A LETTER TO THE SECRETARY. BY ALEXANDER MURRAY, Esq., NETHERMILL, CRUDEN.

The late Mr Leid, tenant of the farm of Clinterty, on the estate of Auchm eddan, in the parish of Aberdour, Aberdeenshire, about twenty years ago, was digging moss or decomposed rushes, &c., to the depth of six feet, out of a hollow about half an acre in extent, for the purpose of forming the present mill-dam. In the bottom of the moss he found an old cross-bow and bag of arrows. When I got the bow, some six years ago, he had lost the stock. It was described to me by a person who saw it, as a strong rough oak stick, bearing a rude resemblance to a gun-stock, and the bow went through a hole in the end of it. I searched very hard to find it, but could not get it. The bow now presented to the Museum consists of a stout stick of 3 feet 4 inches in length, and pierced with a hole 3 inches in length at each extremity. The arrows were numerous, and the stalks attached to the flint heads were about 9 to 12 inches long, and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. The stalks were all rotten, and could not be lifted, and were thrown away!

There are numerous tumuli of stones in that neighbourhood, and in searching I found a large artificial cairn covered with turf, at the very side of the hollow of moss in which the cross-bow was found, satisfying me that at the time of the death and burial of the warrior, the bow and arrows had been thrown into the adjoining pool, which has since then been filled up with decayed rushes, &c.

I know no part of the country where I have observed more cairns, &c., than about Aberdour and Gamrie, and where they are more rapidly disappearing.

V.

NOTE RESPECTING THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, EDINBURGH, AND THE ORIGINAL LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS, IN 1752. By DAVID LAING, Esq., V.P.S.A. Scot.

Maitland in his "History of Edinburgh," 1753 (p. 186, &c.), has described most of the public offices as situated either within or in the immediate neighbourhood of the Parliament Close. Adjoining, he says, "to the eastern side of the Parliament House, is a fine edifice, called the Treasury, part of which, after the Union, was appropriated as the Offices of Chancery and Commissary Court." He goes on to say:—

"Within the entry to the Chancery Office and Commissary Court, in a handsome paved court lately demolished, was the Exchange, with a convenient piazza for merchants to meet in, which was erected in the year 1685; but the money laid out thereon seems to have been ill applied, since it did not take; for the merchants and others continued to meet at the Cross in the High Street as formerly. And at the upper end of the said court was a very spacious and noble room for the Convention of Royal Boroughs to meet in, denominated the Borough Room. A little to the eastward, in the Parliament Close, was a large room full of shops, called the Upper Exchange. This is also come to nothing."

The great fire which happened in February 1700 was very destructive in this part of the town; but no attempts towards the improvement and extension of Edinburgh took place for half a century. This may be dated from July 1752, when the Convention of Royal Boroughs highly approved of a scheme for "purchasing an area for a public forum or Exchange at the Cross of Edinburgh; erecting a building on the ruins on the south side of the Parliament Close, containing a Borough room, providing proper repositories for the Public Records of the Nation, and other useful Works, mentioned in a remit from the Convention."

Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, Bart., M.P., printed a pamphlet in 1752, entitled "Proposals for carrying on certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh;" strongly urging the necessity of such buildings, "as the City of Edinburgh (he says) is the metropolis of this part of the United

Kingdom, the seat of the Supreme Courts, the repository of our archives, land-rights, and other valuable securities; and, besides, has now the faint appearance of becoming a place considerable for trade and manufactures."

It was with no intention of opposing this public-spirited scheme, but simply as a *jeu d'esprit*, that an anonymous Tract by Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes appeared, dedicated to "The Patron and Pattern of all Castle-builders;" under the title of "Proposals for carrying on a Certain Public Work in the City of Edinburgh." This said "*certain Work*," being a public necessary.

After a lapse of about twenty years, when the erection of the North Bridge afforded access to a much more eligible site for a repository of the Public Records, the building of the General Register House, from the designs of Robert Adam, was undertaken, at the expense of Government.

The original paper now presented to the Society of Antiquaries by WILLIAM SKINNER, Esq., W.S., is an interesting document connected with the improvements of Edinburgh. It contains the autograph signatures of Provost Drummond, and of the leading persons, merchants, and others, in Edinburgh, with the sums subscribed by them towards the erection of the proposed Exchange Buildings. It is as follows:—

"WE, SUBSCRIBERS, being informed, that the Town Council of Edinburgh, the Lords of Session, Barons of Exchequer, Faculty of Advocates, Writers to the Signet, and numbers of Noblemen, Gentlemen and Burgesses have it under consideration, that by removing the Front of the Buildings to be raised on the south side of the Street at the Cross a convenient space backward a handsome exchange or publick Forum may be procured in the said City, And the same rendered commodious by adorning it with a covered walk on the north side of the Area; As also that a Building may be erected on the ruines to the south of the Parliament Close, where the Borough Room and Council Chamber formerly stood, to contain a Great Room for the Convention of the Royal Boroughs of Scotland And their Annual Committee, a convenient Council Chamber for the use of the Magistrates, for the daily dispatch of publick Business, a dwelling House for the Lord Provost during his office, a Robing Room for the Lords of Session, a handsome Library for the Faculty of Advocates, that room

may be made for lodging the publick Records of the Nation And to provide convenient Offices for accomodating the Principal Clerks of Session, Clerk to the Commission of Teinds and Clerk to the Justiciary, that the Papers, Warrants and Records under their care may be safely lodged. As Also, in the view of extending the Royalty, that easy access may be made to the High Street both from the south and north sides of the City, and the North Loch made an Ornament in place of a publick Nuisance And being sensible, that the City Revenue is not sufficient for answering so great an Expence as will be necessary to the carrying on and perfecting these useful and ornamental Works, which cannot but tend to the great Advantage of the Nation, as well as prove beneficial to the Capital City of this part of the United Kingdom We do therefore Agree to pay the following Sums annexed to our respective subscriptions upon the Conditions and agreeable to the plan of Management to be concerted and approved of by a Committee of the Council of the City and Committees of the Lords of Session, Barons of Exchequer, Faculty of Advocates and Writers to the Signet.

1752.

GEO. DRUMMOND Provost of Edinburgh, Fifty pounds sterling.

ADAM FAIRHOLME Merchant Ten pounds sterling.

Twenty pounds sterling WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

GAVIN HAMILTON Bookseller Ten pounds sterling.

THOMAS HOGG, Merch^t in Edin^r. Ten pounds sterling.

EBENEZER M'CULLOCH Merch^t in Edin^r. Ten pounds sterling.

PAT. LINDESEY mer^t in Edin^r Ten pounds sterling.

WILLIAM RUTHVEN writer in Ed^r Ten pounds sterling.

ALEX^s BROWN merch^t in Edinb^r Three Guineas.

ALEX^s HUNTER mer^{tt} in Edinb. Five pounds s^t.

ALEX^s SHARP merch^t in Edinb. for Five pounds ster.

GEO. CHALMERS merch^{tt} in Edin^r. for Ten pounds sterling.

JO. WILSON merch^{tt} in Edin^r for Five pounds sterling.

JOHN INGLIS merch^t for Ten pounds sterling.

JOHN FORREST mer^t Ten pounds ster.

ALEX^s DONALDSON Bookseller Five pounds sterling.

JAMES STUART merch^t Ten pounds ster.

ALEX^r. KINCAID Book^r Ten pounds st.
 GEO. LIND merch^t Five pounds.
 HUGH & ROB^r CLARK Five pounds ster. (deleted).
 JOHN CARMICHAELL jun^r. merch^t Five pound ster.
 JOHN NISBET mer^t Five pounds ster.
 WILLIAM MATTLAND Five pounds ster.
 WILLIAM TOD merchant Ten pounds sterling.
 JOHN WALKER merch^t Five pounds st^r.
 JA^r GRANT merch^t Five pound sterl.
 JAMES MILROY for Ten pound sterling.
 COUTTS BROTHERS & Co. merch^{ts} Ten pounds and ten shillings ster^r.
 COUTTS BROTHERS & Co. for COUTTS STEPHEN COUTTS & Co. merch^{ts}
 in London Ten guineas.
 DA : FLINT merch^t Ten pounds ste.
 J. CLARK M.D. Ten guineas.
 JO. RUTHERFOORD Ten guineas.
 AND : S^r CLAIR Ten guineas.
 RO BOSWELL Five guineas.
 JO. BROWN Ten pound.
 R. FLEMING Five pound.
 ROB. CLEUGH Two pounds.
 GILBERT LAWRIE Five guineas.
 WILLIAM SANDS Five pounds.
 ANDREW WARDROP Thre pounds.
 DAVID LOCH Ten pound st^r. for father and self.
 JAMES CAMPBELL late of St Germans Five pounds and five shillings
 sterling.
 ROBERT LITHGOW Three pounds st^r.
 FRA. FARQ^{son} for self Ten guineas.
 FRA. FARQ^{son} for Collonell HALYBURTON of Pitcur Five guineas.
 GEO. BUCHAN of Kello for Ten guineas.
 ROBERT BRISBANE for the R^t Hon^{ble} THE EARLE OF ABERCORN
 Fifty pounds sterling."

The Commissioners appointed by Parliament, authorised the Town-
 Council to contract with tradesmen for the building, and the present

situation, then covered with decayed houses, was selected as the most eligible spot for erecting the Exchange, the Town-Hall, and other public offices.

On occasion of laying the foundation-stone, there was a grand Masonic procession, with the usual honours, on the 13th of September 1753. A detailed account of the ceremonies and procession, with the address of Provost Drummond as Grand Master, is given in Mr W. A. Laurie's "History of Free Masonry" (pages 108-115); and two Medals to commemorate this event were struck; one with the effigy of Provost Drummond, and a perspective view of the Exchange, described in the Society's Proceedings, vol. iii. p. 393; and the other, having the Masonic arms on the reverse, noticed in the above work, p. 109.

To mark the importance of this undertaking, copies were printed of the "Contract of Agreement for building an Exchange in the City of Edinburgh, between the Magistrates and Town-Council and the Traders," with an engraved elevation of "The South front of a New designed Square, to serve as an Exchange in the City of Edinburgh."

The amount of the contract was £31,545, 6s. 8d. sterling. The contractors were, Patrick Jamieson, mason; Alexander Peter, George Stevenson, John Moubray, wrights; John Fergus, architect, all Burgesses, Freemen Members of Mary's Chapel of Edinburgh.

The building was not commenced till 12th June 1754, when the Contract was formally signed. It is only necessary to add that the buildings were finished in the year 1761.

VI.

NOTICE OF A ROMAN BRONZE PATELLA, FOUND ON THE FARM OF PALACE IN TEVIOTDALE, ROXBURGHSHIRE; WITH CHEMICAL ANALYSIS OF THE METAL AND INSIDE COATING OF THE PATELLA, BY STEVENSON MACADAM, PH.D., LECTURER ON CHEMISTRY. BY JOHN ALEX. SMITH, M.D., SEC. S.A. SCOT.

A short notice of the finding of this Roman Bronze was previously laid before the Society.¹ I have now, however, the pleasure of presenting it for preservation to our Museum of Antiquities, and shall enter a little more

¹ Proceedings, vol. i. p. 69.

into detail, than was previously done. This small pot or patella with handle, probably a vessel for cooking purposes, is formed of fine yellowish bronze, and is beautifully finished, apparently on the lathe, marks of the tool still remaining on its inner surface. It measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter across the mouth, and about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth; and tapers a little towards the bottom, which is flat, measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, and is ornamented on the outside (fig. 2) with five concentric circles or rings of thicker metal, projecting from its surface. The handle is flat, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length; it springs from the rim or mouth of the vessel, of which it forms a part, and terminates in a circular-shaped extremity nearly 3 inches across, which is perforated by a round hole in the centre. The vessel (fig. 1) is well shown in the annexed drawings, fig. 2 representing the inverted bottom of the vessel. An ornamental stripe or band

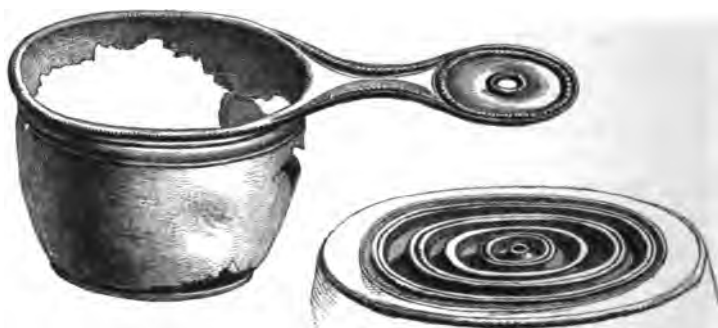


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

is cut on the outside of the pot, just below the projecting lip or rim; and the inside has the appearance of having been lined or thinly coated with a white metal resembling tin.

The pot was discovered in the month of December 1849, by Robert Watson, while cutting drains in a field called the Ward-law Meadow, on the farm of Palace, in the parish of Crailing, about a mile and a quarter from the bank of the river Teviot, and nearly about the same distance to the east of the river Jed, and line of the Roman Road, which passes through the Cheviots, running north for St Boswells and the village of

Newstead. The pot was lying at a depth of 18 or 20 inches from the surface, and the drainer unfortunately struck his pick-axe through its side before he discovered it. The bottom of the vessel, which is formed of a separate and thicker piece of metal, was also probably loosened by the stroke, and before long fell out altogether. To remedy this defect, and prevent the bottom being lost, several holes were pierced through the sides and bottom of the vessel, which were then tied together, the discovery being made that the metal was now very brittle.

Learning that a bronze pot had been dug up in Teviotdale, and that a relative of the finder lived in the Melrose district, I communicated with the latter, got him to pay a visit to his friend, and try to purchase the vessel for me, and after some time he was successful. It was reported to have been filled with money when found, but on careful inquiry, it appeared the vessel had been quite empty.

This pot, apparently of Roman manufacture, corresponds in style and workmanship to bronze patellæ found at Roman sites in various parts of England; but, as far as I am aware, comparatively few vessels of a similar kind have been discovered in Scotland. It is also interesting from its being discovered at no great distance from the line of the great Roman road, which crosses the district, and especially from its being the only Roman relic known to have been found in that neighbourhood, in which some antiquaries have believed a Station must have existed, not far from the place where the Great Road crossed the river Teviot on its way to the north. (See Roy's Milit. Antiq., p. 102.)

The style of manufacture of this Roman pot is perhaps worth notice, in so far that we seem to have an arrangement of the metal skilfully made so as best to adapt it for use in cooking. The strong rim of the vessel, with its firm handle forming a component part of it; the sides of the vessel thin, so as to be easily and rapidly heated; and the bottom stronger and thicker, the metal being thrown into ribs or rings, projecting from its surface, which not only increases its strength, and enables it to stand the wear and tear of use, by skilfully adding to the amount of metal, but also its power of retaining heat; which, with the tinned lining of the pot, seem to show an amount of applied science to vessels of domestic use, that I am not sure we have surpassed in our own day.

Being anxious to compare the chemical composition of the metal of



this pot, with that of other bronzes believed to have a different origin, as the axe-heads or celts of different kinds found in Scotland, of which analyses have been published in the "Prehistoric Annals," from specimens in our Museum, selected by Dr Daniel Wilson so as to furnish "a comprehensive diversity in the elements of comparison." I requested Dr Stevenson Macadam, Lecturer on Chemistry, to make a careful analysis of this patella, and give me the result to lay before the Society;—at the same time specially calling his attention to the peculiar appearance of the white metal which seemed to have formed a lining to the pot, as I was not aware what particular alloys the Romans used for coating or tinning their copper vessels, to avoid corrosion and the deleterious effects which would in consequence follow any admixture of the copper with the food cooked in the vessel.

Dr Macadam accordingly made the following analysis, estimating the composition of its white lining, from a part of the thin and broken side of the pot; and cut a portion from the back of the thicker handle, to judge of the character of the bronze itself. The result shows, that the Romans, occasionally at least, tinned their copper vessels; and the details allow a comparison to be made with the published analyses of other bronzes.

"NOTE OF THE ANALYSIS OF THE METAL AND INSIDE COATING OF A BRONZE
PATELLA, NOW PRESENTED TO THE MUSEUM BY DR J. A. SMITH. BY DR
STEVENSON MACADAM.

"About the year 1848, I was requested by the late Professor George Wilson, whose senior assistant I then was, to examine, by chemical analysis, six specimens of ancient bronze which he had received from his brother, Dr Daniel Wilson. These analyses, with accompanying remarks regarding the nature of the bronze relics, and the localities in which they were found, were printed in the admirable work on "The Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," written by Dr Daniel Wilson, and published in 1851, p. 246.

"In these six specimens of ancient bronze, the proportion of Copper

ranged from 81·19 (81) to 92·89 (93) per cent.; the Tin from 5·15 (5) to 18·31 (18½) per cent.; and the Lead from 0·75 ($\frac{3}{4}$) to 8·53 (8½) per cent.

"The Roman bronze pot or patella now presented to the Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland by Dr John Alexander Smith, appears highly finished, and is composed of fine yellow bronze, which is coated over with metal to represent the process of tinning resorted to at the present day.

"The composition of the bronze metal, as obtained by the analysis of fragments of the patella, is as follows:

Copper,	79·77
Tin,	10·56
Lead,	9·48
Loss in Analysis,	0·24
	<hr/> 100·00

Specific gravity, 6·62 (water = 1·00).

"It will be observed, therefore, that this bronze contains a medium percentage of tin, and a comparatively large percentage of lead.

"The white metal lining or tinning of the true bronze of the patella, is composed of tin and lead, in nearly equal proportions.

" STEVENSON MACADAM, Ph.D."

This being the concluding Meeting of the Session, votes of thanks were given to the Office-bearers and Chairman, and the Society adjourned until next November.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 375. In place of the words "will be printed in the Appendix to this volume," read This Address will be afterwards printed as an Appendix to the *ARCHÆOLOGIA SCOTICA*, Vol. IV.

Page 234. DECLARATION AGAINST THE COVENANTS.

It was omitted to be stated that this document is nearly verbatim with the "Declaration signed by the Clergie and Nobility 28 July 1681," printed from the original in the General Register House, with a *fac simile* of the signatures in the Maitland Miscellany, Vol. III. p. 379.

Page 573, line 1. REMARKS ON THE CHARACTER OF MARY OF GUELDRÉS, &c.

In the Testament of "Dame Jane Hammiltoun Countess of Hugh third Earl of Eglintoun," 18th December 1596, there is a reference to her interment in Queen's Colledge (as Trinity College Church was then called) which may perchance solve the difficulty regarding the first female skeleton that was discovered. Among her various bequests, she leaves sums to be distributed to the "depauperat houshalderis of Eistwode and Hammiltoun," and we find the following:—"Item I leve to the pure of Edinburgh, Leith and Cannogait, ij^e merkis to be distributit to thame be Mr. Robert Bruce, minister: Item, to the *Hospitall of Edinburgh, the Queen's Colledge, for my buriall place* I^e merkis, *UTHERWALS not*: Item, I leve I^m. merkis to be honestlie bestowit upon my buriall be my Executouris, according to my honour and estait, as thai sall ansuer to God: Item, I leve to David Dundas and Mr. Johnne Ræ, ilkane of them xl. lib., to by thame dule claitthis: Item, to Agnes Hammiltoun, spous to William Hammiltoun and Margaret Hammiltoun, ilkane of thame xxiiij lib., to by thame dule claitthis: Item to Mariorie Hammiltoun, xl. lib., to by hir dule claitthis; *and ordanis the foirsaidis personis to accompanie me to my buriall.*" ("Memorials of the Montgomeries, Earls of Eglinton, by William Fraser." Edinb. 1859. 4to. Vol. II. p. 235.)

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END OF VOLUME FOURTH.



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